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HISTORY
OF
THE ORIGIN
OF THE
TOWN OF CLINTON
MASSACHUSETTS

1653-1865

BY
ANDREW E. FORD

“



CLINTON:
PRESS OF W. J. COULTER, : : : : COURANT OFFICE
1896

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PREFACE.

This volume had its origin in some work on local history done in the Clinton High School in the years 1886 and 1887. The researches then begun by the author were continued at intervals, until such a mass of material had been gathered that some gentlemen, who had examined it, deemed that it was worthy of publication. The matter was brought before the town at a meeting held December 12, 1893, under an article: "To see if the town will take any preliminary steps toward the publication of a town history, or act in any way relating thereto." It was voted "to refer the subject matter of the article to the Directors of the Bigelow Free Public Library, and that they report at a future meeting." The report of this committee was made to the town June 22, 1895, and in accordance with its recommendation, it was voted "to purchase the manuscript of A. E. Ford, and that the town appropriate the sum of five hundred dollars therefor." Two thousand dollars were subsequently appropriated to defray the expense of publication.

It was thought best that the history should not be continued beyond the close of the Civil War, as it is impossible to treat recent local events in a proper historical spirit. In a few cases where the unity of the subject seemed to demand it, the narrative has been continued beyond the fixed limit.

With due allowance for clerical and typographical errors, every statement of fact contained in this history is based upon some authority supposed to be reliable. As a general source of information the files of the *Courant* have been of inestimable value, for that journal has not only faithfully mirrored passing events, but, during the last quarter of a century, nearly every number has contained some important article bearing on previous local history. In all matters connected with the early history of Lancaster, the works of Hon. Henry S. Nourse have been received as unquestioned authority. All transfers of real estate previous to 1830, and many since that time, have been examined in the Middlesex and Worcester County Registers. The records of the town of Lancaster, the records of School District No. 10, the records and reports of the town of Clinton considered as a whole and of its various departments, the books of the corporations and other manufacturing concerns, the records of the churches, the religious societies and other organizations, the military records of the adjutant-general of Massachusetts, the Grand Army Memorial Record, the papers presented before the Clinton Historical Society, and many other records, documents and literary works have been consulted. The memories of those who have been personally connected with events described have been ransacked for additional facts. Grateful acknowledgment is hereby made for all assistance thus derived, and for the unfailing courtesy with which the author has been met in his researches.

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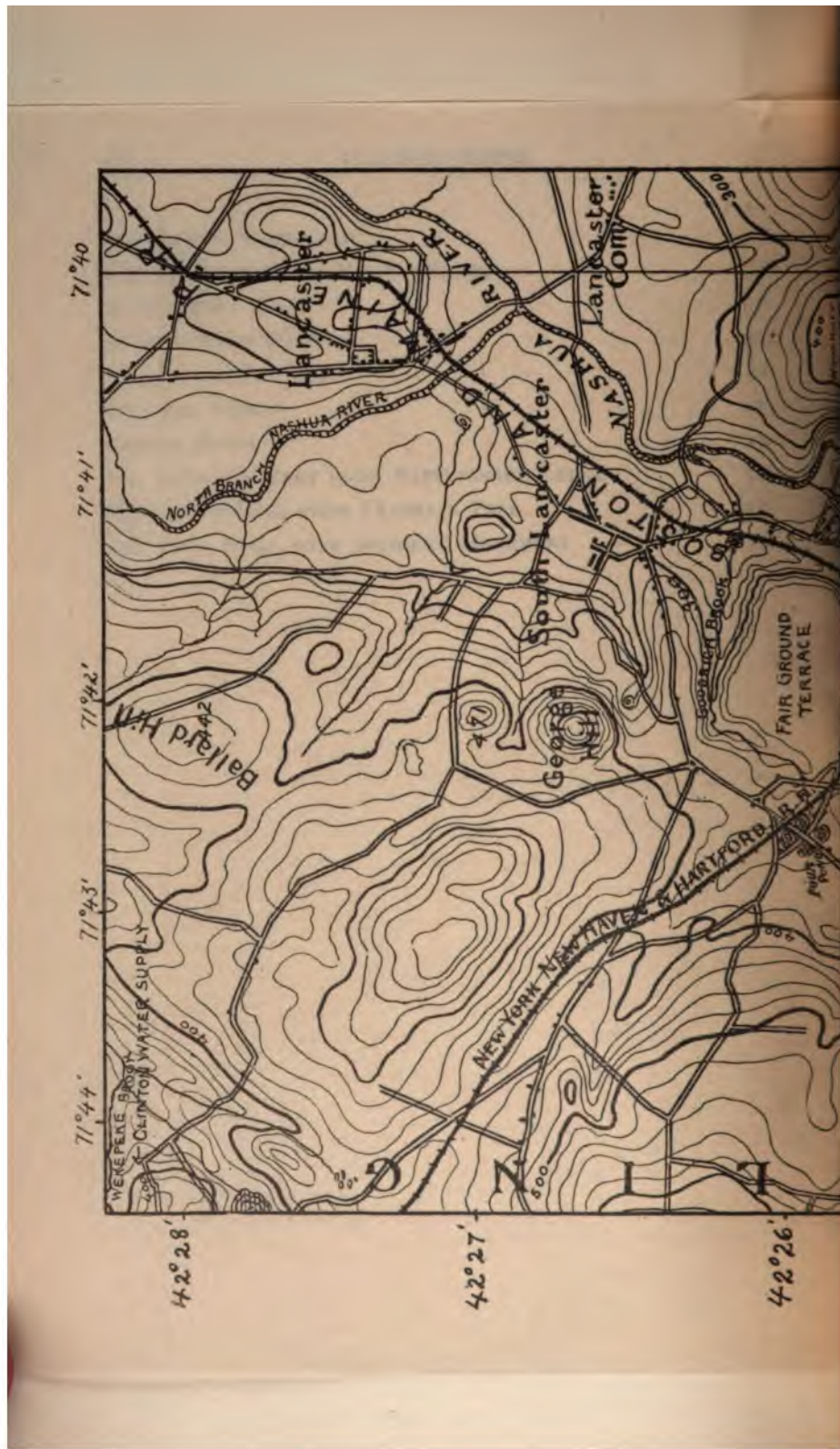
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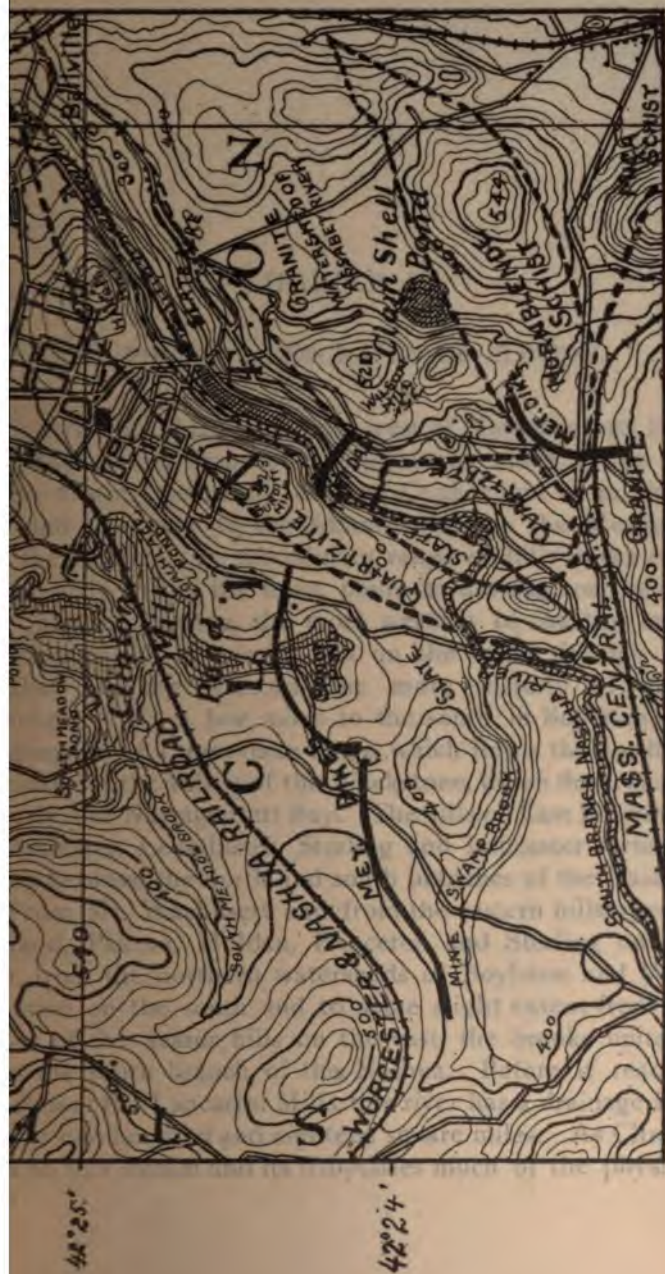
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CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF CLINTON.

CLINTON lies thirty-five miles west of Massachusetts Bay, upon the eastern slope of the highlands which divide the waters flowing westward into the Connecticut from those that find their way to the Atlantic through the Merrimac and the Charles. A subordinate range of hills to the east, lying partly within the town, pours its drainage on the one side into the Nashua, the more westerly of the two large branches of the Merrimac, and on the other through the Assabet into the Concord, the more easterly of these branches. Only a few miles to the south, in Boylston, are the summits of a transverse range, which forms the northern boundary of the valley of the Blackstone, which flows southeasterly into Narragansett Bay. The hills of East Princeton, Westminster, Leominster, Sterling and Lancaster form the divide between the north and south branches of the Nashua.

From Mt. Wachusett and from the eastern hillslopes of Rutland, Paxton, Holden, Princeton and Sterling on the west, from the northern watersheds of Boylston and West Boylston on the south and to some slight extent from the slopes of the nearer hills on the east, the brooks unite to form the south branch of the Nashua. Before it reaches the dam at the Lancaster Mills, this river has a drainage area of over one hundred and eighteen square miles. As Clinton owes to this stream and its tributaries much of the physical

formation and the origin of many of the industries of the town, a study of its characteristics will form a fitting introduction to our history.

Soon after the south branch of the Nashua enters Clinton, its course is challenged by an elevation known as Burditt Hill, lying in its northward path. Turning to the eastward until it reaches the hills which divide its waters from those of the Assabet, the river winds through a narrow valley. The boatman, who follows the downward course of the stream, finds a constant succession of charming views. Here is a low lying meadow, the home of the blackbird and bobolink; further on, the shoulder of Burditt Hill pushes the river to the eastern edge of the intervalle, then the current, turning again, flows toward the west, and thus the Oxbow is formed. At the present day, even before this point is reached, the water feels the effect of the dam at Lancaster Mills. The stream has been deepened and broadened and in some places spread out over the swamps and meadows.

Below the Oxbow, the water fills all the narrow intervalle and forms a beautiful pond, from which, on either side, the rocky and steeply sloping hills rise to the height of some two hundred and fifty feet above the surface. At the southern end of this pond, there is a little island surrounded by a broad area of shallow water full of lily pads and pickerel weed. At the northern end of the pond, Rattlesnake Ledge, with its grey scales appearing amid the scrubby oaks, which try to grow upon its sides, throws its shadow over the waters long before the close of day. The ledge derives its name from the many rattlesnakes which once found their home here, but none have been seen since the early portion of the present century. In the summer, the brilliant hues of the cardinal flower may be detected glowing in shady coverts along the banks, where the trees bend over as if to embrace their own reflection in the water. In the early autumn, the lowlands near the Oxbow are magnificently attired with the scarlet and gold of the maples. A few weeks later, the hills

are sombre with the russet shades of the oaks.' During the winter, the skaters skim over the pond, and sometimes, it has become a race course, merry with the jingle of sleigh bells.

The surface of the Lancaster Mills pond is two hundred and seventy-six feet above sea level. Of the thirty and eight-tenths feet of descent, which the river makes in passing from Sawyer's Mills in Boylston to the Lancaster Mills in Clinton, some twenty-eight feet are utilized by the latter, and thus a force of about seven hundred horse power is secured. During a spring freshet, a mighty volume of water sweeps over the dam, falling in thunder on the rocks below, and sometimes, as if in mockery of its power, the rainbow plays above the seething foam.

It is said that the Nashaway Indians used to come to the rapids, just above where the dam now is, to fish for salmon. Many years have passed, however, since a salmon has visited these waters. If this region could be restored to the state in which it was when the Indian built his wigwam from the boughs of the primeval forest, what a contrast it would offer to its present condition. Where now we hear the noise of a mighty industry which gives employment and comfort to thousands, a few red men sought a meagre living by spearing fish, by lying in wait for the deer as he came to his drinking place, or by pursuing the bear to his den. Here, sometimes, perchance, the war cry of the ranging Mohawks gave a tardy warning to their destined victims.*

* At the time of the present writing, in 1896, the State of Massachusetts has granted the right of using the south branch of the Nashua for a Metropolitan Water Supply. It is proposed to build a dam, some three thousand feet along the river above Lancaster Mills dam. This dam will be twelve hundred and fifty feet long, with a maximum height of one hundred and fifty feet. A reservoir will be formed, six and fifty-six hundredths miles in surface area, with a maximum depth of one hundred and six feet. This reservoir will hold sixty-three billion, sixty-eight million gallons. About a square mile of the southwestern portion of Clinton will be submerged. A dike will be built several hundred feet

Below the falls, the Nashua winds along its course, now in the narrow interval of Lancaster Mills, now under the brow of Lover's Leap, the steep, rocky cliff of Harris Hill, now through the broader valley of the German Village, now close to the eastern slopes. After leaving the Oxbow on the south, the general course of the river for nearly two miles has been toward the northeast, but, here at Harrisville, its course changes to the northwest and, with this general direction, turns about toward every point of the compass as the outline of the hills and the nature of the soil dictates. So many are its windings, that the total length of the river in the town is over five miles, or more than twice the air-line distance from its entrance to its exit. The average breadth of the stream below the Lancaster Mills dam, as judged from many careful measurements, cannot be less than seventy feet, while the average depth would scarcely exceed four feet. Besides the descent of the river at Lancaster Mills, already noted as available for water power, there is another of four and two-tenths feet which was utilized by the Harris comb factory and is now under control of Lancaster Mills.

Within the next mile and a half, there is another descent of six and eight-tenths feet. The total descent of the river within the limits of Clinton is forty-one and eight-tenths feet, making no allowance for the setting back of the water by the damming of the stream beyond the northern boundary. This would give a total available force of about one thousand horse power. The south branch of the Nashua joins the north branch in Lancaster, and the united waters

north of Sandy Pond, extending from Main street, with a slight interruption at the Catholic cemetery, to the western limit of the town. By these dikes the water can be raised sixty feet above the present level of Sandy Pond. Burditt and Wilson Hills will form natural boundaries on the northeast, and another dike will be built to the south of Clamshell Pond. These dikes will have a total length of about two miles. The volume of water in the river below the dam will, of course, be greatly lessened,

flow northward to the Merrimac. In former times, the united streams were known as the Penecook.

There are two islands in the stream below the dam at Harrisville, each of several acres in extent. One is half a mile or more from the dam, the other is near the boundary of Lancaster. These islands have been formed by changes in the course of the stream, and the force of the current now passes upon the eastern side of the first and the western side of the second, while the bodies of water on the opposite sides are so motionless that they are known as "dead" rivers.

The intervale, with its varying breadth, is usually several feet above the surface of the river. In times of heavy freshets, however, considerable portions of the lowlands are overflowed. The surface of this intervale land is level, except where there are depressions marking the former bed of the constantly changing stream. There are several lagoons filled with still water connected at one end with the stream and thus making the intermediate step between the "dead" river and the depression. The intervale between Woodruff Heights and the Plain is about two hundred and forty feet above sea level. Currier's Flats are at their lowest point only two hundred and thirty-four feet above sea level. The quiet beauty of this valley below Harrisville is heightened by the noble trees, elms, maples and buttonwoods, which grow in the open meadows. There are some beeches which are slowly falling victims to the stream which is washing away the soil from beneath their gnarled roots. This intervale is the most fertile portion of the town.

The river receives the waters of several small brooks from the east during the wet season, but most of these are dry during a considerable portion of the year. Carville's Brook, in the southern part of the town, is the only one of these worthy of particular mention. The tributaries from the west are much more important. These are Mine Swamp and Spring Brooks, near the southern boundary of the town,

and South Meadow Brook, near the northern boundary. Goodrich, or Gutteridge Brook, after flowing through the northwestern corner of Clinton, enters the river near the Lancaster line.

That portion of Clinton southeast of the Nashua differs greatly in its physical characteristics and associations from the rest of the town. Instead of the sand formation, the quartzite and the slate, which appear elsewhere, the eruptive granite is found, and the drainage seeks the Merrimac through the Concord rather than through the Nashua.

Beginning in the extreme southeast, we find ledges of dark green hornblende appearing among fertile meadows in the scarcely distinguishable crest of the watershed. At the foot of this slight elevation, a little stream flows toward Berlin or North Brook, a tributary of the Assabet. On the western side of the watershed, lies Carville's Pond, an artificial body of water some five acres in area and from four to six feet in depth. This pond is fed by springs and has its outlet in Carville's Brook, a little stream, scarcely half a mile in length, which finds its way down the hillside through a beautiful ravine into the Nashua.

As we go from the pond toward the north and east, we climb the southern slope of a hill covered with ledges and boulders of coarse granite abounding in huge crystals of feldspar. On reaching the summit of this hill, which is five hundred feet or more above sea level, we look down upon Clamshell Pond, a natural sheet of water, which lies in a basin made by the surrounding hills. This pond is thirty acres in extent and somewhat resembles a clamshell in shape. The name may have come from this or from the fact that mussels abound here. It is for the most part shallow, but has in the center a depth of thirty feet. The muddy bottom is filled along the shore with the roots of pond lilies, and in midsummer thousands of the white sweet-scented blossoms rise from its dark waters. The pond has no visible inlet in the dry

season, but is fed by springs, which bring the underground drainage of the neighboring hills. It has one tiny outlet on the south, which has before been spoken of as flowing into the Assabet through Berlin or North Brook. On the southern side of the pond, is a boulder weighing many tons, which was formerly so delicately balanced that a child could sway it, but a portion of it has recently been broken off so that the equilibrium has been lost and it is no longer a "Rocking Stone." In this section, as elsewhere throughout the town, the oak is the most common tree, but the chestnut frequently appears, scattered over the cleared land or gathered in groves. In July, when these trees are covered with tasseled blossoms, the air is laden with their heavy fragrance and in autumn, an abundance of nuts falls from the prickly burrs, when they are opened by the early frosts. There are here, too, as elsewhere, occasional groves of pine and maple, and a few birches, poplars and elms appear.

This hill, which may well be called Wilder Hill, as the Wilders were the first settlers in this region, continues to the northward on the east of the river. After going down a slight depression, it rises again to another crest known as Wilson Hill. Here, one is greeted by a succession of picturesque views. The Nashua lies more than two hundred feet below, with its waters gleaming under the gray crags of Rattlesnake Ledge, and the valley stretches away to the north until the blue hills of New Hampshire bound the range of vision. This elevation continues with a considerable descent toward the northeast, so near to the south branch of the Nashua that it sometimes forces the drainage within less than a quarter of a mile from that river, into the distant Assabet. Finally, the hill sinks into a more level area, the southern end of which is called the Acre. This plain extends for nearly a mile in length and grows more narrow toward the north. Here granite suitable for building purposes has been quarried and the soil is fairly fertile.

Now the river turning toward the west leaves in the

northeastern part of the town a tract of sand formation nearly a square mile in extent. Ledges of argillite or slate appear in this at Woodruff Heights and half a mile to the north. From Woodruff Heights, one can look to the southeast up the winding valley of the river, while to the west and northwest is spread out a beautiful panorama of valley, plain and hill with the horizon line from fifteen to forty miles away. This area of sand formation is generally wooded with oak, with a slight mixture of chestnut, maple and pine. At the bluff above the island in the extreme northern portion of the town, there is a grove of hemlock. At the foot of this bluff, lies the river, with its two arms encircling the island; then there is a broad green interval, and beyond to the south and southwest, the Plain and the hillslopes covered with homes.

Returning once more to the southern portion of the town, let us examine the western tributaries which it gives to the Nashua, and the watersheds which they drain. Mine Swamp Brook is the first of these. Entering the town from Sterling and flowing easterly for more than a mile through Clinton woods and meadows, it empties into the river a short distance from the Boylston line. It has been dammed some half a mile or more above the Nashua so as to form a small pond a few acres in extent, known as Cunningham's Mill Pond. The flow of this brook has been estimated at two million gallons per day.

A smaller stream flows into the river only a few rods to the north of Mine Swamp Brook. It is less than half a mile in length. From the nature of its source, it is known as Spring Brook, for it rises in a small swamp where there are many springs. The largest of these has an opening four inches in diameter, through which the water bubbles up with great force. Besides sending from half a million to a million gallons a day through Spring Brook, these springs pour a considerable portion of their outflow into Mine Swamp Brook.

An inquiry naturally arises as to the source of these springs. The swamp, in which they lie, is bounded on the north and west by steep hills. As we climb the slope to the northwest, we look down on the brooks, flowing through peaceful meadows lying between the hill on which we stand and those of Boylston, and still further to the east, lies the broad expanse of the river and the rocky brow of Wilder Hill juts out above the charming valley of Carville's Brook. As we reach the summit of the slope and find an opening through the evergreen trees with which it is covered, the source of the springs is at once revealed, for we see upon the opposite side from the swamp a large sheet of water. This is known as Sandy Pond. We seem to be standing upon an irregular, natural dam, with a breadth of less than a hundred feet at the top on the west and flaring toward the base and widening toward the east. This dam rises thirty feet or more above the pond and over forty above the swamp. It is evident that the springs are the leakage of the pond through the porous soil that lies at the base of the natural dam.

In the middle of the present century, Sandy Pond was connected with a series of other ponds, natural and artificial, to form a reservoir for the Clinton Company. When this connection was made, the mud emptied into the pond was deposited in a thin layer on its bottom. Before, it had been covered with sand, which could everywhere be seen through the deepest water. Hence came the name Sandy Pond. The pond has no visible inlet, but must be fed by springs which receive the drainage of the porous sandy hills by which it is surrounded. Its watershed is estimated at one hundred and fifty-seven acres. The water in the pond was raised some eight feet by its connection with the reservoir, and its area was thus slightly increased. As measured by Thomas Doane in 1878, this area was forty-seven and seven hundred and eighty-eight thousandths acres. The distance around the pond, according to the same authority, was one and one-

fifth miles. It will be seen from this relation of perimeter to area that the shore has few irregularities of outline.

From many soundings, the average depth after going five rods from the shore was found to be a little less than forty feet. The greatest depth found was forty-three feet. This was in the southwestern part of the pond at a distance of about ten rods from the shore. Thus the basin is shaped somewhat like a milk pan with flaring sides. These sides slope most gradually in the northeastern portion and most rapidly in the southwestern, where, in one spot, a depth of forty-two feet was found only three rods from the shore. The water of the pond is cold, pure and sparkling. Few plants grow in it and fish are scarce. The steeply sloping, but not lofty hills, upon the shores are, for the most part, covered with oaks, but chestnut, maples and birches are abundant and there is a delightful grove of hemlocks and pines upon the southern shore.

To the southwest of Sandy Pond, we find four small bodies of water. Three of these are only from two to three acres in extent, while the fourth is a little larger. It is said, that the waters of these ponds rise and fall with Sandy Pond, always agreeing with it in level, thus showing a common source or some underground connection. There is no doubt that this is true of the one nearest to it. All these smaller ponds are surrounded by steep slopes resembling those of the large pond. Like it none of them have any visible inlets or outlets, but they differ from it in having very muddy bottoms. Jewett's Pond is only half a dozen rods distant from Sandy. It has an island in the center made of moss and intertwining roots. Holes can be made through this island so as to fish in the water beneath. This island occupies a large part of the pond. The water is alive with horn-pouts, turtles and watersnakes. The three other ponds are near to each other and only a short distance from Mine Swamp Brook. They are much more attractive than Jewett's, being set like gems in the midst of the green hills.

One of these, lying farthest to the southwest, is sometimes called Howe's Duck Pond. It is twice as large as any one of the other three. Its beauty is increased by a picturesque tongue of land jutting into it from the south. These ponds, as well as Sandy, may be considered as belonging by nature to the system of Mine Swamp and Spring Brooks, since there is little doubt that their leakage naturally finds its way into the river through these channels.

Granite ledges crop out near the spot where the brooks enter the river, but most of the watershed, within Clinton limits, is covered to a considerable depth with sand deposited upon a slate foundation. There are several depressions among these sand hills that look as if they might formerly have been filled with water like the pond basins of which we have already spoken. Two of these near the river are especially interesting. This same sand formation prevails to the west and northwest of Sandy Pond.*

As there are no other tributaries of the Nashua in the southern part of the town, we can best understand the general nature of its surface by passing at once to the tributaries in the northern section. A stream known as Dean's, Goodrich or Gutteridge Brook, after having flowed for nearly a mile through Clinton territory, enters the river from the west, just beyond the boundary line within the limits of Lancaster. This stream rises in the Sterling hills and passes through the Deer's Horns district in Lancaster. In this district are the Four Ponds and two mill privileges. There was formerly another mill half a mile or more down the stream. Soon after leaving Four Ponds, the valley of the brook is bounded on the south by the high sand terrace upon which the Driving Park is situated. Further on, a similar terrace

* The physical features of this district have been presented more minutely, as it will soon be submerged by the waters of the Metropolitan Reservoir and thus pass from the memory of man.

appears upon the northern side of the stream. Standing upon the point of the southern terrace which projects to the northeast, we can look back through the valley. The plain of the terrace, half a mile away to the north, is nearly at a level with that on which we are standing. The brook, flowing a hundred feet below, is hidden by the alders and maples that grow along its banks, between the evergreen pines and hemlocks that fill the slopes and crowd down toward the stream. Turning toward the east, we see the lower valley, which lies within Clinton territory, spread out before us. To the southeast lies Sylvan Grove, separated from us by a depression, through which, in the wet season, a little branch joins the main brook. To the northeast are the gently sloping hills of South Lancaster, while between are the meadows and a shallow pond of some four acres in extent. From this, the stream passes under the Boston & Maine Railroad. Then there is another pond with an area of about an acre. These ponds form the reservoir for Fuller's Saw Mill. The fall of the stream at this point is sixteen feet, which gives a water privilege of some ten horse power during nine months in a year. The brook now enters the interval of the Nashua and soon after empties its waters into the river.

The terrace plain on which the Driving Park is situated forms the crest of the watershed between Goodrich Brook on the northwest and South Meadow and Rigby Brooks on the southeast. It is more than a mile in length, and in some places above half a mile in breadth. Only the eastern part of it is in Clinton. In general, the surface is remarkably level, but there are numerous gullies along the edges. Fine views of the valley of Rigby Brook, with the town of Clinton in the background, can be obtained from the hospital grounds near the southeastern edge of the terrace.

Rigby Brook is for the most part formed from springs which originate in the underground leakage of Mossy Pond. This pond, like Clamshell and Sandy with its little com-

panions, is natural, while all the other Clinton ponds have been made by damming the streams. The area of Mossy Pond, as it is today, is thirty-three and four hundred and thirty-seven thousandths acres. In its natural state, however, it was considerably less. It is very irregular in outline. The shores in general rise abruptly from the waters to a height of twenty feet or more. Not far from the opposite side of the pond, there is a long narrow island. Another, formerly known as the "Floating Island," from its change of position, was in 1888 in part attached to the mainland southeast of the coffer dam, while the other section was many rods further to the south. Both parts were composed of moss and roots which made a mat of varying thickness. This yielded beneath the feet and a pole could be thrust through it into the water below. Bushes and even trees grew upon these islands, and they were the chosen home of the pitcher plant and Labrador tea. These islands are now more broken up and lie along the southern shore of the pond. The name of this pond is derived from the thick moss with which the bottom is covered.

The pond, before it was joined to the Clinton Company's reservoir, had no permanent inlet, but, like all our other natural ponds, was fed by springs. Its leakage into Rigby Brook now passes underground through springs which bubble up a few rods below the dam. The water of the brook is strongly impregnated with iron, which covers its surface with iridescent hues and appears as a thick ochrey deposit on the bottom. Previous to the freshet of 1876, this stream furnished water for a tannery on Sterling Street and gave power for three small comb shops near North Main Street where several little artificial ponds were strung along its rapidly descending course. Less than a mile from its source, it joins South Meadow Brook, and the united waters of the two fill the five-acre reservoir of Fuller's Pond, and furnish a water privilege of ten horse power for Rodger's Mill. The waters of the brook below Rodger's Mill pass through Currier's Flat and then enter into the river.

Originally there was a loose, natural dam at the northern end of Mossy Pond. This had been strengthened a little by the Clinton Company, when the ponds were connected and their level raised. But in the spring of 1876, this dam broke away and Mossy Pond, together with the whole reservoir with which it had been joined, was precipitated, an irresistible flood into the valley of Rigby Brook. It swept away all the dams and manufacturing buildings along its course. The rebuilding of the dam restored the former condition of Mossy Pond, but the smaller dams, except the one at Fuller's Pond, have never been replaced.

Returning to Mossy Pond, we find between it and Sandy Pond, which lies more than half a mile away to the south, an irregularly shaped, low lying tract of land now filled with water, but formerly a swamp and meadow. That section which is to the southwest of Mossy Pond was known as South Meadow. Through it flowed a stream which was known as South Meadow Brook. A boy could easily jump across it. This stream was formed in the meadow near the present Lancaster line by the union of two water courses which drained the Sterling and Lancaster hills west of the present Clinton boundary. Doubtless, this brook received some additions from the leakage of Mossy Pond, and as it turned northward around the ledges of slate which underlie the southern spur of Cemetery Hill, it also drained the swamp west of Burditt Hill, into which some water probably oozed from Sandy Pond. To the east of Cemetery Hill, there was a considerable descent in the stream, and here a dam was built and a little pond formed in very early times. After various changes, early in the nineteenth century Poignand & Plant raised the dam and enlarged the pond. They also dug a canal, or enlarged one previously made through the swamp to Sandy Pond, that they might use its waters. It was nearly the middle of the century before the Clinton Company constructed a dam which flowed the whole

swamp and meadow and made Sandy and Mossy Ponds a part of its great united reservoir.

The body of water which filled the swamp to the west of Burditt Hill was called "Coachlace," or "Clinton Mill" Pond. It is a mile in length and of varying breadth. Its depth is so small at the southern end that in the dry season a boat can hardly find its way among the decaying stumps which mark the position of the trees that grew in the swamp, but near the dam at the northern end, where the Factory Pond used to be; the depth in some places exceeds twenty feet. There is another little pond known as Duck Harbor Pond which is separated from Coachlace by the Boston & Maine Railroad. The area of these two ponds together is sixty-five and four hundred and one thousandths acres. This railroad also forms the division line between Coachlace and South Meadow Ponds. The latter pond is divided into two parts by the South Meadow Road. The section to the east of the road has an acreage of forty and seven hundred and twenty-nine thousandths. This section of South Meadow Pond is for the most part separated from Mossy Pond by a large, well-wooded peninsular from which the coffer dam before mentioned runs to the mainland.

The section of South Meadow Pond west of the road has an extent of forty-five and three hundred and twenty-one thousandths acres. The two streams from the western hills which we have spoken of as formerly joining to form South Meadow Brook, now pour into this western division of the pond within the limits of Lancaster. The larger of these drains the hills to the southwest and the smaller comes from the northwest. The whole storage basin includes two hundred and thirty-two and six hundred and seventy-six thousandths acres, and drains a watershed of over three thousand. The flow line of the Bigelow Carpet Company is three hundred and twenty-six and seven hundred and eighty-one thousandths feet above sea level. The fall at the water wheel of the Company is forty-three feet from the full pond.

The brook flows on for nearly half a mile below Coachlace Pond, between Cemetery Hill on the west and Burditt and Harris Hills upon the east, until another descent offers another opportunity for a water privilege. Here a dam was constructed and a mill built in 1653, and for over a century and a half this mill and its successor formed the business centre of the town. The pond made by the dam at this point was known in more recent years as Counterpane Pond. This pond became a nuisance as the town became thickly settled, because the sewerage was poured into it from the higher land around. The Bigelow Carpet Company gained control of the water privileges and gradually contracted the area of the pond. In 1890, the dam was destroyed and the pond disappeared altogether. The fall from this pond was sixty-two feet and the water privilege was estimated to give forty horse power. The stream flows on for another half mile from the point where this dam formerly stood before it receives the waters of Rigby Brook.

The elevation which forms the water-shed between Rigby and South Meadow Brooks reaches its highest point in Cemetery Hill. The eastern part of this elevation has in a large measure been leveled, and thus Chapel and Liberty Hills, which stood on either side of Main Street, just south of its junction with Water, have disappeared. To the north, this elevation sinks to the terrace plain of North Main Street, but is still considerably above the valley of South Meadow Brook.

It remains to speak of the tract between South Meadow Brook and its reservoirs on the west and the Nashua on the east. Beginning at the north, we find, near the mouth of South Meadow Brook above the intervale already mentioned as Currier's Flats, a tongue of land known as the Plain. This is about half a mile in length and in the southern part more than half as much in breadth. The elevation of this plain is three hundred and eleven feet above sea level at the

junction of High and Water Streets. It slopes gradually toward the north until it sinks suddenly to the intervalle two hundred and thirty-five feet above sea level. The sand formation prevails here, as in all the terrace plains of which we have before spoken, and from either side, we can look down from steep bluffs on the water course below.

As we reach the old basin of Counterpane Pond on the west and the northward bend in the river on the east, the plain ends and we have a hill with a general rise from the pond to Swinscoe's Bluff, which overlooks the river to the north and east.

Going southward from Swinscoe's Bluff along the crest of the elevation, after a slight depression, we rise towards the summit of Harris Hill. The river is here flowing half a mile to the east of our course. The western slopes toward South Meadow Brook of about the same length are now thickly settled, but they were in earlier times covered with a densely wooded swamp. A clayey soil is found upon this slope to a considerable depth, except at one point a few rods northwest of the corner of Church and Walnut streets where the slate ledge crops out. The summit of the hill is composed of quartzite, which is divided from the granite by a clearly marked line, which extends southwesterly from the river along the ledge of Harris Hill to Rattlesnake Ledge of Burditt Hill. The ledge at Harris Hill has, at one part known as the Lover's Leap, an almost perpendicular descent of considerably over a hundred feet.*

*The following table of elevations above a sea level is taken from the road commissioners' map of the town :

Union Boston and Main Railroad and Sterling Street	307
" Church and Main	293.1
" " High	332.9
" " Chestnut	371.5
" " Cedar	439.8
" Chestnut and Mechanic	354
" Franklin and School	404.3
" Park and Winter	500

To the north, from this hill-top, stretches the broad far-reaching expanse of the valley of the Nashua. To the east, lie the Bolton hills with the river near at hand. To the south, the Lancaster Mills' Pond reposing between the lofty hills adds a most unique and picturesque feature to the landscape. To the west, the calm majesty of Wachusett crowns the prospect and the setting sun bathes the mountain and the whole intervening valley in matchless beauty.

Pursuing our course along the crest of the elevation, we pass through a depression between Harris and Burditt Hills. To our right lies a narrow valley formerly known as Slab Meadow, now occupied by the Bigelow Carpet mill. We ascend the steep side of Burditt Hill with an ever widening prospect opening below us. Now, we have reached Point Lookout, the northeasterly elevation of the hill. Passing over or around the little peat meadow which lies to the southwest, we reach the highest crest of the hill about five hundred and twenty feet above sea level. The prospect to the north and west is impeded by the trees and the breadth of the hill-top, but to the east, the Lancaster Mills' Pond lies at the foot of Rattlesnake Ledge. To the south, the eye traverses a mile of oak and chestnut forest to the valley of Mine Swamp Brook, from which, it rises to the hills of Boylston.

Moving a few rods northward from the highest point, we come to the northern brow of the hill which is now occupied by the reservoir of the Clinton water supply. The surface of the water is five hundred and eight feet above sea level. Here, although the breadth of the hill-top obstructs the view of everything that is situated near the base, yet the distant panorama lies spread out in charming variety. To the east, we see Wilder and Wilson Hills with their lower prolongation to the northward, beyond rises Snake Hill in Berlin and the spires of Marlboro can be seen above the forests. Further to the north lies the highest point between Wachusett and the ocean, Wataquadock Hill in Bolton. Then the eye pauses for a moment on the village of Still River, resting so



WESTERN VIEW FROM RESERVOIR ON BURDITT HILL.
Mt. Wachusett in the Distance.

peacefully on the southern slopes of the hills of Harvard. If we turn to the west, we can catch glimpses of the ponds. Beyond are the hills of Boylston, Lancaster and Sterling, with those of Holden, Rutland and Princeton in the background. Turning still further northward, we come to Little Wachusett, and finally to the grand old mountain itself. Following on to the north come the many elevations of Lancaster, Leominster, Fitchburg and Lunenburg, and in the distance, one can scarcely distinguish the dim blue of Monadnock from the sky, with which it seems to mingle. We bring our eyes downward through the valley until we rest them upon the borders of our own town.

The physical characteristics of Clinton, which we have been considering in detail, we are now able to view more comprehensively. We can see the position of the town in relation to its surroundings, a position, which makes it a natural center of trade for the farming regions round about and at the same time gives to its inhabitants opportunities for a remarkable variety of beautiful drives and walks. We can see the ever changing surface of hill and plain and valley, a continual source of delight to those who enjoy the charms of nature and a means of health to those who would live in the purer air above the fogs of pond and river. We can see how these hills, in and about the town, make it easy to obtain, store and distribute water and carry away the drainage and sewerage. We can see how the river and its tributaries passing through these hills must naturally furnish abundant water power, a water power which was the incentive to the first settlement and earlier development of the town, and is still an important factor in its industrial prosperity.

CHAPTER II.

SCIENTIFIC NOTES.

THE student of nature, unsatisfied with the outline of the physical geography of the town, may wish to inquire more closely into the work of natural forces in the past.

Such a student can find in the surface rocks of Clinton no record of any time earlier than the Carboniferous Age, save in the hornblende-schist in the southeast corner of the town. Near the beginning of this age, untold centuries ago, the quartzite rock which appears in the eastern ledges of Harris and Burditt Hills, was deposited by a vast body of water, reaching from New Hampshire through Massachusetts, towards Connecticut and Rhode Island. Here, the water must have been at least several miles in breadth, as this same bed of quartzite appears again far to the west of Clinton limits. This quartzite, which often shows the structure of conglomerate, was deposited in the form of sand, with occasional layers of small pebbles, but as the movement of the water became retarded, the sediment was deposited in the finer form of clay. Layer by layer through long periods of geologic time, this clay grew to a great thickness.

In certain places, like the present top of Burditt Hill, the water sank, or the land rose, so that portions of the clay bed appeared as morasses, or swamps, which supported the vegetation characteristic of the age. The remains of this vegetation are still found in the mixture of anthracite and graphite which occurs in the slate, made from the clay.

While the structure of these rocks and their composition show that they are formed of sand and clay deposited from water, while their position in their relations to other rocks gives evidence of the time of their deposit, while the shape of the bed proves much regarding the shape and size of the body of water which dropped one by one the grains of sand and clay of which the quartzite and slate are composed, yet the rocks in themselves have not been found to contain any fossils to reveal the life of the time. In Worcester, however, in the same deposits, certain fossils have been found. The coal beds of various regions, which were a product of the same age, enable us to know many of the growths, of which our formless graphite and anthracite are the only relics left to us here. There were the cone-bearing trees, distantly allied to those of the present; the lycopodium, similar to our ground pines, but woody in structure and growing to a great height; ferns, some low and herbaceous, like those which grow here today, others like the tree fern in size, with fronds six feet or more in length; calamites, resembling our jointed rushes, but growing many times as tall; above all, the sigillaria with their branchless trunks, rising sixty feet in the air and covered with long, narrow leaves. These were some of the characteristic growths of the Carboniferous Age. From this luxuriant vegetation, were stored up the coal and oil for the future use of man. Such were the growths from which our graphite was made. The fact that the amount of graphite is small in this locality does not prove a meagreness of vegetation, but simply shows that the conditions were not favorable for its preservation, in other words, that the vegetable matter decayed because it was not kept from the oxygen of the air. Just when the clay and sand were hardened into slate and quartzite is unknown, but the change must have occurred before the close of the Carboniferous Period, and was due to forces which affected the whole of New England.

Sometime between the close of the Carboniferous Period

and the beginning of the Triassic, the molten interior of the earth gave birth to forces too strong to be resisted by the rocks above. An equilibrium was restored by the molten mass intruding into the crust and melting, or metamorphosing all that came in contact with it. As it cooled, it formed the granite rock, which appears as an oval of a mile or more in width to the east of Harris and Burditt Hills, and in various other places in this vicinity. That this rock is igneous in its nature is proved by the fact that it has no stratification except such as came from banding caused by pressure. Indeed, the rock on the hill to the west of Clamshell Pond is so evidently igneous in its origin, that the farmers of the region were accustomed to call it volcanic before it had been examined by a scientist. The metamorphism which occurred when the molten mass came in contact with the schist, quartzite and argillite, made many changes in the rocks, which vary from entire melting and re-cooling with crystallization, to scarcely noticeable modifications.

An examination of the map will show that the bed of slate, or argillite, underlies all that part of the town northwest of Burditt and Harris Hills. This bed of slate reaches to the Sterling hills. It grows more narrow to the south in Boylston, and broadens to the north in Lancaster. This slate is bounded on the east and west by quartzite. This quartzite, as it appears on the crest of Harris Hill, is only a few rods in width. There is a geologic fault to the east of Burditt Hill, at the Oxbow. The slate and the quartzite each appear to the east of their natural position. To the east of this fault, there is a small area of hornblende-schist. This schist divides the granite to the north and south into two great areas lying to the east of the quartzite. The line of contact between the granite and quartzite can be traced with this single interruption from northeastward of Clinton limits along the crests of Harris and Burditt Hills, far to the southward. Beyond this granite, in Bolton, Berlin and

Northboro, is a mica-schist, which is known as the Brimfield fibrolite graphite schist. Still further to the east, is the Bolton gneiss with occasional masses of limestone. Calcite is also found in the slate east of the river. The Brimfield schist and Bolton gneiss are Silurian in their origin.

No traces now remain of any bed-rock formed in this territory after this intrusion, and indeed thousands of feet in thickness of the schist, quartzite and slate, and even some of the intruding granite have since been worn away by the action of various chemical and physical forces. If, at any point near the center of the town, west of the quartzite ledge, we should bore down deeply into the earth, we should first pass through the slate, then the quartzite, and then reach the granite. If there had been no erosion, the slate and the quartzite would probably lie upon the granite now exposed to a depth of thousands of feet.

All geological record ceases in this section after the changes which came from the intrusion of the granite. Age after age, each many thousands of years in duration, passed by and left no trace that the scientist of today can discover. It is not until we approach the age of man, at the close of the Post-Tertiary Period, that we again find evidence of the working of the forces of nature. These forces were so destructive in their character that they must of necessity have destroyed all vestiges of previous action, unless these were very deeply embedded in the rocks.

Certain astronomical changes, accompanied, it may be, by the elevation of the northern part of North America, so lowered the mean average temperature that the eastern half of the United States, as far south as Pennsylvania, was covered with fields of ice called glaciers. The action of the glaciers on the mountain tops proves that these must have been several thousand feet in thickness. These glaciers moved slowly southward, pressed on by the accumulating mass from behind. The vast weight of the moving ice ground up the softer rocks on which it pressed, and boulders,

large and small, loosened and torn up by the solid current, were carried along grinding and breaking other rocks, while they in their turn, were ground and broken by them. The material, thus loosened and ground, was transported southward. Such was the origin of most of the loose rocks, gravel, sand and clay which lie above the bed-rocks of Clinton and all the northeastern portion of America today. These materials have been much modified since in character and distribution by chemical action and the physical forces of heat and gravitation acting through air and water.

Our town is peculiarly rich in evidences of glacial action. In the argillite rocks to the east of North Main Street, along Rigby Brook, there are distinct grooves made by the glaciers. These vary from several feet to less than an inch in depth, and their breadth is usually from three to ten times their depth. These grooves are parallel to each other and run from north to south. There are also many glacial scratches on other rocks. As the argillite has been covered since the glacial period until the "Washaway" of 1876, by a mass of gravel, these grooves and scratches have not been obliterated by the forces that worked upon the exposed rocks, and thus they still record to the seeing eye as plainly as the pen of man could do, the direction and enormous power of the forces that produced them. Not only were these little grooves made, but the continual action of this grinding force, working through long periods of time, greatly lowered the level of all our softer rocks. It helped prepare a valley for the course of the Nashua. The combination of the pressed granite and hardened quartzite in the ledges of Harris and Burditt Hills, was able to divide the bottom of the southward moving ice, so that a part ground its way through the granite at the east, and a part through the slate at the west, leaving the resisting crest of the hills much higher than the valley on either side.

The materials transported hither by the glaciers, can in many cases be traced to the very ledges from which they

came. The frequently occurring boulders of slate, containing the white, cross-shaped crystals of chialstolite were once a part, in all probability, of the ledges on George Hill, of Lancaster. The boulders and pebbles, containing dark, column shaped crystals of tourmaline, were originally broken from the Fitchburg granite. The hard, heavy boulders of dark green trap, the rusty exteriors of which show that they abound in iron, are followed to their source with more difficulty, but they doubtless came from some of the many dikes of that igneous rock which are found in the hills and mountains to the northeast of Clinton. On the farm of Eli Sawyer, east of Chace Street, is an immense granite boulder with well rounded sides, weighing many hundred tons. By Clamshell Pond is the rock formerly known as the Rocking Stone. There are many other notable single rocks transported by the ice and left in spots which they never could have reached by any other known method than that under consideration.

The general mass of rocks, gravel, sand and clay transported by the glaciers, containing materials which could not have originated where they now rest, or from any ledges to the south of their present location, is the most conclusive evidence that they must have been brought from the ledges, which contain similar materials, to the north, by some mighty force such as is only to be found in the glacial action. This mass of materials called by the geologist by the suggestive name of drift, covers most of the ledges of Clinton. Sometimes, it has been left in the moraines as huge hills, sometimes, it is spread out more evenly and, sometimes, has been sifted and arranged by the action of water into flat terraces.

It is possible that the deep holes in the southwestern part of the town, in two of which are contained Sandy Pond and Howe's Duck Pond, were made by enormous masses of ice which were left buried in the drift as the glaciers retreated northward.

After the temperature became modified, the water produced by the melting of this great mass of ice several thou-

sand feet in thickness and covering half a continent, was added to the usual rainfall. The rivers were of necessity very much larger than they are now. Moreover they had not yet worn out their channels, and met with frequent obstructions which dammed their onward courses. As a result of these conditions, there were immense rivers and a great abundance of lakes and ponds.

Most of the present territory of Clinton was under water. The tops of Burditt and Harris Hills appeared as two islands which were afterwards united into one, as some obstruction or natural dam gave way and the waters were lowered. The river or lake with its frequent overflows, deposited on its sides, and more particularly upon the intervalles beyond its banks, a vast mass of the sand, washed out by its current from the drift through which it flowed. The sand upon these intervalles took the form of terraces, which became lower as the obstructions to the stream gave way one after another. The highest of these terrace formations now observable, appears in the Trotting Park, Swincoe's Bluff and the sand hill along the river above Carter's Mill. These are of nearly the same level. These terraces have been much worn by streams running down their sides, and thus their margins have been made irregular. Goodrich, Rigby and South Meadow Brooks helped to wear away this sand formation and hollowed out great valleys for themselves. In time, some other natural obstruction gave way just as the dam of Mossy Pond gave way in 1876, and the waters reached a new level. The next prominent terrace marking a decline in the river is known as the Plain. The western end of this is gullied by the valleys of South Meadow and Rigby Brooks. The last great terrace is the present river intervalle reaching with varying width from Currier's Flats to Lancaster Mills.*

* No fossils have been found in the drift or alluvial deposits of Clinton to show the character of the animals or plants of the period, but in the

As the mineralogy of the section has been treated in connection with the geology nothing more need be added except a brief summary. There are only four kinds of rock in the ledges of Clinton: hornblende-schist, granite, quartzite and slate. Boulders of trap and mica-schist are found. None of these rocks have any commercial value except for rough stone work, as in walls and foundation stones. The hornblende-schist and trap or diabase, are both composed for the most part of hornblende, which is also found to a slight extent in some of the granite. Mica constitutes the main body of the mica-schist and is found in the granite. The varieties are biotite and muscovite. The quartzite is made of ground quartz, and this mineral is a large constituent of the granite, and occurs in all the other rocks and in the sand. Feldspar of the variety known as microcline is next to quartz the most important mineral in the granite. A large portion of the slate and clay are feldspathic in their origin. Graphite, anthracite coal and iron pyrites occur in the slate ledges. Chialtolite is found in the slate boulders from George Hill and tourmaline in the granite boulders from Fitchburg. Bog iron ore, washed from the slate and clay is found in our meadows. None of these minerals, as found here have much commercial value. There is plenty of sand, fitted for plaster, and some clay, suitable for bricks, and good material for road-making is abundant.

For a town of small area, Clinton has a good variety of vegetation. The soil in the southeastern part of the town is that characteristic of a granite foundation, that in the north-

neighboring town of Shrewsbury the remains of a huge mastadon were found in 1886. Geological changes are still going on; dams, natural and artificial, are still likely to be built or destroyed; the river is constantly its course; the rocks are still being disintegrated by chemical action and frost. The materials of the hills are being gradually carried into the valleys by the moving waters. The changes taking place in Clinton to-day differ from those in the past in degree more than in character.

western part is argillaceous in its nature. In some places on the terraces, the sand is only covered with the thinnest coating of light loam through which the moisture soon sinks and disappears. In other places, a thick, cold, heavy soil rests upon clay that is almost impervious to moisture. These two kinds of soil lie at the extremes, and the one gradually merges into the other. The soil is also modified by different varieties of leaf mould, recent deposits from the river and its tributaries and accumulations of peat and muck. We also have swamps and rocky hillsides, a river, brooks, and ponds with sandy, muddy and mossy bottoms and floating and stationary islands. From such a variety of conditions, a great variety of plant life must necessarily result.*

* This list contains nearly five hundred flowering plants found growing spontaneously in Clinton and vicinity. No sedges, grasses or flowerless plants are given. The following abbreviations are used: A., American; Can., Canadian; c., common; e., early; fl., flowered; l., leaved; p., purple; r., round; sm., small; sp., spotted; t., tall; Vir., Virginian.

Clematis, c.; Anemone, Vir., wood; Hepatica, r-lobed; Meadow-rue, e., t., p.; Rue-anemone; Buttercup, sm.-fl., hooked, e., t., creeping, bulbous; Marsh Marigold; Goldthread, 3-l; Columbine; Baneberry, red, white; Barberry, c.; Blue Cohosh; May-apple; Water Shield; Water Lily, sweet scented; Yellow Pond Lily; Pitcher Plant, p; Celandine; Blood-root; Corydalis, pale; Water Cress, c.; Marsh Cress; Horseradish; Bitter Cress, sm.; Rock Cress, Can.; Winter Cress, c.; Hedge Mustard, c.; Mustard, black; Shepherd's Purse; Peppergrass; Radish, jointed; Violet, round-l., lance-l., primrose-l., sweet white, hood-l., arrow-l., bird-foot-l., woody, downy yellow; Rock-rose, Can.; Pinweed, sm.; Sundew, r.-l.; St. John's Wort, elliptical-l., c., sm., Can., sp.; Marsh St. John's Wort; Soapwort; Cow-herb; Campion, bladder; Cockle, evening, corn; Sandwort; Chickweed, c., long-l.; Mouse-ear Chickweed, c., clammy, field; Sand Spurrey, red; Spurrey, corn; Indian Chickweed; Purslane, c.; Spring Beauty, broad-l.; Mallow, c., high, musk; Basswood, c.; Flax, c.; Cranesbill, sp., Carolina, Herb Robert; Balsam, pale, sp.; Wood Sorrel, yellow, true; Prickly Ash; Sumach, staghorn, smooth, dwarf; Poison Dogwood; Poison Ivy; Grape, fox, frost; Woodbine; Buckthorn, c.; Bittersweet, climbing; Maple, white, red, rock, striped, mountain; Milkwort, fringed, rose-p, whorled-l.; Lupine; Clover, rabbit-foot, red, white, yellow, low hop; Sweet Clover; Locust-tree, c., clammy;

In the past, considerable revenue has been derived from the woodlands. The pine was sawn into lumber, the chest-nut was made into railroad ties, and every variety of wood was cut for fuel. Little standing wood now remains, and what is left seems destined to soon disappear. The pastur-

Tick-Trefoil, r.-l., Can., paniced; Bush-Clover, violet; Vetch, c.; Ground-nut; Hog Peanut; Wild Indigo; Senna; Cherry, red, black, choke; Meadow-Sweet, c.; Hardhack; Agrimony, c.; Avens, white, p., Vir.; Cinquefoil, Can., Norway, silvery, shrubby; Strawberry, Vir., c.; Raspberry, p.-fl., dwarf, red, black; Blackberry, high, low, running; Rose, swamp, dwarf, c.; Sweet-brier; Hawthorn, scarlet-fruited; Chokeberry; Mountain-ash, A.; Gooseberry; Currant, fetid, black, red; Saxifrage, e., swamp; Mitre-wort, two-l.; False Mitre-wort; Golden Saxifrage; Ditch Stone-crop; Live-For-Ever; Witch-Hazel; Enchanter's Nightshade; Willow-herb, great, downy, colored; Evening Primrose, c.; Sundrops; False Loosestrife, alternate-l., swamp; One-seeded Star Cucumber; Carrot, c.; Archangelica, great; Meadow-parsnip, golden; Caraway; Water-Hemlock, sp.; Water-parsnip; Sweet Cicely, smooth, hairy; Poison Hemlock, sp.; Ginseng, dwarf; Spikenard; Sarsaparilla, bristly, naked-stemmed; Dogwood, flowering, paniced, silky, alternate-l.; Bunch-berry; Honeysuckle, fly, mountain-fly; Bush Honeysuckle, c.; Elder, c., red-berried; Viburnum, sweet, maple-leaved; Withe-rod; Cranberry-tree; Hobble-bush; Bedstraw, rough, sm., sweet-scented, narrow-l.; Button-bush; Partridge-berry; Innocence or Bluets; Iron-weed, c.; Blazing Star, c.; Thoroughwort, p., white; White Snake-root; White-topped Aster; Aster, corymbed, large-l., heart-l., wavy-l., smooth, red-stemmed, long-l., many-fl., bushy, New England, narrow-l., paniced, umbelled, willow-l.; Fleabane, c., daisy; Horse-weed; Robin's Plantain; Golden-rod, two-colored, broad-l., smooth, high, Can., narrow-l., elm-l., and innumerable other species; Elecampane, c.; Ragweed; Cone-flower, c.; Sunflower, c.; Bur-marigold, c., swamp, smaller, larger; Mayweed; Chamomile, corn; Yarrow; Ox-eye Daisy; Tansy, c.; Wormwood, c.; Mugwort, c.; Cudweed, c.; Everlasting, pearly, plantain-l.; Golden Ragwort; Thistle, c., Can.; Burdock; Chicory; Dwarf Dandelion; Fall Dandelion; Hawkweed, Can., rough, hairy, paniced; Rattlesnake-root; White Lettuce; Lion's-foot; Dandelion; Lettuce, Can.; Sow-thistle, spiny-l., field; Cardinal Flower; Indian Tobacco; Huckleberry; Dangleberry; Blueberry, dwarf, low, high; Cranberry, sm., large; Bearberry; Mayflower; Wintergreen; Leather Leaf; Andromeda; White Alder; Laurel, mountain, sheep, pale; Azalea, clammy, p.; Labrador Tea; Shin Leaf; One-fl. Pyrola; Prince's Pine; Indian Pipe; Pine-

age is still utilized to some slight extent. Thus our vegetation has little interest except to the scientist and lover of the beautiful. The subjoined list may serve to these as a reminder, by which they may call up volumes.

sap ; Plantain, c.; Star-flower ; Loosestrife, c., four-l., (stricta), (ciliata); Bladderwort, c.; Beech-drops ; Squaw-root ; Broom-rape ; Mullein, c, moth ; Toad-flax, Can., c.; Snake-head ; Monkey-flower ; Hedge Hysop, Vir., golden ; False Pimpernel ; Speedwell, c., thyme-leaved, corn ; Gerardia, p., yellow, oak-l.; Painted Cup ; Lousewort, c.; Cow-wheat ; Verbena, blue, white ; Blue Curls ; False Pennyroyal ; Spearmint ; Peppermint ; Wild Mint ; Bugle-weed ; Basil ; Pennyroyal, A ; Catnip ; Ground Ivy ; Self-heal ; Scullcap, mad-dog ; Hedge-Nettle, swamp ; Motherwort ; Comfrey, c.; Forget-me-not, true ; Hound's Tongue, c.; Bindweed, field ; Bracted Bindweed, hedge ; Dodder ; Nightshade, c.; Bittersweet ; Gentian, fringed, closed ; Buckbean ; Floating Heart ; Dogbane, spreading ; Indian Hemp ; Milkweed, c., poke, p., four-l., swamp ; Ash, white, black ; Wild Ginger, Can.; Pokeweed, c.; Goose-foot, white, maple-l.; Jerusalem Oak ; Amaranth, white ; Knotweed, Penn., erect ; Water-pepper ; Door-weed ; Halberd-leaved Tear-thumb ; Arrow-leaved T ; Black Bind-weed ; Buckwheat ; Dock, bitter, sm.; Sheep Sorrel ; Sassafras ; Spice-bush ; Leatherwood ; Bastard Toad-flax ; Spurge, sp.; Three-seeded Mercury ; Elm, slippery, white ; Nettle, c, graceful ; Wood-nettle ; Richweed ; False Nettle ; Hop, c.; Buttonwood ; Butternut ; Shagbark ; Pignut ; Oak, white, chestnut, scrub, scarlet, black, red ; Chestnut, A.; Beech, A.; Hazelnut, A.; Hop Hornbeam, Vir.; Iron-wood, A.; Bayberry ; Sweet Gale ; Sweet Fern ; Birch, black, white, yellow ; Alder, speckled ; Willow, prairie, glaucous, silky, heart-l, black, white ; Basket Osier ; Poplar, A., long-toothed ; Balm of Gilead ; Pine, pitch, white ; Spruce, black ; Hemlock ; Tamarack, A.; Juniper, c.; Red Cedar ; Jack-in-the-pulpit ; Wild Calla ; Skunk Cabbage ; Sweet Flag ; Cat-tail, c.; Bur-reed, great ; Horn Pond-weed ; Pondweed, swimming ; Water-plantain ; Arrow-head, variable ; Showy Orchis ; Rein Orchis, ragged-fringed, purple-fringed ; Rattlesnake Plantain, creeping, downy ; Ladies' Tresses (cernua), (gracilis); Arethusa ; Pogonia ; Calopogon ; Lady's Slipper, showy, stemless ; Star-grass ; Blue Flag ; Blue-eyed Grass ; Greenbrier, c.; Carrion Flower ; Trillium, erect, nodding, pointed ; Cucumber-root ; False Hellebore ; Bellwort, (perfoliata); Wild Oats ; Twisted-stalk, rosy ; Clintonia, northern ; False Solomon's Seal, racemed, two-l.; Solomon's Seal ; Lily, wood, yellow ; Dog's-tooth Violet ; Wood Rush, field ; Rush, c., Can., acuminate ; Pickerel-weed ; Yellow-eyed Grass,

The zoology of Clinton is also chiefly interesting from the point of view of the scientist, sportsman and lover of the beautiful in nature. The most prominent exceptions to this general statement is to be found in the pests, which cause so much trouble in our houses, gardens and orchards. A study of these pests and the best methods for exterminating them, would have more economic value than the study of all the denizens of the woods and streams. For the most part, they have followed rather than preceded the coming of civilized man, and new ones are even now occasionally added to the list.

The Nashua formerly abounded in salmon, shad and alewives in their season, but these are of the past. The trout, too, has practically disappeared, although it may still be occasionally found by the knowing angler. The pickerel is the only game fish that remains, and this is not very abundant. The hornpout, eel and perch are caught to some slight extent for table use, while the sucker, the bream, and different varieties of shiners abound.

Among the batrachia, the usual varieties of turtles, lizards, salamanders, frogs and toads are found. A specimen of the box turtle, which was supposed to have become extinct long ago, was recently captured.

Of the reptiles, the rattlesnake has not been seen for nearly a century, and only harmless snakes remain. Of these the water snake, the garter snake, the adder, the black snake, and the green snake are the most common. Any superstition in regard to the poisonous character of any of these snakes is without foundation.

The birds of Clinton vary somewhat from year to year, but certain kinds generally appear, like chickadees, snowbirds, nuthatches, robins, bluebirds, Baltimore orioles, catbirds, cherry birds, scarlet tanagers, flickers, king birds, brown thrashers, bobolinks, whippoorwills, cuckoos, cowbirds, buntings, crows, jays, chimney swifts, kinglets, grosbeaks, and the various kinds of humming birds, vireos,

warblers, finches, thrushes, swallows, sparrows, woodpeckers, blackbirds and hawks. The sportsman can usually find the partridge, quail and woodcock in their season, and occasionally wild ducks and geese still seek our ponds. The wild turkey, the eagle, the swan and pigeon are birds of the distant past. The owl and the heron are rarely discovered in secret haunts. Many other kinds of birds are seen from time to time.

The beaver, otter and mink must have been very plentiful in early times along our streams where now only an occasional muskrat is found. In the forest, the catamount, the wolf, the wildcat, the bear, the moose, the elk and the deer were taken even in the eighteenth century. To-day, the huntsman considers himself fortunate if he gets a hedgehog, a raccoon or a fox, even by wandering far beyond the limits of his town. The pole-cat is still sometimes an unwelcome visitor even in the most thickly settled districts. The woodchuck and rabbit are common, while the chipmunk and the red and grey squirrel are often seen in our shade-trees.

CHAPTER III.

1653-1682.

JOHN PRESCOTT, THE PIONEER.*

THERE are three factors in the history of any community : the physical conditions furnished by nature, the great currents of the world's history, and the direct work of individual men.

Until the seventeenth century, the valley of the Nashua was in a state of nature, covered with forests and inhabited only by wild beasts and savage Indians. The rich hill slopes and intervalles were uncultivated, and the abundant water power of the river and its tributaries had never turned a wheel in the service of man.

Nature, having done her part, had been patiently waiting through the long centuries for men who knew how to use her gifts. Meanwhile the course of history on another continent was slowly preparing the way for the development

*In preparing this account of Prescott, the following authorities have been consulted : Winthrop's History of New England ; Massachusetts Records ; Middlesex County Registry ; Memorial of the Prescott Family ; Rev. Timothy Harrington's Century Sermon ; Magazine articles and historical address by Joseph Willard, Esq. ; Rev. A. P. Marvin's History of Lancaster ; Historical Sketch of Lancaster by Hon. Henry S. Nourse, and, above all, the "Early Records of Lancaster," as collected and annotated by the same author. In quoting old documents, the exact form has been kept as far as possible.

of the New World. Explorers were sailing forth into unknown seas, warriors were fighting, scholars were studying, holy men were praying. At last, the great world currents brought a band of Puritans, driven by persecution from their native land, to settle on the New England coast.

The final factor in the origin of this community was still lacking, for, at first, the settlements were chiefly around Boston, as none wished or dared to strike out for themselves and set up homes in the wilderness, with only Indians for neighbors. But, at last, came one, whom no danger could daunt, no hardship deter,—John Prescott, the pioneer. Strong, energetic, noble-hearted and persevering, he was well fitted to head the van of civilization and first assert the supremacy of man over nature.

There is little known of Prescott's ancestors. The name is of Saxon origin, and means priest-cottage. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, we find a record of a Sir James Prescott, who was ordered by her to keep a horse and armor in readiness. He was the great-grandfather of our hero, whose parents were Ralph and Ellen Prescott of Shevington, Lancashire, England, where John Prescott was born and baptized in 1604-5.

He probably went to school in his boyhood and obtained some book knowledge, as we know that, in later life, he could read and write and survey land. At an early age, he learned the trade of his father, that of the blacksmith, and he worked at it for many years. In 1629, he married Mary Platts, at Wigan, and soon after sold his land in Shevington, and moved to Sowerby, Halifax Parish, West Riding, Yorkshire. There is a very doubtful story, that he worked under Oliver Cromwell. He surely had much in common with the Puritan leader. Like him, he was a man of great physical force, of keen practical insight, of independent theology, united with deep religious earnestness, and of an overpowering will, that pushed on in spite of all obstacles to the attainment of its purpose.

Partly, perhaps, on account of religious persecution, and, partly, because he had opinions of his own on various other **matters, and was stubbornly tenacious in clinging to them,** yet more, probably, because his enterprising nature craved new fields of action, he left England. We find him in the Barbadoes in 1638. He did not stay there long, however, for in 1640, he was in Boston. Rugged New England was more in accord with his stern nature, than the enervating and luxurious tropics. He settled in Watertown, where he is recorded to have possessed some hundred and twenty-six acres of land, and there, he became connected with Henry Symonds, Thomas King, and other prominent business men who lived in that vicinity.

There was a small tribe of Indians, called the Nashaways or Nashawogs, who then lived between the two Washacum Ponds. Probably, at certain seasons of the year, there were several outlying families. One of these was in the habit of locating east of Clamshell Pond, where the plough of the farmer has turned up many an arrow head; another, just above the point where the Lancaster Mills' dam now is. The pestilence, which had proved so destructive to the Algonquin tribes as a whole, had swept these Indians, nearly all, away. They had been forced to fight with the marauding Mohawks, and had been defeated by them. Gookin says: "These (the Nashaway Indians) have been a great people in former times, but of late years have been consumed by the Maquas wars and other ways, and are not above fifteen or sixteen families." Their numbers were wasted, their courage was broken, and they thought, if some of the white men, of whom they had heard such marvelous stories, should come and dwell near them, they would receive protection in times of invasion. Accordingly, Sholan, the chief of the tribe, made frequent visits to Watertown, and urged that a settlement should be made in this vicinity.

At length, eighty square miles of land were purchased of

the Indians by a company, among the prominent members of which were Symonds, King, Childe, Norcross, Day and Prescott. Dr. Robert Childe was the best known of these, but he, having with others offered a "petition," was driven from the colony for "a conspiracy." His liberal political views, and his advocacy of liberty of conscience and representation as a necessary accompaniment of taxation, seemed dangerous to the colonial leaders. His reputation made the strict Puritans look askance at his associates. It would be most interesting to trace the relations which existed between this theorist, so far in advance of his times, and Prescott, the man of action, who tried to secure for himself in the wilderness the rights that were claimed in vain in the older settlements; but few records of these relations now remain. The names of Symonds and King soon disappeared from the rolls of the company, the first dying in 1643, the second in 1644. It is doubtful, who was the first white man, who visited Lancaster. It may have been King, or it may have been Prescott. It is certain that a trading post or trucking house was established on George Hill, in 1643, under the name of Symonds & King. This point was the meeting place of several Indian tribes, and marked the extreme western advance of the white men in Massachusetts. Nathaniel Norcross was to be the minister when the first settlement was made, but as there were delays, he returned to England. Stephen Day, who had set up the first printing press in English America, was thrown into prison for debt. Thus, one by one, the prominent members of the company dropped away, until Prescott was left alone.

The strength of his individuality was equal to the occasion. He sold his house and lands in Watertown, and in 1645, with his family, started on his difficult journey through the forests, toward the Nashaway. There were a great many hindrances, but the greatest was the Sudbury River, and the bordering marsh, which was a half mile or more in width. Governor Winthrop, expressing the Puritan

opposition to the company, which arose from the doubtful political and religious views of some of its members, in his History of New England, says, as if he were recording a judgment of God: "Prescott, another favorer of the Petitioners, lost a horse and his loading in Sudbury River, and a week after, his wife and children being upon another horse, were hardly saved from drowning."*

*June 12, 1645, Prescott and others sent a petition to the General Court:

1645. The humble petitō of the Company Intended to plāt at Nashaway 12 June 1645.

To the right Worpth Tho. Dudley Esq^r Gou'nour and the rest of the Magistrates and deputies now Assembled in the Generall Court at Boston. Yo^r petitioners, whose names are Vnderwritten Humbly Sheweth vnto yo^r Worp^s y^t wheras wee haue formerly received fauour from this Court in haueing Liberty granted vs to plant att a place called Nashaway some 16 myles beyond Sudbery. Wee, the sayd petitioners doe find itt an vtter Impossibilitie to proceede forwards to plante at the place aboue sayd except wee haue a conuenient way made for the transportation of our Cattell and goods ouer Sudbery Riuer and Marsh. Now although Sudbery men haue begun to sett vpp a Bridge ouer the Riuer yett the worke is now decisted, And the bridge left altogether vnusefull, and the marsh now way mended, soe that wee caunot passe to the plantation abouesd without exposing our persons to perill and our cattell and goods to losse and spoyle: as yo^r petitioners are able to make prooffe of by sad experience of what wee suffered there within these few dayes. Yo^r petitioners haue been & are much damnified by the badnesse of the way at this place: formany of vs haue beene dependant on this worke aboue these two yeares past, much tyme and meanes haue beene spent in discovering the plantation and prouiding for our setlinge there. And now the Lord by his prouidence hath gone on thus farre with the worke that diuers of us have covenanted to sitt downe together. And to Improue ourselues there this summer that wee may liue there the wynter next Insueing if God permitt. But vnlesse some speedy course bee taken yt wee haue a way made for the transplanting ourselues, cattell and goods we may perish there for want of Reliefe, not being able to prouide for our subsistance there this wynter. Vnlesse wee expose ourselues and goods to the perill and spoyle as abouesayd. Yo^r petitioners doe therefore humbly Beseech yo^r Worships that as you haue beene pleased to Countenance our beginnings, soe you would please to

■ Three men had been sent on before to prepare the way. These were Ball, Linton and Waters. Prescott, on arriving in June, 1645, chose for his home part of the land now occupied by the public buildings of Lancaster. He did not stay in this location long, but moved to the south-east side of George Hill, where, some time before, the trucking house of Symonds & King had been situated, and here he made his home.* This lot became the center,

order that a conuenient way bee made at the place aforsd for transportinge our persones cattell & goods, that the worke of God there begun may further proceede and wee have Incouragement to carry on the worke else our tyme, meanes and labour hitherto expended will be lost. But if yo^r worp^s please to further our proceedings herein yo^r petitioners shall euer pray &c.

NATHANIEL NORCROSSE
JOHN PRESCOT
STEPHEN DAYE
HARMAN GARRETT
THOMAS SCIDMORE
JOHN HILL
ISAACK WAKER
JOHN COWDALL
JOSEPH JENKES

This petition was granted, and a way made "passable for a loaden horse."

*The following is a copy of his deed :

A COPPIE OF A DEED FROM JOHN COWDALL.

Bee it Knowne by these presents that I John Cowdall of Boston, for good & valluable consideration, by mee in hand receiued, haue giuen, granted, bargained & sold and by these presents do giue grant, bargain, & sell vnto John Prescott late of Watertown my house at Nashaway, and twenty acres of land therevnto belonging and adjoyneing, bounded with John Prescotts owne lott on the east, Steeven Day on the North, and George Adams south, as also twelue acres of wett meadow belonging to it, and fifty acres of Intervale bounded with Penycooke riuier west, and still riuier east, vpon which parcell of land Richard Linton, and Lawrance Waters haue planted corne, together with all appurtenances, conueniences and priueledges, comfunes, pastures, mindalls &c belonging & apperteyneing to the said lands to haue and to hold the said

from which the other lots had "their boundings and descriptions." It is now known as Maplehurst. The most valuable part of his farm, however, like that of all the original settlers, was on the rich intervale along the river, which needed no clearing, but in a state of nature furnished abundant grass for the cattle. Here, Prescott lived for some years as a farmer and blacksmith, forging, perhaps, the iron for the first ploughshares that turned up the primeval soil, and the first rude nails that were used in the log houses. This man partook of the nature of the material in which he worked. His fellow settlers, who were at first very few in number, leaned upon his rugged strength, and were held to their task by his stubborn tenacity.

In the records of the General Court, we find the following entry, dated 1652: "Consideringe that there is already at Nashaway about 9 familyes, & that seuerall, both freeman & others intend to goe & settle there, some whereof are named in theire petition, this Court doth hereby giue & graunt them libertyes of a townshipp, &, at the request of the inhabitants, doe order it to be called Prescott." But a change was made in the name, during the following year, against the wish of the settlers, probably, because "It smacked too much of man worship." Soon after, the name of Lancaster was given to the town, in remembrance, perhaps, of the English county in which Prescott was born. The act of incorporation was dated May 18, 1653, and the town was rated with Middlesex County.

Thus Lancaster, the mother town of Harvard, Bolton, Leominster, Sterling, Berlin, Boylston and Clinton, was founded. Joseph Willard, in his address in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town, says: "One only of the associates, John Prescott,

house & Lands with all other the appurtenances & priueledges to him and his heyres for euer, witness my hand & seale this 5th of the 8^m. 1647.

JOHN COWDALL

the stalwart blacksmith, was faithful among the faithless. He turned not back, but vigorously pursued the interests of the plantation, till his exertions were crowned with success."

Although Prescott was the leading man in Lancaster, and held the most important offices, yet he was not a freeman, and therefore he could not vote, and was deprived of many privileges which the others enjoyed. It was necessary in order to become a freeman, that he should join himself with the church, and this he did not wish to do. Moreover, he had so strong an individuality, that he did not depend entirely upon the society of others for his happiness. From these, or other reasons, he was perfectly willing to live apart from his neighbors, although no one else was so earnest as he in serving them.

A corn mill was the great need of the settlement, for all the corn had to be carried to Watertown, for grinding, or else ground by hand, or parched and brayed or hulled. We can imagine Prescott going forth and searching in every direction for the best site for such a mill. The superior advantage of the southern section of the town could not long remain hidden from his keen practical observation, nor could it have been long before he saw that the power, more recently used by the Counterpane Mill, on Water Street, was just adapted to his purpose. There, a little farther down the stream than the mill of today, he built his rude structure of logs. The town gave him a liberal grant of land and certain immunities, in return for his public service.* This

*The following contract was made in regard to his corn-mill, according to the Middlesex County Registry :

"Know all men by these presents that I John Prescott blacksmith, hath Covenanted and bargained with Jno. ffounell of Charlestowne for the building of a Corne mill, within the said Towne of Lanchaster. This witnesseth that wee the Inhabitants of Lanchaster for his encouragement in so good a worke for the behoofe of our Towne, vpon condition that the said intended worke by him or his assignes be finished, do freely and

was the first grist mill within the present limits of Worcester County.

Prescott's millstone is said to have come from England, but the nature of the rock is similar to that of a formation found in the northeastern part of this state. When the first kernel of corn passed over its surface, on the twenty-third

fully giue grant, enfeoffe, & confirme vnto the said John Prescott, thirty acres of intervale Land lying on the north riuer, lying north west of Henry Kerly and ten acres of Land adjoyneing to the mill : and forty acres of Land on the South east of the mill brooke, lying between the mill brooke and Nashaway Riuer in such place as the said John Prescott shall choose with all the priuiledges and appurtenances thereto apperteyneing. To haue and to hold the said land and eurie parcell thereof to the said John Prescott his heyeres and assignes for euer, to his and their only proper vse and behoofe. Also wee do couenant & promise to lend the said John Prescott fiue pound, in current money one yeare for the buying of Irons for the mill. And also wee do couenant and grant to and with the said John Prescott his heyres and assignes that the said mill, with all the aboue named Land thereto apperteyneing shall be freed from all comon charges for seauen yeares next ensueing, after the first finishing and setting the said mill to worke. In witness whereof wee haue herevnto put our hands this 20th day of the 9^{mo}. In the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred fifty and three.

Subscribed names

WILL ^m . KERLY SEN ^r .	LAWRENCE WATERS,	THOMAS JAMES,
JNO PRESCOTT,	EDMUND PARKER,	JNO LEWIS,
JNO WHITE,	RICHARD LINTON,	JAMES ATHERTON,
RALPH HOUGHTON,	RICHARD SMITH,	JACOB FFARRER.
	WILL ^m . KERLY JUN ^r .	

The following entry shows the date of completion :

"Memorandum, that Jno Prescott finished his mill, & began to grind corne the 23th day of the 3^{mo}, 1654.

At a meeting of the Comissioners for the generall Court, the 9th of September 1657 at Jno. Prescott's house, the Towne consented that the imunities of John Prescott prouided for in the covenant should continue and remayne to him the said Jno Prescott his heyres and assignes vntill the 23 of May in the yeare of our Lord sixteen hundred sixty & two, 1662.

SIMON WILLARD
EDW. JOHNSON
THOMAS DANFORTH "

day of March, 1654, the industrial history of Clinton began. Portions of this millstone still exist in various historical museums, and in the hands of some of our own relic-loving citizens.

Prescott, not long content, was soon planning for a saw-mill.* He completed this early in 1659. February 17th of

*PRESCOTT'S SAW-MILL CONTRACT.

Know all men by these presents that forasmuch as the Inhabitants of Lanchaster, or the most part of them being gathered together on a trayneing day, the 15th of the 9th mo. 1658, a motion was made by Jno. Prescott blacksmith of the same towne, about the setting vp of a saw mill for the good of the Towne, and y^t he the said Jno. Prescott, would by the help of God set vp the saw mill, and to supply the said Inhabitants with boords, and other sawne worke, as is afforded at other saw mills in the countrey, In case the towne would giue, grant, & confirme vnto the said Jno. Prescott, a certeine tract of Land, lying Eastward of his water mill, be it more or less, bounded by the riuer east the mill west the stake of the mill land and the east end of a ledge of Iron Stone Rocks southards, and forty acres of his owne land north, the said land to be to him his heyres and assignes for euer, and all the said Land and eurie part thereof to be rate free vntill it be improued, or any ptⁱ of it, and that his saws, & saw mill should be free from any rates by the Towne, therefore know y^e that the ptyes abouesaid did mutually agree and consent each with other concerning the aforementioned propositions as followeth.

The towne on their part did giue, grant, & confirme, vnto the said John Prescott, his heyres and assignes for euer, all the aforementioned tract of land butted & bounded as aforesaid, to be to him and his heyres and assignes for euer, with all the priuiledges and appurtenances thereon, and therevnto belonging to be to his and their owne proper vse and behoofe as aforesaid, and the said land and eurie part of it to be free from all rates vntill it or any pt. of it be improued, and also his saw, sawes, and saw mill to be free from all town rates, or ministers rates, provided the aforementioned worke be finished & completed as abouesaid for the good of the towne, in some convenient time after this present contract covenant and agreem^t,

And the said John Prescott did and doth by these psents bynd himself his heyres and assignes to set vp a saw mill as aforesaid within the bounds of the aforesaid Towne, and to supply the Towne with boords, and other sawn worke as aforesaid, and truly and faithfully to performe, fullfill, & accomplish, all the afore mentioned pmisses for the good of the Towne as aforesaid

this year, "The Company granted him to fell pines on the Com'ons to supply his saw-mill." Although it is probable, that this mill was, at a later date, near his corn-mill and used the same water-power, it was, evidently, at first, further up the brook near the place where the Bigelow Carpet Company's dam now is. Some authorities say that he had a bloomery at the latter place in connection with his saw-mill. Slag from iron works has been found in this locality, although it is, probably, of more recent origin.

The log houses of the first settlers gradually gave place to those built of sawn lumber, and Prescott's mills became a central point for all the country round. All persons living nearer to these than those of Sudbury came here to have their corn ground and to buy lumber. Rude roads were constructed connecting the mills with Lancaster and the main highways of travel. What is now North Main Street is spoken of as "five rods wide from the Cuntrie highway [in South Lancaster] to the mill." In deeds, it is called a "private" way.

The contracts in regard to these mills have been given in full on account of their supreme importance. Through them, Prescott became the first direct individual factor in Clinton history. In him, nature found that practical sagacity,

Therefore the Selectmen conceiuing this saw mill to be of great vse to the Towne, and the aftergood of the place, Haue and do hereby act to rattifie and confirme all the the aforemencōned acts, covenants, gifts, grants, & iñmunityes, in respect of rates, and what euer is aforementioned, on their owne pt, nnd in behalfe of the Towne, and to the true performance thereof both partyes haue and do bynd themselves by subscribing their hands, this 25th day of february one thousand six hundred and fifty nine

JOHN PRESCOTT

The work aboue mencōned was finished according to this couenant as witnesseth.

RALPH HOUGHTON

Signed & Deliv^{ed} In presence of

THOMAS WILDER

THOMAS SAWYER

RALPH HOUGHTON.

which knew how to use her gifts to the best advantage. In every direction, he had that shrewd common sense, which unerringly adapts means to ends. From that time to this, the community, of which Prescott was the founder, has developed along the same line on which he started it, and has always had the center of its industrial life in its mills.

Prescott built his new house a little way from the site chosen for his corn mill, southeast of the point where High and Water streets now intersect. It was a few rods east of the stone watering-trough now on High Street near this corner. There are those living, who can remember the little hollow which showed where Prescott's cellar-hole had been. The spring from which he drew his water was, until recently, used as a well. The first house, known as Prescott's garri-son, was probably built of logs before the saw-mill was started. If it was like the other log houses of that day, the windows were small, with diamond panes either of glass or oiled paper, and with close shutters. It may be, the roof was thatched. The chimney was made of stone, or, perhaps, of brick, as bricks began to be made in Lancaster about this time. It is likely that there were flankers on the corners, for use as watch towers when Indian attacks were feared. It must have been of considerable size, as we know it contained two tenements, one of which was occupied by a married son.

Here for more than a score of years, Prescott lived with his family. He was the father of eight children, all of whom, with the exception of Martha, lived to a good old age.

Mary, born in 1630, at Sowerby, married Thomas Sawyer in 1648, and had eleven children, from whom are descended the Sawyers, who have been so prominent in Clinton history. This Thomas Sawyer died September 12, 1706, aged about ninety years.

Martha, born in 1632, at Sowerby, married John Rugg in

1655. They had no children, who survived. She died in 1656.

John, born in 1635, at Sowerby, and baptized at Halifax Parish, April 1st, married Sarah Hayward at Lancaster November 11, 1668. He worked with his father as a farmer and blacksmith, and inherited his father's property in the mills. They had five children.

Sarah, born in 1637, at Sowerby, married Richard Wheeler, at Lancaster, August 2, 1658, and had eight or more children by him. He was killed at the massacre in 1676. The widow afterward married Joseph Rice of Marlborough, the ancestor of the Rices of Clinton.

Hannah, born, probably, at Barbadoes, in 1639, bore eight children as the second wife of John Rugg, whom she married May 4, 1660. Her husband died in January, 1697, and she was killed by the Indians, September 11, 1697.

Lydia, born at Watertown, August 15, 1641, became the wife of Jonas Fairbanks of Lancaster, May 28, 1658, and had seven children. He and his son Joshua were killed in 1676, by the Indians. She afterwards married Elias Barron.

Jonathan, born, probably, at Lancaster, in 1647, became a blacksmith, farmer and doctor. He married four times, and is recorded to have had seven children. After the massacre, he lived in Concord and became a prominent man there. For nine years, he represented his district at the General Court. He died December 5, 1721.

Jonas, born in Lancaster in 1648, became a blacksmith like his father. There is a tradition connected with his marriage that may be worth repeating. There was a girl living in Sudbury named Mary Loker. She had many suitors. Her wealthy parents had planned an aristocratic alliance for her. When they heard that a young blacksmith was paying attention to their idol and that his advances had met with favor, they forbade him to come to the house, and even barred the window of Mary's room so that no communication could be carried on in that way. Being still outwitted,

they determined to take further measures, and, all unknowingly, pursued a course tending to strengthen the lovers' purpose. They sent Mary away to live in seclusion. Jonas, after some time, found her by accident when he was upon a hunting expedition. In December, 1672, they were married, against the will of her parents, who refused her a dowry. The father endowed his son with the five hundred and twenty acres of land, which he had received for building the first corn-mill at Groton, and soon made him master in the new mill there. From Jonas and Mary Prescott sprung William Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill, and William H. Prescott, the historian. Jonas Prescott had twelve children. He died December 21, 1723.

It is probable that most of Prescott's children lived with him, at first, in the garrison house. Even after marrying, John continued to live here, and he helped him carry on the mill.

Prescott's garrison and his mills were the only buildings in the territory which is now Clinton, his family the only inhabitants, unless, possibly, he may at times have procured some help besides that of his sons and grandsons. All around him, except in the intervale along the river, was a vast forest, which had been cleared only for a small space about his buildings. Here, Prescott and his family lived in their rude log house, enjoying themselves as much in their rough fashion, as if they had every convenience of modern life. We can imagine them seated about the great open fire-place in the evening, telling each other of what had occurred during the day. The father would talk about what had happened in the mills, who had been there with logs to saw or corn to grind, and what news they brought of the outside world. It is possible that some of the children may have attended the dame school at Lancaster, and had stories to relate of the doings there; but it is more probable that they would talk of some deer or bear, or smaller game they had seen during the day, and of their plans for its future capture. Mean-

while, the women folks may have worked on the homespun clothing, and gossiped about the last wedding or funeral they had attended, or the last visit they had made. Perhaps, they sometimes expressed their fear of Indian treachery. A rough and lonely life it must have been. Sunday was the great day with them. Then they managed to go to meeting, trudging over the hard road, then known as the Mill Path, now North Main Street, or riding horseback, with the women folks mounted on pillions behind the men. They would remain all day at the meeting, and during the intermission between the long sermon in the morning, and that of the afternoon, how much they must have found to talk about. In 1669, Prescott became a freeman, although he may not have changed his religious views as the laws were changed so that any man owning an estate and known to be upright and honest, could be admitted to all the rights of citizenship, even though he was not a member of the church. Prescott's differences with the church were, probably, on matters of government rather than on theological questions. He served on many committees of the parish, and was the intimate friend and trusted adviser of Mr. Rowlandson, the pastor.

In 1672, Prescott must have owned in all twelve hundred acres of land. In the main settlement, he still held possession of his original allotments and later grants and purchases. This amounted to one hundred acres and stretched from George Hill to the meeting of the rivers, covering much of the district now known as South Lancaster. He had three hundred acres in what is now Clinton, including most of the tract north and northeast of Burditt Hill, between the present location of the Boston & Maine Railroad and the river.*

* *upland to his Corne Mill.* And his vpland belonging to his mill ten acres of which takes its beginning at a little round hill, fourty rod aboue the mill and so runes on both sides the brooke to the riuer, bounded south by some land giuen him for the building a saw mill, and north-

For services done in surveying, he received land near Washacum.† He afterwards added to this by purchase from the Indian, James Wiser, alias Quannapohit.‡ He thus had

erly by a peice of pine Land that is coñmon, butting east by the riuer, and west by the little round hill by the mill where his stake stands, and forty acres part whereof lying on the south side of that ten acres, and lying in a corner, and compassed about south and east by the riuer, and bounded west by a pine plain giuen him for the building of a saw mill, and a peice of intervale compassed about by a ledge of Iron Stone Rockes on the north and north west sides and bounded south by Nashaway riuer, all which parcells of Land ly for fifty acres be they more or less w^{ch} was giuen him for encouragement to build a corne mill as appeared by a covenant copied out & truly recorded 3^d 10^{mo}. 1659 by me

RALPH HOUGHTON.

grant to goodman Prescott. The towne gaue Libertie to goodman Prescott to take up a slipe of medow ground Runing through the most part of a great pine plaine that Lyeth sutherly of his Corne mille, which he is to haue in Leiw of two acres of medow, formerly granted him in a corner of the great pond medow which was granted vpon the account of John Cowdall and he is to take two acres Lesse their.

† 1660. In obedience to the grant of the honoured generall Court held at boston the 18th of October 1659, layed out to John Prescott of Lancaster neare adjoyning to the west line of Lancaster bounds his farm contayninge one hundred acres joyning to a great pond [Washacum] on the northeast and allso joyning to a brooke (running out of the sayd pond) on the south east with four acres of medow joyning to the sayd pond and six acres of medow being vpon the sayd brooke—this being exactly measured by me vnderwritten the 15 of January 1660

THOMAS NOYES.

[Massachusetts Archives, XLV. 81.]

‡ JAMES WISER'S DEED OF WASHACUM LANDS

Know all men by these p'sents that I James Wiser of Washakim in the countie of midlesex, Indian, in New England, for good consideration and mouinge therevnto, but especially for & in consideratione of fouer pounds teen shillings allredy rec^d by me haue giuen granted bargined sold alinated & confirmed & do by these psents giue grant bargain sell alinate & confirme vnto John Prescott of Lancaster some nintie accers of vnimproued land be it more or lesse lyinge vpon a plaine & twentie accers be it more or lesse beinge a corne feildd lyinge vpon a hill

in all near the lakes about three hundred acres, including the present camp ground. In addition to these lots there were the five hundred and twenty acres in Groton which he gave a little later to his son Jonas.

weastward of this plaine bounded by a pond a littill remote easterly frome the plaine: Washakim fort beinge about fiefteene rods frome the neerest pt of this plaine & the hill whear on the Indian fielld is, weasterly of this plaine, only Adagunapeke & his Aunt & his sister reserue one accer a yere, the hill beinge called by the name of moantuhcake, this land joynes to the farme that the Country gaue John Prescott which also is bounded by a hill to the south runinge downe to his meadow belonginge to his farme & the countryes land ellsewhear aboutt it, the sayde bargined Pmisses withall and singular ther puiledges & apertanances to be to the sayde John Prescott & his heyers for euer to haue & to hold for his or their pposes & Uesies without any lawfull lett molestacion or disturbance from by or vnder me or any my heyers executors or asignes or any other pson or psons what soeuer fermely bindinge my sellfe my heyers executors & asignes heervnto, & we whose names arre vnder written, Pummannonmon & Pompoweagon do afirme and testifie that the aforesayde James Wiser hath full power & right to alinate thes lands & in witnesse heerto I y^e aforesayde James Wiser do putt to my hand and sealle.

The 3 acc^{rs} of brok vpland expressed heerin that is reserued lyes at the northerly end of the feilld. datted this 22^d of the first mo. 1669/70
the marke \oslash JAMES WISER

Read signed & sealed & deliuered in the presence of
y^e marke of (M) MARY WILLARD
SIMON WILLARD Jr.
the marke of C PUMMANOMMON
the marke of C; POMPOWEAGON

[From Shattuck Manuscripts in possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.]

*To the honourable the Govr the Deputy Govr magts & Deputyes
assembled in the genrall Court.*

The petition of Jno Prescott of Lanchaster In most humble wise sheweth, Whereas y^e Petitio^r hath purchased an Indian right to a small parcell of Land, occasioned & circumstanced for quantity & quality according to the deed of sale herevnto annexed and a pt thereof not being legally settled vpon me vnlesse I may obteyne the favo^r of this Court for

His property and his family relations may best be understood by an examination of a will made by him in 1673, before the removal of his son, Jonathan, to Concord, and while his wife was yet living. The mark with which it is signed is an evidence of his weakness, as he usually signed his name. His sickness at the time is elsewhere mentioned in the records to account for his failure to appear as a witness.

This will throws many side lights upon the character of him by whom it was made. Here is breadth of business ability, mingled with utmost carefulness in details ; a stern-

the Confirmation thereof, These are humbly to request the Courts favor for that end, the Lord haueing dealt graciously with mee in giueing mee many children I account it my duty to endeauor their prouission & settling and do hope that this may be of some vse in y^e kind, I know not any claime made to the said land by any towne, or any legall right y^e any other person haue therein, and therefore are free for me to occupy & subdue as any other, may I obteyne the Courts approbation. I shall not vse farther motiues, my condition in other respects & wth my trouble & expenses haue been according to my poor ability in my place being not altogether vnknown to some of y^e Court.

That y^e Lords p^resence may be with & his blessing accompany all yor persons, counsellis, & endeauor for his honor & y^e weale of his poor people is y^e pray^r of

Yor suppliant.

JOHN PRESCOTT Sen^r

17 : 3 : 1672 read and referred to y^e Committee,

In Reference to this Petition the Committee being well Informed that the Pet^r is an ancient Planter & hath bin a vsefull helpfull and publique spirited man doinge many good offices ffor the Country Relatinge to the Road to Conecticott, marking trees, directinge of Passengers &c and that the Land Petitioned for beinge but about 107 Acres & Lyinge not very Convenient for any other Plantation, and only accomodable for the Pet^r we Judge it reasonable to confirme the Indian Grant to him & his heyres if y^e honor^d Court see meete.

The Deputyes approue of the returne of the Committee in answer to this pet : o^r Hon^od magis^{ts} consenting hereto.

EDWARD TYNG

GEORGE CORWIN

HUMPHREY DAVIE

WM TORREY *Cleric*

29 May : 72. Consented to by y^e magists

EDW RAWSON *Secret.*

ness, that can chide an erring grandchild even in the moment of forgiveness, and gleams of tenderness playing about an unyielding personality which ruled as with a rod of iron.*

*JOHN PRESCOTT'S WILL.

Theis presents witneseth that John Prescott of Lancaster in the Countie of Middlesex in New England Blaksmith being vnder the sencible decayes of nature and infirmities of old age and at present vnder a great deale of anguish and paine but of a good and sound memorie at the writing hereof being moved vpon considerations aforesaid together with advis of Christian friends to set his house in order in Reference to the dispose of those outward good things the lord in mercie hath betrustrued him with, theirfore the said John Prescott doth hereby declare his last will and testament to be as followeth, first and cheifly Comiting and Comending his soul to almightie god that gaue it him and his bodie to the comon burying place here in Lancaster, and after his bodie being orderly and decently buried and the charge theirowf defrayed together with all due debts discharged, the Rest of his Lands and estate to be disposed of as followeth: first in Reference to the Comfortable being of his louing wife during the time of her naturall Life, it is his will that his said wife haue that end of the house where he and shee now dwelleth together with halfe the pasture and halfe the fruit of the aple trees and all the goods in the house, together with two cowes which shee shall Chuse and medow sufisiant for wintering of them, out of the medowes where she shall Chuse, the said winter prvision for the two cowes to be equally and seasonably pvided by his two sons John and Jonathan. And what this may fall short in Reference to convenient food and cloathing and other nesesaries for her comfort in sickness and in health, to be equally pvided by the aforesaid John and Jonathan out of the estate. And at the death of his aforesaid louing wife it is his will that the said cowes and household goods be equally deuided betwene his two sons aforesaid, and the other part of the dwelling house, out housing, pasture and orchard together with the tenn acres of house lott lying on Georges hill which was purchased of daniell gains to be equally deuided betwene the said John and Jonathan and alsoe that part of the house and outhousing what is Convenient for the two Cowes and their winter prvision pasture and orchard willed to his louing wife during her life, at her death to be equally deuided alsoe betwene the said John and Jonathan. And furthermore it is his will that John Prescott his eldest son haue the Intervale land at John's Jumpe, the lower Mille and the land belonging to it and halfe the saw mille and halfe the land belonging to it and all the house and barne theire erected,

Prescott recovered from the illness, which led to the making of his will, and was again able to take control of his affairs. Perhaps, it would have been well for him if he could have passed away at this time for darker days were to come.

We shall have an entirely inadequate idea of his charac-

and alsoe the house and farme at Washacomb pond, and all the land their purchased from the indians and halfe the medows in all deuisions in the towne accept sum litle part at bar hill wh. is after willed to James Sawyer and one halfe of the Comon Right in the towne, and in Reference to second deuision land, that part of it which lyeth at danforths farme both vpland and interuaile is willed to Jonathan and sixtie acres of that part at Washacom litle pond to James Sawyer and halfe of some brushie land Capable of being made medow at the side of the great pine plain to be within the said James Sawyers sixtie acres and all the Rest of the second deuision land both vpland and Interuaile to be equally deuided betwene John Prescott and Jonathan aforementioned. And Jonathan Prescott his second son to haue the Ryefield and all the interuaile lott at Nashaway Riuer that part which he hath in posesion and the other part joyneing to the highway and alsoe his part of second deuision land aforementioned and alsoe one halfe of all the medowes in all deuisions in the towne not willed to John Prescott and James Sawyer aforementioned, and alsoe the other halfe of the saw mille and land belonging to it, and it is to be vnderstood that all timber on the land belonging to both Corne Mille and Saw Mille be Comon to the vse of the Saw Mille. And in Reference to his third son Jonas Prescott it is herby declared that he hath Received a full childs portion at none-coicus in a Corne mille and Land and other goods. And James Sawyer his grandchild and Servant it is his will that he haue the sixtie acres of vpland aforementioned and the two peices of medow at bare hill one being part of his second deuision the upermost peic on the brook and the other being part of his third deuision lying vpon Nashaway Riuer purchased of goodman Allin. Prouided the said James Sawyer carie it beter than he did to his said granfather in his time and carie so as becomes an aprentic & vntil he be one and twentie years of age vnto the executors of this will namly John Prescott and Jonathan Prescott who are alsoe herby engaged to pforme vnto the said James what was pmised by his said granfather, which was to endeauor to learne him the art and trade of a blaksmith. And in Case the said James doe not pforme on his part as is afor expresed to the satisfaction of the overseers of this will, or otherwise, If he doe not accept of the land aforementioned, then the said land and medow to be equally diuided betwene

ter, unless we realize that he was not only for many years the leading man in Lancaster, but also, that he was well known throughout the colony as a man of great enterprise and energy. We have seen how he was a pioneer in laying

the aforesaid John and Jonathan. And in Reference to his three daughters, namely Marie, Sara and Lydia they to have and Receive eurie of them five pounds to be paid to them by the executors to eurie of them fiftie shillings by the yeare two years after the death of theire father to be paid out of the mouables and Martha Ruge his granchild to have a cow at the choic of her granmother. And it is the expresse will and charge of the testator to his wife and all his Children that they labor and endeauor to preserue loue and unitie among themselves and the vpholding of Church and Comonwealth. And to the end that this his last will and testament may be truly pformed in all the parts of it, the said testator hath and herby doth constitut and apoynt his two sons namely John Prescott and Jonathan Prescott Joynt executors of this his last will. And for the preuention of after trouble among those that suruiue about the dispose of the estate acording to this his will he hath hereby Chosen desired and apoynted the Reuerend Mr. Joseph Rowlandson, deacon Sumner and Ralph Houghton overseers of this his will; vnto whom all the parties concerned in this his will in all difficult Cases are to Repaire, and that nothing be done without their Consent and aprobaton. And furthermore in Reference to the mouables it is his will that his son John have his anvill and after the debts and legacies aforementioned be truly paid and truly discharged by the executors and the speciall trust pformed vnto my wife during her life and at her death, in Respect of, sicknes funerall expences, the Remainder of the mouables to be equally deuided betwene my two sons John and Jonathan aforementioned. And for a further and fuller declaration and confirmation of this will to be the last will and testament of the aforesaid John Prescott he hath herevnto put his hand and seale this 8 of 2 month one thousand six hundred seaventie three.

JOHN PRESCOTT.
his *John* mark

Sealed signed owned to be the Last will and testament of the testator aforesaid In the presence of

JOSEPH ROWLANDSON
ROGER SUMNER
RALPH HOUGHTON

April 4 : 82.

ROGER SUMNER }
RALPH HOUGHTON } Appearing in Court made oath to the above
s^d will. JONATHAN REMINGTON, *Cleric.*

out a new road "to Connecticut by Nashaway, which avoided much of the hilly way." In 1657, he was appointed one of a committee to build bridges at "Billiriky & Misticke." In 1658, he helped to lay out the great Davenport purchase, where West Boylston Centre now stands. The contract for building the first corn-mill in Groton, which we have already noted, was made in 1667. This mill was within the present limits of Harvard. His family had grown up about him, and had become worthy members of society. He might well expect an old age crowned with honor and filled with happiness.

According to tradition, Prescott had from the first been on friendly terms with the Indians, and his purchase of lands at Washacum gives assurance that he was especially trusted by them. His fearless bearing and his stalwart frame won for him their respect. Whenever any trouble arose with them, he would sally out alone, armed with his long gun and clad in the coat of mail and helmet which he is said to have brought with him from England, and the Indians would flee in fear. At one time, a horse having been stolen from him, he started out alone, and, meeting the marauders was struck on the head by the chief with a tomahawk. The blow had no effect on account of his helmet. The Indian in his astonishment stopped his attack and asked to try on this magic hat, and was granted the privilege on condition that he would give Prescott a chance of striking him. He consented, and as the helmet was a tight fit and was not properly put on, the blow brought it down, leaving little skin on his head and hardly sparing his ears. Prescott was permitted to go home in safety, with his horse, which was returned to him. At another time, according to legend, being attacked suddenly when unprepared and alone with his wife, he set her to loading his muskets, while he discharged them, all the time giving orders in a loud tone, as if he had a large force at hand. The Indians soon fled, carrying with them their dead and wounded.

We have seen how Sholan or Showanon, chief of the Nashaways, had sold land to the Lancaster pioneers. John Eliot said of him in 1648: "Showanon, the great sachym of Nashaway doth embrace the Gospel and pray unto God." He died in 1654. Matthew, his Christian successor, was no less friendly to the English. 'But 'ere his death, a new spirit had taken possession of the Indians. They began to realize that in seeking the protection of a stronger race they had lost their savage freedom. Neither had they gained the protection they had sought, for the colonists stood coolly aloof, while they fell victims to the continued raids of the Mohawks. The forces of nature, working according to the law of the survival of the fittest, had proved stronger than Christian charity. The vices of the white men were more attractive to the children of the forest than their virtues. Through the greed of the trader, the rum demon made the Indians mad and then the courts of the Puritans severely punished those who had been debased. The young braves were stirred by the eloquence of Philip, chief of the Wampanoags. He made them recognize the wrongs they had suffered; he showed them that their doom was inevitable, if they continued to submit; he called them to revenge and awakened their greed for the spoils which seemed to be within their grasp.

Shoshanim, alias Sagamore Sam, the representative of this new party, was chosen sachem of the Nashaways as a successor to Matthew. Quannapohit or Quanapaug and his fellow Christians lost their influence in the councils of the tribe. The shrewd Philip ordered the death of Quannapohit, whom he considered a traitor to his race, but the fierce Monoco, or One-Eyed John, a chief of the Nashaways, faithful to his friend, protected him. "Next morning I went to One-Eyed John's wigwam. He said he was glad to see me; I had been his friend for many years and had helped him kill the Mohaugs. He said if anybody hurt me they should die. I lay in the sagamore's wigwam." Thus wrote Quin-

napohit in the very "Information" in which he betrayed his race.

Shoshanim and Monoco with their followers made an alliance with Muttaump, the ruler of Quabaugs. The settlers did not heed the warnings of Quinnapohit, who had deserted his race for his religion, and were totally unprepared for defence when, on the 9th of February, 1676, a horde of savage warriors were reported to be nearing the outskirts of the village. The main attack was directed against the central garrison. The story of the fierce onslaught and the heroic defence; of the final victory of the Indians and the terrible massacre which followed; of the burning of the homes and the later captivity of the women and children, have been handed down to us in the tragic narrative of Mrs. Rowlandson. This story belongs to the history of Lancaster rather than to that of Clinton. Suffice it to say, that out of the fifty families then living in Lancaster fifty-five persons were either killed or carried into captivity.

On the day of the great massacre, the Prescott garrison, with which we have especially to do, was subject to a minor attack, and here Ephraim Sawyer, Prescott's grandson, was killed. We can well imagine the anxiety with which the few defenders and the women and children who looked to them for safety must have listened to the sound of the distant musketry, or watched the smoke rising from the homes of their kindred and friends. How long would it be before the main body of Indians would be upon them? Fortunately, the Indians entertained a great fear of Captain Wadsworth of Marlborough, and retreated with their captives without waiting to complete their work.

A few days later George Harrington, a soldier from Watertown, was killed at the Prescott garrison. Richard Wheeler and Jonas Fairbanks, sons-in-law, and Joshua Fairbank, another grandson of Prescott, were killed at Wheeler's garrison. There is good authority that two graves were to be seen near the old mill site during the eighteenth century.

They were called the Indians' graves. It is possible that Sawyer and Harrington were buried in these.

The survivors gathered under the protection of the soldiers, who had come to their assistance, in two strong garrison houses, and from thence sent a petition to the General Court, which reveals the pitiableness of their condition.*

**To the Honerd Gournor and Counsell*

The humble petition of the poor distressed people of Lancaster, humbly sheweth, that sence the enemy mad such sad & dismall hauocke amongst our deare ffreinds & Bretheren, & we that are left who haue our Liues for a prey sadly sencable of God's Judgm^t upon us, this with the destresse we are now in dus embolden us to present our humble Requests, to yo^r Honors, hoping our Condisions may be considered by you & our Requests find exeptance with you, our stat is very deplorable, in our Incapacity to subsist, as to Remoue away we can not, the enemy has so Incompased us, otherwise for want of help our catle being the most of them caried away by the barberouss heathen, & to stay disinabled for want of food, the Towns people are Genrully gon who felt the Judgm^t but light, & had theyr catle left them with theyr estats, but we many of us heare in this prison, haue not bread to last us on mongth & our other provision spent & gon, for the genrallyty, our Town is drawn into two Garisons wherin are by the Good favours of yo^r Hon^{rs} eighteen soulders, which we gladly mayntayn soe long as any thing lasts, and if yo^r Honors should call them of, we are seartaynly a bayt for the enemy if God do not wonderfully prevent, therefore we hop as God has mad you fathers ouer us so you will haue a fathers pittie to us & extend your care ouer us who are yo^r poor distressed subjects. We are sorowful to Leau the place, but hoplesse to keep it unlesse mayntayned by the Cuntrey, it troubles our sperits to giue any Incuridgm^t to the enemy, or leau any thing for them to promot their wicked designe, yet better saue our Liues than lose Life & Estat both, we are in danger emenent, the enemy leying Aboue us, nay on both sids of us, as dus playingly Apear. our womens cris dus dayly Increase beand expresion which dus not only fill our ears but our hearts full of Greefe, which makes us humbly Request yo^r Hon^{rs} to send a Gard of men & that if you please so comand we may haue Carts About fourteen will Remoue the whool eight of which has been presed long at Sudburry but nevr came for want of a small gard of men, the whooll that is, all that are in the on Garison, Kept in

Indian hostilities continuing, the settlement at Lancaster was broken up, and thus Prescott, now over seventy years of age, having seen the prosperous community he had founded, laid in ruins, and having been forced to mourn for his daughters widowed and his grandsons slain, was driven away from his possessions to seek a new home among strangers. It is probable that his faithful wife became a victim to their troubles, as we have no further record of her among the living.

It was three years, before another settlement was attempted in Lancaster, yet we can imagine that during all this time the old pioneer was thinking only of a return. At

Major Willards house, which is all from yo^r Hon^{rs} most humble servants & suplyants.

Lancast^r March 11th 167 $\frac{1}{2}$

JACOB FFARRAR
JOHN HOUGHTON Sen^r
JOHN MOORE
JOHN WHITTCOMB
JOB WHITTCOMB
JONATHAN WHITTCOMB
JOHN HOUGHTON Jun^r
CYPRIAN STEEVENS

The other on Garison are in the like destresse & soe humbley desire yo^r like pittty & ffatherly car, haueing widows and many ffatherlesse children. the Numb^r of Carts to Carey away this garison is twenty Carts.

Yo^r Hon^{rs} Humble pettisioners.

JOHN PRESCOTT Sen^r
THO. SAWYER Sen^r
THO. SAWYER Jun^r
JONATHAN PRESCOTT
THO WILDER
JOHN WILDER
SARAH WHEELER wid
WIDOW FFARBANKS
JOHN RIGBY
NATHANIELL WILDER
JOHN ROOPER
WIDOW ROOPER

last a petition*, headed by him, was sent to the court, asking permission to resettle. It will be noted, that six of the nine signers of this petition belonged to John Prescott's family, as Rugg and Thomas Sawyer, Sr., were sons-in-law. When it was granted, among the first to return were the Prescotts, and soon new mills and a dwelling-house were built to replace those destroyed by the Indians. John Prescott, Jr., had charge of them, and took care of his aged father, who lived to see the town restored in some measure to its former state. He died in December, 1681.†

*1679. *To the honored County Court sitting at Cambridge October 7. 1679*

Ye humble petition of those whose names are here vnderwritten y^e Inhabitants of Lancaster before o^r remouall from thence by reason of y^e late warres, in o^r owne & others behalfe, y^e pprietors of y^e said place as followeth. Whereas there was an order made the Last hono^red generall Co^rt y^e places deserted should not be againe Inhabited, till the people first make application vnto the Gouno^r & Council, or to the County Co^rt wth in whose Jurisdiction they be, for a co^mmittee to order matters concerning y^e place, as in the said Law is expressed, wee yo^r petitioners wth diuers others purposing (if y^e Lord please) to returne to Lancaster from whence wee haue beene scattered, doe humbly request this Co^rt that they will be pleased to nominate & appoint an able & discreet Co^mmittee for that end, who may wth all conuenient speed attend the said Buisnes that soe wee may pceed to settle the place wth comfort & encouragement & yo^r petitioners shall pray for the Lords gracious psence wth you in all yo^r Administracons.

JOHN PRESCOT Senior
JOHN MORE
THOMAS SAWYER Sener
JOHN RUGG
JOHN PRESCOTT Juner
JONATH PRESCOTT
THOMAS WILDER
THOMAS SAYER Juner
JOSIAH WHIET

†1681 Dec 20. The Deposition of Tho: Wilder aged 37 years sworn, sayth that being with Jno Prescott Sen^r About six houers before he died he y^e sd Jno Prescott gaue to his eldest sonn Jno: Prescott his house lott with all belonging to y^e same & y^e two mills, corn mill & saw mill with

Two centuries later, in the old graveyard at Lancaster, could be seen a rough stone of slate, which to the unobservant appeared to be without inscription.† Yet sharp eyes could still trace the words which would soon be obliterated, "John Prescott. Desased."

Here, in this almost forgotten grave, lie the mortal remains of the stalwart pioneer, who laid the foundations of Lancaster and Clinton.

y^e land belonging therto & three scor Acors of land nere South meadow & fourty Acors of land nere Wonchesix & a pece of entervile called Johns Jump & Bridge meadow on both sides y^e Brook. Cyprian Steevens Testifieth to all y^e truth Above writen.

† This inscription has recently been recut.



GRAVE OF JOHN BUREGOTT, THE PRISONER.

CHAPTER IV.

THREE GENERATIONS OF PRESCOTTS.

As the estate owned by John Prescott, the pioneer, within present Clinton limits, was held and enlarged by his descendants through two generations, there was no chance for any one else to gain a homestead in the district where the central portion of the town now stands. Hence the history of the district for nearly a century is little more than a memorial of the Prescott family.

Since John Prescott, 2d, the eldest son of the pioneer, had cared for his father in his old age, and had rebuilt his mills and dwelling houses for him after the massacre, it was natural that he should inherit the homestead. In January, 1686, he received by deed from his brother, Jonathan, all of the part of the saw-mill lands then in his possession. He was forty-six years old at the time of his father's death. He had been married thirteen years before, to Sarah Hayward, of Lancaster, and his children were already growing up about him. They were: Mary, born February 2, 1669; John, born September 24, 1672; Joanna, born January 6, 1676; Elizabeth, born November 27, 1678; Ebenezer, born July 6, 1682. His younger brothers, Jonathan Prescott of Concord, and Jonas Prescott of Groton, seem to have inherited more of their father's enterprise, for John, although a man of considerable vigor, a capable blacksmith and mill manager, had acted for so long a time under the leadership of his father, that he lacked self-assertive public spirit and

was not especially prominent in town affairs, notwithstanding his great possessions.

As the way to the mills by the old road, now North Mair Street, was not a convenient approach for those who were obliged to come to the mills across the Old Common, action in regard to another road was taken at a town meeting held August 16, 1686. The record states: "Several of the Inhabitation on the East Side of the Riuer propounded for a way to Goodman Prescott's Corne mill to ly ouer the Riuer at the Scar. Goodman Prescott told the town that if they would grant him about twenty acres of Land upon the Mill Brook lying aboue his own Land for his conuaniancy of preserving water against a time of drought he was willing the town should haue a way to the mill throw his Land." A committee was appointed to lay out the road, and Prescott's terms were accepted. The "twenty acres of land" on South Meadow Brook, which was granted to him in February 1687, was bounded by his own land north and east. Thus additional advantages were given to those who came from the northeastern part of Lancaster, now Bolton and Harvard, and to those who sought the mills from Stow and Marlborough. Traces of the bridge built "at the Scar" can still be found on the eastern side of the river, a few rods from the intersection of High and Allen Streets, and remains of the old roadway are plainly visible, trending northeasterly toward the hill above Carter's Mills, and southwesterly along the Plain near the bluffs above South Meadow Brook. The recent extension of High Street, in its purpose and location, differs but little from this old road.

A rude path led westward from Prescott's Mills at an early date, and this path, after various changes, became what is now known as the Rigby Road. How the name Rigby became attached to the brook or the road, is unknown. John Rigby was one of the early proprietors of Lancaster but there is no record by which his name can be connected with this district, and there is little reason to suppose that

he or any one else named Rigby lived in Lancaster after the massacre of 1676. As Rigby is known to have owned thirty-four acres of meadow land, the location of which is undetermined, it is possible that it may have been along this brook. Tradition also affirms that a very old house stood upon the Rigby Road a century ago, which was called the Rigby House.

The road to the eastward, now Water Street, probably existed as a private way before the close of the seventeenth century. The first record of it is found in 1718, when mention is made of a "slab bridge" belonging to John Prescott. This was located near the site of the present bridge at Harrisville. Thus, Prescott's Mills were approached from the highways lying on the east and west.

During nearly the whole of the quarter of a century which followed 1688, the frontier towns of New England were in a state of constant danger from the French and Indians. King William's war, from 1689 to 1697, awakened great anxiety among the people of Lancaster, and they took the most careful measures to prevent the recurrence of the massacre of 1676. Thus, in 1691, we find "John Prescott and families" seeking safety in the garrison of Philip Goss, who had married his daughter, Mary, in 1690, but it was not until September 11, 1697, that the long-dreaded attack of the Indians came. The Prescott estate did not suffer, but among the nineteen killed were Hannah Rugg, the sister of John Prescott, 2d, and her son, Joseph, and his wife and three of their children. Hannah, another of her children, was one of the eight carried into captivity. This event seems the more sad, in that the attack occurred after negotiations for peace had been begun, but before the news had crossed the ocean.

The complications of European affairs involved the colony in Queen Anne's war from 1701 to 1713. In 1704, John Prescott's nephew, Samuel, the son of Jonathan, accidentally committed an act that must have caused a deep

shock in the family of his uncle. The Reverend Andrew Gardner's house was on the lot where E. V. R. Thayer's house now stands. Samuel Prescott lived on the opposite side of the road to the south. The journal of Reverend John Pike contained the following entry, October 25: "Mr. Andrew Gardner minister of Lancaster, coming down from y^e watchbox in y^e night wth a darkish colored gown was mistaken for an Indian and solemnly slain by a sorry souldier belonging to y^e garrison, nomine Presket." According to the coroner's inquest, Prescott was a sentinel on duty, and challenged a supposed enemy twice, and then hearing no answer, fired, as he ought to have done. Although his neighbors did not blame him, yet he could not drown his remorse for having slain his beloved pastor.

In this same year, 1704, we find "a garrison established at y^e Corne Mill," as follows:

"John Prescott Sen ^r	1
John Prescott Jun ^r	1
John Keyes	1
Ebenezer Prescott	1
	<hr/>
	4"

This garrison must have sustained one of the "six" simultaneous attacks on July 31st, but no direct losses were reported.

Very little is known of the John Keyes here mentioned. In a deed of gift of John Prescott, 2d, a Sarah Keyes is spoken of as his granddaughter. Since John Keyes had a daughter Sarah, it is probable that his wife, Sarah, was a daughter of John Prescott, 2d, although no record of such a daughter has been found. John Keyes is known to have been a weaver. He may have lived for a time with Prescott, though there is some reason to believe that he may have built a house near the lower end of the present Church Street. Tradition reports that a cellar wall was discovered here in the early portion of the present century, and that it

was supposed to be that of a house that belonged to a weaver in still earlier times. He and his wife joined the church in Lancaster, in 1708, and there is a record of the baptism of five of his children: Sarah, 1708; Lydia, 1709; Huldah, 1714; John, 1716; Elkanah, 1718. He was one of the assessors of Lancaster for 1719. October 16, 1719, he sold to John Goss two large lots of land, within present Clinton limits, one of them "west of the highway over Rigby Brook to the mills," evidently reaching to a point near the mills, and another covering Currier's Flats. In 1722, John Keyes is mentioned as still living in Lancaster, and during this year, he sold a house and land. In 1728, a John Keyes, a weaver, is mentioned in recorded deeds as an inhabitant of Shrewsbury.

The meeting-house of Lancaster, having been burned a second time in the attack of July 31, 1704, by the French and Indians, a controversy arose as to where the new one should be built. The people upon the east of the river, as Bolton was still a part of Lancaster, outnumbered those upon the west, and it was voted that the new house should be located on the Old Common. November 29, 1705, the inhabitants of Lancaster living upon the western side of the river, sent a petition to Governor Dudley, praying that the house might be rebuilt where it had formerly stood. The argument used by the petitioners was that the danger from the Indians was all on the west side, and therefore, if the meeting-house should be built upon the east side, their homes would be unprotected while they were at meeting. Among the names appended to this petition, we find those of John Prescott Sen^r (2d), John Prescott Jun^r (3d), and John Keyes. After a year of petitions and counter-petitions, it was finally decided that the house should be east of the river, near the northwestern point of the Old Common, and there services were held until 1743. During this time, the Prescotts must have gone to meeting over the Scar Bridge Road.

In 1709, we find John Prescott, 2d, and others, petitioning

the Governor that they may receive pay for billeting soldiers who were located in the western part of the town for the defense of the settlement. John Prescott's share of the amount received was 2*£*. 12*s*. 4*d*. A list of the frontier garrisons kept in the Massachusetts Archives gives the Prescott garrison in 1711 "three families, four inhabitants, two soldiers and fifteen souls." This may be looked upon as the first census of the district. In all the garrisons in Lancaster, including towns afterwards set off, there were at this time eighty-three families, one hundred and eleven inhabitants, twenty-one soldiers, and a total of four hundred and fifty-eight souls.

Sarah Prescott, the wife of John Prescott, 2d, died in 1709. On her tombstone, in the old burial ground at Lancaster, we can still read the inscription:

SARAH
PRESCOTT
HVR BLAS
ED SOUL
ASANDED
UP TO HEA
VEN JULY 14
1709
AGED
ABOUT
63
YEARS

He afterwards married Mary Howe, the widow of Josiah Howe of Shrewsbury.

The northern portion of the Prescott estate seems to have been divided between Ebenezer Prescott and John Keyes, and all of it, as we shall see, soon passed into the hands of John Goss. November 24, 1714, John Prescott, 2d, gave to his son, John Prescott, 3d, a portion of his estate, including the part of the mill he had not given to Ebenezer. The registry indicates that he was living in 1723.

His death marks the close of an epoch in the history of the settlement. From the day, more than three-score years before, when as a boy he had crossed the marshes of Sud-

bury with his father, and entered upon the untried wilderness, his whole life had been one of constant grapple with nature and her savage children. He had helped to fell the primeval forest, and sow the first seed in our Clinton soil; to lay the foundation for the first dwelling place; to build the first dam; to set the first mill-stone; to lay out the first road and construct the first bridge. He had often sought the deer along the river banks. He had trapped the bear and destroyed the wolf and the rattlesnake. He had seen his home burned by the Indians, and his neighbors and kindred slain. He had been among the last to leave the ashes of the settlement, and among the first to return and again defy the dangers of the frontier. For the following thirty years his house had always been a garrison and, with a vigilance made keen by the horrors through which he had passed, he watched for the coming of his crafty foe, and repelled his fierce attacks.

From his time on, however, the families at "y^e Corne Mill" never heard the war whoop of hostile Indians. The struggle for existence on the part of the town and the colony was over. Through privations and sufferings, in frequent mournings for past losses, and constant dread of coming evils, by ceaseless watchings and tireless labors, the Prescotts, father and son, and such as they, had established the supremacy of the English over the Indians within the limits of the Massachusetts Colony, and had prepared the way for future development.

The records of John Prescott, 3d, and his neighbors, are still more meagre than those of his father. As he was born in 1672, it is likely that his earliest memories may have been associated with the massacre of 1676. He lived in the vicinity of "y^e Corne Mill," and probably at the old homestead. After the death of his father, the whole of the southern portion of the estate seems to have been in his possession. He married Dorothy ———, but the date of the marriage and the maiden name of the wife have been lost.

The Prescotts had a daughter, Dorothy, born in 1706, who died at the age of seven. Another daughter, Mary, was baptized in 1708. She died at the age of ten. Tabitha, another daughter, was baptized in 1710. She was married to Joseph Sawyer in 1731. She made a second marriage with Silas Brigham in 1743. John was baptized April 5, 1713. He married Mary White in 1742, their intentions being entered "March y^e 5th." As baptism usually occurred as soon after birth as the health of those concerned would allow the child to be carried to the church, it is probable that dates of baptism differ but little from those of birth.

During the life of John Prescott, 3d, we find these further entries in the Lancaster records in regard to the Scar Bridge Road: "April y^e 8, 1717, on ajornment from y^e 5 of March the Town Meet at y^e Meeting House and first John Goss Proposed to have y^e Hiway moved that Goeth to y^e Mill the Town made Choyce of John Wilder Sr & Robard Houghton to be a Committy to view y^e same & make Report to y^e Town."

"April y^e 22^d 1717 The Town Meet on Ajornment from y^e 8 of sd Month Upon y^e Report of a Committy sent to View y^e Way to Prescott's Mill towit upon y^e proposition of John Goss & y^e Town Voted that said Hiway be moved & lie by y^e River—Provided said way be kept four Rods Wide from y^e Scar bridge till it com to y^e Hill from y^e top of y^e River bank: and after it amount said Hill to Lye where it shall be most Convenient to y^e Town till it Com to sd Mill sd Goss to Clear said Rode when that Committy shall stake it out."

There is good evidence that there were at least five houses along this road, and the cellar-holes of several of them can be found to the present day east of the river. These houses probably belonged, for the most part, to the first half of the eighteenth century, as we know it was voted by the town in May, 1742, to remove the bridge "down to the road that leads from Lieut. Sawyers to Doctor Duns-

moors and set it up there in the most convenient place." This is the present location of the bridge at Carter's Mill. The roadway was not wholly abandoned at the removal of the bridge, for we read later of a fording place where it had stood.

John Goss, who made the proposition about the bridge, was born in 1693. He was the son of Philip Goss, a Boston merchant, who bought the Rowlandson place, in Lancaster, in 1687, and who married Mary Prescott in 1690. This Philip Goss bought the "Washacomb Farm" of John Prescott, 2d, June 18, 1701. In 1717-18, John Goss received from John Prescott, 3d, "eighty acres of land, with the buildings thereon," between "Mill Brook" and the river, including some of the lower part of the Plain. In 1717, John Goss bought land now within Clinton limits, both of John Keyes and by way of exchange for the "Washacomb Farm" of Ebenezer Prescott. The deed of the former purchase, we have already noticed. The deed of the latter, specifies land laid out in part to Ralph Houghton, and in part to George Adams, and since purchased by John Prescott, Sr. (2d). In one lot, there were about one hundred acres; in the other, land valued at fifty-two pounds ten shillings. Thus, John Goss must have owned several hundred acres in what is now the northeasterly portion of Clinton, lying for the most part between the present location of the Boston & Maine Railroad and the Nashua, and between Goodridge Brook and the center of the Plain.

John Goss built the first dam and mill where Rodger's privilege, south of Allen Street, now is. His dwelling-house, perhaps among the "buildings" specified in the deed of John Prescott, 3d, to him, was upon the bluff to the east, just above the mill. In 1733, John Goss sold to John Prescott, by way of exchange, twenty-three and one-half acres west of Prescott's Mill Pond, receiving several small pieces adjoining his own land. Records show that John Goss had at least six children, William, Elizabeth, Mary, John, Philip

and Jonathan. Elizabeth married Barzillai Holt. In the early forties, John, William and Philip received estates at Prescott's Meadows in Sterling, averaging over one hundred acres apiece. Elizabeth Holt had fifty-eight acres there, and Jonathan received land in 1748-9, because he had not received a full share of his father's estate. The date of the death of John Goss is unknown, but it probably occurred not far from the time of the sale of his farm in 1745-6.

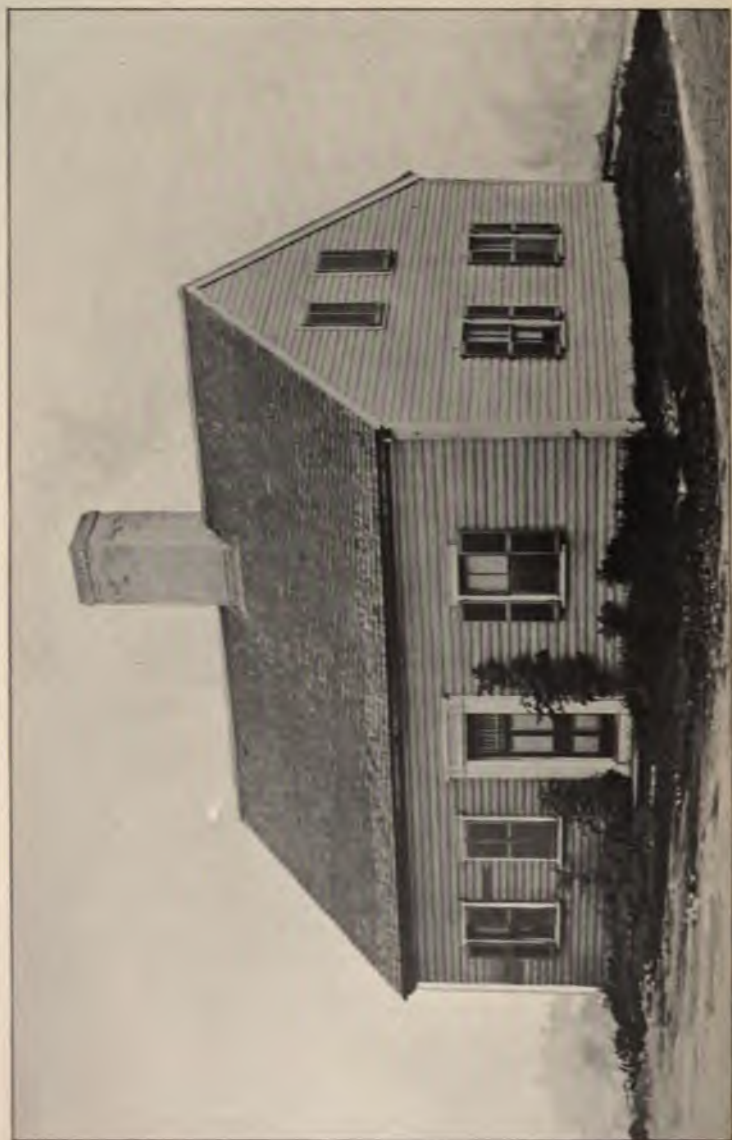
At the close of the year 1717, the following entries are found in the Lancaster Records: "John Prescott Requests the town would Grant a hiway from his Land att the Slabbin to his medow Called prescots Medow."

"The town Granted a hiway in answer to the propozition of John Prescott from his Land to the loor end of the medow Called preescots meadow neer where the path now goes to witt the parth called the dugway."

John Prescott was in poor health for a long time before his death, for, upon the 25th of January, 1723, he, being "weak and indisposed," conveyed all his personal estate to Ebenezer Prescott and his wife, Rachel, subject to legacies to his grandchildren. He continued to live, probably as an invalid, for more than a quarter of a century.

Dorothy Prescott had joined the church in 1718, and September 7, 1749, "John Prescott was received into full Communion by y^e Chh at his own House having been confined by sickness and other infirmities for some years." On the 28th of September, the same year, his wife died, and he followed her to the grave on the 11th of October. His new will, made some months before his death, is signed with his mark, showing his feebleness and consequent inability to write.

John Prescott, 1st, had estates at Groton, Washacum and in South Lancaster, as well as within the present limits of Clinton. These estates were divided between his other children and John Prescott, 2d, who alone remained on the homestead, and received by inheritance or purchase about



HOUSE OF JOHN PRESCOTT, 4TH.

all the land his father had owned in this section, while the other children had the rest. John Prescott, 3d, had only the southern portion of his father's estate, while John Goss, his nephew, had the northern portion, largely by purchase from the other heirs. The southern portion of the estate, now known as Burditt Hill, was bequeathed by John Prescott, 3d, to the children of his daughter, Tabitha Sawyer. Only the central strip remained to John Prescott, 4th, and we shall see that this was divided at his death among his many children. After the fifth generation, no land within present Clinton limits remained in the hands of any descendant of John Prescott, the pioneer, who retained the family name.

John Prescott, 4th, was in full possession of the mills and homestead on the death of his father. The other mills, however, which had been built in the neighborhood, had taken away a large share of the business of which the earlier Prescotts had held sole control. On account of this breaking up of the estate, and loss of monopoly by the mills, for the next two generations the family of the Prescotts was only one of several prominent in the life of the district.

The fourth possessor of the estate was, however, a man of considerable ability. He must have owned at least five hundred acres of land within present Clinton limits, as we find records of the transfer of that amount. With Aaron and Moses Sawyer, his nephews, he also owned a tract in Princeton. He was at one time a selectman of the town, and he took an active part in the stirring scenes of his times. He put up a new house which is still standing on the original site a little nearer the mill than that of his father had been. It is the cottage-house somewhat back of the block at the southwest corner of Water and High Streets. John Prescott, 4th, had ten children, five boys and five girls.

The family record is as follows: Mary, born December 24, 1743, married Phineas Sawyer, of Fitchburg, January 4, 1774. Dorothy, born November 6, 1745, died December 28,

1746. Eunice, born November 12, 1747, married February 26, 1772, Jonathan Whitman, who was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill; afterwards married Jonathan Cutting. John, born December 6, 1749, married October 25, 1775, Mary Ballard; died childless, August 18, 1811 (dropsy). Rebecca, born March 7, 1752, married, September 30, 1789, Josiah Bowers, who was at Bunker Hill. Jonas, born August 6, 1754, married March 31, 1779, Susannah Wilder; later, he married Ruth Kidder; he was a doctor in Rindge, N. H., Keene, N. H., and Templeton, Mass.; died July 22, 1798. Ruth, born August 16, 1757, married February 24, 1780, Jonathan Wilder, who was a member of the General Court from 1803 to 1806. Jonathan, born July 4, 1761, married September 7, 1797, Ruth Glazier; he was a constable in Boston for forty-four years. Joseph, born August 5, 1763, went West, married, and had two daughters. Jabez, born 1765, married November 26, 1789, Abigail Gates; he was a wheelwright in Ohio; she was buried in Lancaster in 1827.

CHAPTER V.

FARMERS AND MILLWRIGHTS.

IN February, 1745-6, "Thomas Goss of Bolton, Clerk, Joseph Wilder Jun^r of Lancaster, Gen^l, who had received power of attorney from John Goss, and Mary Goss of Lancaster," deeded to John Allen of Weston, "in consideration of eleven hundred pounds in bills of the old tenor," * * * * "land in Lancaster, containing by estimation one hundred and eighty acres, together with the Buildings, Mill, orchard and Improvements thereon." This land was bounded as follows: "South on the Land of John Prescott Jun^r; East, it is bounded by y^e River; North, it is bounded partly, by Land of Doc^t John Dunsmoor, partly, by Land of Elias Sawyer; West, it is bounded partly, by a private way that Leads to John Prescott's Mill &, partly, on the Land of said Dunsmoor, and it is the whole of the Land on which John Goss of said Town formerly lived," * * * * "Saveing that there is Two private ways Laid through & allowed in said Land, one from Prescott's Mills to Rigbee Brook and the other from said Prescotts to the fordway by where there was a bridge Called the Scar bridge."

This John Allen was a descendant of Daniel Allen, one of the early settlers of Lancaster. Daniel Allen had married Mary Wilder, a daughter of his neighbor, Thomas Wilder. The Allens did not return to Lancaster for more than half a century after the massacre of 1676. Ebenezer Allen, Sr., who had also lived in Weston, bought this estate of his brother, John, December 15, 1746, and Ebenezer

Allen, Jr., received a deed of it from his father, June 29, 1756. The estate had meanwhile grown to two hundred and twenty acres. The Allens built a new dwelling place on the west side of the Mill Path about 1764. This house remained standing on its old site until 1879, when it gave way to the present residence of E. A. Currier. Ebenezer Allen, Sr., died in 1770, at the venerable age of ninety-four. His wife, Sarah, had died in 1755, when she was seventy-one.

Ebenezer Allen, Jr., married Tabitha ———, and they had two children, Elisha and Tabitha, before they came to Lancaster. They afterwards had seven more, making a total of six boys and three girls.* The Allens lived in better style than most of their neighbors, for they had a negro maid servant, who is recorded to have been baptized in 1760, and a negro man servant, who died in 1761. Whether these were slaves or free is uncertain, as the negro population of the town belonged to both classes.

The southern portion of the Prescott estate, some ninety-seven acres in extent, including a considerable portion of Burditt Hill, as it is now called, and the land west of it on the brook "aboue the forge," was bequeathed by John Prescott, 3d, to the five children of his daughter, Tabitha, who had married Joseph Sawyer, May 10, 1731.

*The following list of children was gathered from the Lancaster Records: "Elisha, born in Weston, Dec. 11, 1745; married Miriam Goodale of Marlboro'. The intentions were declared Feb. 1, 1772. Tabitha, born Jan. 27, 1747; died unmarried Dec. 17, 1833. Mary, born in Lancaster, Jan. 14, 1749; married Titus Wilder, Apr. 21, 1773. (See Wilder Record.) Ebenezer, born Apr. 12, 1751; married Mary Henry of Lunenburg. The intentions were published July 30, 1772. Amos, born Aug. 1, 1753; married Rebecca Thurston of Lancaster, July 12, 1781. He moved to Luzerne, N. Y. A church letter was given in 1816. Abel, born Apr. 26, 1756; married Mary Symmons Aug. 11, 1785. He moved to Sullivan, N. H., 1794. Jacob, born Feb. 13, 1758. Thankful, born Mar. 31, 1760; died May 9, 1761. Samuel, born June 28, 1762; married Lucy Smith, June 27, 1787."

It will be remembered, that the first Thomas Sawyer had married Mary, the eldest daughter of John Prescott, the pioneer, in 1648. Their son, Thomas, seems to have inherited the enterprise of his maternal grandfather. He built the second mill in Lancaster, at the water privilege in the Deer's Horns District, as early as 1699. It is probable that he may have owned some land within the present limits of Clinton. He, together with his son, Elias, and John Biglo, were captured by the French and Indians, October 15, 1705, and carried away to Canada. Thomas Sawyer was tied to the stake for death by torture, but was rescued by a friar, who held before the Indians a key, and told them that unless they loosed their captive, he would unlock the doors of Purgatory and cast them into its fires. This was, perhaps, a device of the French governor to save the captive, for we find that soon after he employed Sawyer and his companions to build, on the Chambly River, the first mill in Canada. This Thomas died in 1736, at the age of eighty-nine.

Little is known of Joseph Sawyer, Sr., who was next in line, but his son, Joseph, who married Tabitha Prescott, May 19, 1731, was the founder of Sawyer's Mills in Boylston, and the proprietor of a considerable portion of the land in the extreme south of what is now Clinton territory. The settlement of his property was made in 1753. He had five children. Aaron, the eldest, followed his father at Sawyer's Mills, while Moses, the second son, born January 13, 1733-4, settled upon the seventy-five acres of land received from his grandfather Prescott. This land was valued at seventy-seven pounds, an average of about one pound per acre. Sarah Sawyer, his sister, received the remaining twenty-two acres, together with other land lying along the river. Moses Sawyer married Mary Sawyer, April 27, 1763. He built what is now known as the Dorrisson House on the west side of South Main Street, probably as a home for his bride. He joined the church in 1764. His first wife died in 1774, and three years later he married Betty Larkin. By his first wife

he had five children, by his second, eight; in all, seven sons and six daughters.* This family was about twenty years younger than that of either the Prescotts or the Allens, so that we find the name of Moses Sawyer more often associated with those of the eldest children of John Prescott, 4th, and Ebenezer Allen, Jr., than with those of the parents.

The controversy in regard to the position of the church in 1705, introduces us to the Wilder family, some members of which may have settled within the present limits of Clinton before this date.

Martha Wilder, a widow of Thomas Wilder, of Shiplake, England, came to this country, accompanied by one daughter, in 1638. Another daughter and two sons, Edward and Thomas, probably preceded her. It is likely that they came to escape religious persecution, since the family was one of good standing in the old country and was very earnest in its Puritanism. Thomas settled in Charlestown in 1640, (his tombstone says Hingham, 1641), whence he removed to Lancaster in 1659. He lived on the eastern slope of George Hill, and became one of the leading citizens of the town.

*The record of his family is as follows: "The Burths of the Children of Mosies and Mary Sawyer—Mosies Sawyer Born May 29, 1764—(died Mar. 12, 1831.) Molley born Jan. 18, 1766—(married Abijah Moore.) Intentions Apr. 17, 1788. Betty born Apr. 18, 1768—(married Joseph Rice Sept. 19, 1796.) John born Mar. 16, 1770. Sarah born May 10, 1772. Mary Sawyer wife of Mosies Sawyer Departed this Life Apriel 12 1774 in the 33 yer of her age. (He married Betty Larkin Apr. 23, 1777. She died Apr. 21, 1844, aged ninety four.) The Children the sd Mosies hath had by Betty Sawyer. Artimas Sawyer born Nov. 2, 1777—(graduated at Harvard 1798—died at Marietta, Ohio.) Joseph born Jan. 21, 1780—(died Oct. 2, 1806.) Nathaniel born April 26, 1782—(died Feb. 18, 1788.) Peter born Jan. 25, 1784—(married Mary H. Sawyer May 21, 1807—died June 2, 1841.) Ezra born Dec. 6, 1785—(died Jan. 18, 1825, a bachelor.) Lussena born Feby 14, 1788—(married Ebenezer Wilder Nov. 3, 1807—died June 25, 1825.) Katy born Aug. 12, 1790—(married Stephen Wilder May 4, 1801.) Achsa born Dec. 22, 1794. (Moses the father, died Oct. 5, 1805.)"

After the massacre, two of his sons, Thomas and John, returned to Lancaster and settled on the Old Common, or Bridecake Plain. These two brothers apparently became the original proprietors of a large tract of land around Clamshell Pond within the present limits of Clinton. John was born in 1646. He is said to have been one of the original proprietors of Worcester, though he is not known to have lived there. He married Hannah ———, May 17, 1672, by whom he had six children. As two of these children, John, born 1673, and Thomas, born 1676, had homes in what is now the southeastern part of Clinton, it is somewhat doubtfully asserted that the father moved hither also. It is said, contrary to evidence, that in 1693, he built a house, where the dwelling-place of Edwin F. Wilder now stands on Chace Street, and that a portion of this building is still to be seen in the attic story of the house now located there.

It is very probable that one or both of the sons and, perhaps, the father also, lived in this district during Queen Anne's war. After the attack of 1704, in a petition which was sent to Governor Dudley setting forth the lamentable condition of those living on the east side of the river, it is stated in connection with a record of losses and a petition for relief from taxes, as follows: "Most of y^e Inhabitants on y^e side have had but little or no help or protection in there Garrisons but have been necessitated to watch & ward a third part of their time at least, besides Ranging the woods after when Rumours & Allarms have hapened so that neere halfe our time is spent in actuall service & when we are about our own work we cannot keep to it, but lose a great part of what we Labour for being forced to get our bread with y^e pril of our Lives which hang in Doubt continually & but little peace day or night & many of us have formerly been greatly Impoverished by y^e Indians, & see no probability but if they can againe it will be so for the future, & having lost our meeting house being now burnt by them this sumer which is a Generall loss, & also y^e los of our late minister so that we

are on all accounts as new beginners & under such discouraging circumstances that our spiritts are Ready to sink almost dispaire of subsisting another yeare except we may be under beter circumstances, but still under God Relying on your favorable protection & Relieffe."

It is told of John Wilder, Sr., that when he hoed his corn he was accustomed to place his loaded gun a little distance before him, to work a few hills beyond it, and then place it before him again, and so on. In times of special danger, the people of this section went to the garrison house on the Old Common.

In the controversy in regard to the location of the meeting-house, the Wilders were among the foremost of those desiring it on the east side of the river. Both Thomas, Sr., and John, Sr., were selectmen at the time, and their names are appended in their official capacity to the statement made to Governor Dudley regarding the meeting at which the matter was decided by a majority vote of the citizens.

Before the close of the first half of the eighteenth century, quite a community of farmers seemed to have grown up around Clamshell Pond. John Wilder, Jr., was born May 11, 1673. He married Sarah Sawyer. They had five sons and three daughters. It is probable that the family lived where the house of Edwin F. Wilder now stands on Chace Street. We have no record that any of his sons remained on their father's farm. Thomas Wilder was born in 1676. He married Susannah Hunt. He built a house near the spot where Daniel Carville's house now stands. The cellar of this old homestead can still be seen, but will soon be covered by the Metropolitan Reservoir. Thomas Wilder and his wife are recorded to have owned the covenant of the church in 1718, and to have had two sons and four daughters* baptized at the same time.

* The record is as follows: "John, born Sept. 2, 1703; Jotham, born 1710; Rachel, Prudence, Deliverance, Abigail. Later Susannah was

While all the inhabitants of this region had served as soldiers in the home guard from the first settlement to the close of Queen Anne's war, the Wilder family have the honor of furnishing the first soldiers from the present Clinton territory for distant expeditions. Lovewell's war began in 1722, and lasted until 1726. John Wilder, Jr., served for four weeks and five days during July and August, 1722, according to the muster roll of Sergeant Thomas Buckminster of Framingham. Little is known of the nature of this service. Three years later, both he and his nephew, John Wilder, the son of Thomas, served in Capt. Josiah Willard's company from June 3 to November 10, 1725. It is likely that Daniel Albert, who served in the same company, was already a neighbor of the Wilders.

In 1740, England sent out an expedition, nominally in the defense of free trade, against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Massachusetts was required to furnish a regiment for this expedition. Capt. John Prescott of Concord, a descendant of John Prescott, the pioneer, commanded a company in this expedition. In the rolls of this company is found the name of Daniel Albert. He was probably living within present Clinton limits at this time in the settlement east of the river. A mark is drawn through his name, so it is doubtful if he accompanied the expedition.

Lieut. Thomas Tucker obtained land near Clamshell Pond of Capt. Thomas Wilder of the Old Common in 1716. It is likely that he built there within a few years after the purchase, as we find that he married Mary Divell, May 25, 1720-21. They had four children, whose births are recorded: Admonition, William, Mary and Josiah. His homestead was on what is now Chace Street, on the site of the old Chace House. The question of straightening the road past his house to the Old Common gave rise to several entries in

baptized Jan. 26, 1720-21. Titus was baptized March 8, 1723-4. Another Prudence was born Jan. 2, 1729-30."

the records in 1721-3-4. On his death, September 19, 1768, his son William received the estate. William married Mary Kendall in 1755. His recorded children are Rebecca, Thomas and Sarah. There is a church record of his removal to Westmoreland, N. H., February 28, 1796, and at the same time, his son, Thomas, disposed of the estate for fifteen hundred dollars.

Philip Larkin was a neighbor of the Wilders and Tuckers, but he lived just outside the present limits of Clinton to the southeast of Clamshell Pond. There is good reason to believe that some of the families of Butlers, as well as those of the Alberts, may have been living near by the Wilders on the winding road leading from Bolton to Boylston, not far from the middle of the eighteenth century. September 5, 1753, John Moore of Bolton, sold Asaph Butler of Bolton, forty-two acres of land, bounded northerly on the Wilder farm, and bordering on land of Philip Larkin, with buildings thereon. October 23, 1759, Asaph Butler of Lancaster, sold the above, with buildings, to James Butler. In 1781, James Butler sold part of the same, with buildings, where "James Butler now dwells," to Simon Butler. Simon Butler added to this, farm land bought of the heirs of Hezekiah Gates and of Jotham Wilder. This estate is now known as the Woods' farm.

Jotham Wilder, the second son of Thomas, followed him in the possession of the homestead. He married Phebe Wheeler, of Leominster, in 1746. Before 1769 they had eight children, four boys and four girls.* He and his family

*Jotham Wilder entered intentions of marriage with Phebe Wheeler of Leominster October 3, 1746. Children:—Stephen, born Feb. 26, 1747. Intentions of marriage with Betty Sawyer of Harvard were entered June 9, 1770. She died July 14, 1814. Titus, born Dec. 4, 1749; married Mary Allen Apr. 21, 1773; Phebe, baptized Dec. 31, 1752; Susannah, born Dec. 3, 1753; married Dr. Jonas Prescott of Rindge, N. H., Mar. 31, 1779; Jotham, born Feb. 19, 1759; married Lucy Moor of Lancaster. Intentions were entered Sept. 14, 1780; Reuben Wheeler, born July 6,

on account of their prominence and from the fact that fuller details of their life have been preserved, may be considered as representative of the little hamlet of half a dozen farmers who were living, during the period we are about to enter, on the east of the river within present Clinton territory.

The Allens, Prescotts and Sawyers, to the west of the Nashua, and the Wilders, on the east; these are the four families about which our history will center during this last half of the eighteenth century. We no longer deal with the record of a single family, but must try to untangle all the confused threads which unite the members of these four families with each other and with the world outside. Let us try to form some general idea of their lives before we enter into the details.

During the century following the foundation of the Prescott mills, the better portion of the original forest nearby, had been felled for the use of the mills, but a new growth had for the most part been allowed to take its place, so that the open spaces of the district had been increased much less than is commonly supposed. Until the close of the first hundred years after the settlement, a bounty of thirty shillings per head was paid for the killing of wolves, but they had not yet been exterminated. Once, after Moses Sawyer had settled on what is now Burditt Hill, he noticed bear tracks near his cornfield. He set a trap, about twenty rods northeast of the present reservoir, and caught a young bear, and soon after he shot the mother coming to the assistance of her cub. We are told that deer were frequently seen from the Sawyer house. The rattlesnake was still feared, and wild cats were common.

In the midst of this wilderness, there were two small saw

1761, Intentions of marriage with Eunice Bailey of Sterling were entered Dec. 28, 1782; Abigail, baptized May 12, 1765; Sarah, baptized April 10, 1768.

mills and grist mills, and less than a dozen farms, each with a few acres cleared for tillage and pasturage. There was a population in 1750 of less than fifty souls on both sides of the river. This was all that this section of Lancaster had to show for the first century of its slow development.

Meanwhile, the other sections of the old town had been growing much more rapidly, and one after another the villages had sought independence. Harvard was incorporated in 1732; Bolton, including nearly all of what is now Berlin and a part of Hudson, in 1738, and Leominster, in 1740. A section to the southeast of the town, including a part of what is now Berlin,* was given in 1742 to a new precinct of Shrewsbury, the Boylston of the future. Chocksett, also, now Sterling, although it had been unable to secure full separation from the mother town, had become a precinct with a meeting-house of its own.

Lancaster, including what has since become Sterling and Clinton, is estimated to have had a population of fifteen hundred in 1751. During the next fourteen years, there was considerable increase, so that we find, according to the census of 1765, on the same territory, a population of one thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine. In 1776, the population in the same territory, with the addition of Shrewsbury Leg, a thinly inhabited district, which had been added to Lancaster on the south in 1767, was two thousand seven hundred and forty-six. In 1780, the southern section of Lancaster, including Sawyer's Mills, was set off to Shrewsbury, and, in 1781, Sterling became a town.

In 1784, Sterling had four hundred and forty voters, while Lancaster had only three hundred and seven. By the census of 1790, however, the population stood: Lancaster, fourteen hundred and sixty, and Sterling, fourteen hundred and twenty.

* The irregularity in the southeastern boundary of our town originated from the fact that the Larkin farm was joined to the part set off from Lancaster to Shrewsbury.

As the school squadron about Prescott's mill was assigned £3-1s-10d out of the £100 that might be raised for the support of schools in 1792, it may be supposed that its population at this time was not far from fifty souls. The Allen family, and, perhaps, some of their neighbors, were at this time reckoned in the "New Boston" squadron. The amount assessed to the Wilder squadron was £2-9s-8d, which would give it about forty souls. It is also possible that some living within present Clinton territory may have been included in the Deer's Horns squadron, and some may have attended the Boylston schools, so that we can safely estimate the total number in the community, as a whole, as not far from one hundred.

In 1800, the population of Lancaster had reached only fifteen hundred and eighty-four. When Worcester County was established in 1731, Lancaster exceeded all the other towns in population and wealth, and it was long before it lost this distinction, notwithstanding so many new towns were set off from her territory. The community with which we are dealing must be looked upon as made up of a few outlying farms and mills, belonging to a town prosperous and wealthy according to the standards of those days, but small and only fairly prosperous according to the ideas of the present.

The industries of the citizens can be judged from the following statistics taken from the census of 1771, before Sterling was set off:

Polls	595
Dwellings.....	339
Shops and stores.....	61
Grist and Saw Mills.....	17
Horses	383
Oxen.....	529
Other Neat Cattle	1,124
Sheep	2,310
Swine.....	623
Grain, annual product (bushels).....	26,905

Cider, annual product (barrels)	2,689
Slaves between 14-45.....	6

If we compare the number of horses, oxen, other neat cattle, sheep and swine with the number of dwelling-houses, and, if we note that there were about ten bushels of grain, mostly Indian corn, and a barrel of cider to each inhabitant, and, if we add to these the fruits, the root crops and the products of the kitchen garden, which must also have received considerable attention, we can get some idea of the extent to which grazing and farming must have been carried on. The supply of grains, meats and dairy products must have exceeded the needs of the inhabitants, and this excess was used more or less directly by way of exchange to satisfy their few remaining wants. The wool from the sheep was woven into homespun cloth for garments. The hides of the domestic animals must have more than sufficed for foot gear and for the leathern breeches and aprons which were so generally worn by the boys and men. During the Revolution, the number of sheep greatly increased, as the importation of foreign woolen goods practically ceased. The saw mills prepared lumber for buildings from wood cut from the native forests. The grist-mills ground the grain. It is probable, too, that the farmers of neighboring towns still depended to some extent upon these mills in Lancaster. Although most of the shops and stores must have been very small, yet their large number shows that they must have had considerable trade from outside of town limits. Rum and molasses were the two principal imports. The store, at which the trade of most of the people of this section was done, was kept by Willard & Ward at the cross-roads of South Lancaster. Willard sometimes went to England to buy goods.

The Clinton district, which during the first century after its settlement had depended especially on its mills, during this period became more essentially a farming region than at any other time in its history, for while the mills decreased in prosperity, the farms increased. With the exception of a

few hands at the Prescott and Allen mills and a few working at the trades, the men and boys devoted themselves to farming. Their work was done by hand with rude tools, since modern machines were, of course, unknown. The planting, the haying, the hoeing, the getting in of the grain and other crops and their preparation for food, the care of the cattle, the shearing of sheep, the slaughtering, the salting down of the pork and beef, the cutting and hauling of the wood for fuel, the building of fences and walls, and the repairing of tools filled up the busy hours from sunrise to sunset, from the beginning of the year to the end. Those who were disposed to take things easily would sometimes gather in the village grocery stores and taverns and sluggishly discuss the weather, the prospect of crops, the affairs of the church and town, or maybe the condition of the colony as a whole. Too often they sought excitement through intoxication, and thus intemperance became the great curse of the community and total abstinens were far more rare than habitual drunkards.

The hard-working women not only took care of their houses, prepared food for their large families and cooked it over an open fire or in a brick oven, but they attended to the milk and made their own butter and cheese, their soap for washing, their lard for cooking and their candles for lighting. They dried their own apples and berries, and gathered their own herbs for medicines. They made and filled their straw beds, their feather beds and their pillows. They spun and wove their linen and put together their quilts. As far as their floors were covered, they made their carpets and rugs from rags. They spun the wool into yarn and wove it into cloth, and from this cloth they cut and made garments for all the members of their families. They knit stockings, mittens and comforters, and made for themselves a hundred other things which are today purchased ready for use.

Domestic servants were far less common than they are

now, and few mothers could expect any aid until their girls were of an age to relieve them of a part of their burdens. As soon as they were old enough, the children had their stints. The girls helped their mothers in the kitchen and in making patchwork or knitting, and especially in the care of the younger children. The boys picked the stones, pulled the weeds, spread the hay and stowed it away, picked the berries, chopped the wood, shelled the corn, shovelled the paths and helped tend the cattle, sheep and pigs. Yet recreation was not wanting. The children enjoyed roving through the woods. Many of the boys had their snares and at an early age learned to use the gun. The ponds and streams gave bathing, fishing and skating. When a little older, both sexes met at the husking, and it is likely that parties for round games and dancing were sometimes given. In their frolics, the old joined as well as the young. The quilting bees, with the supper which followed, gave some variety to the life of the women.

The following inventory of the personal estate of John Prescott, 3d, will give us considerable light upon the contracted life which these farmers and millwrights led. The values assigned to articles are very excessive. In all probability, his whole household furniture would be worth less than two hundred dollars according to modern standards.

The inventory of the personal estate of John Prescott 3^d 1749.

	£.	S.	D.
a bible—7£—Books of divinity & other books—3£.	10	00	00
his Cash & notes of hand.....	59	07	00
his Quickflock—two small oxen—33 ^l four Cows— sixty ^l —a yearling heifer—5 ^l —eight sheep 13 ^l — 4 ^s —a horse 10 ^l	120	04	00
his swine—two fatt Swine & two young shotes....	27	00	00
his wearing apparel of all sorts.....	72	07	00
a bed in the old Chamber with the bedstead & Covering.....	33	15	00
another bed in the same Chamber with the furnisners	25	05	00

a bed in the Little Chamber with the furnishers & Curtains	60-10-00
all the Remainder of the Sheets.....	30-00-00
— — towels and Sundry other Small Linen Clauths	06-05-00
two Chests a Spinning Wheel & Sundry other things in Chamber	16-17-00
a Chest a table & other Lumber in Leantoo room.	21-08-06
an Iron box, a Chain old Syghs and other old Iron	12-12-06
a table Iron Pot & Kettle and Sundry other things.	26-10-06
meat tubs, barrels and other Lumber in the Soller.	12-00-06
Chest tub, and other Lumber in old Chamber....	19-09-06
an anvil & vice & other Smith tools.....	44-17-00
his wives wearing aparel of all Sorts.....	99-01-00
three hives of bees.....	07-00-00
a tobacco Knife and other Knives and forks.....	00-08-00
the Pewter dishes of all sorts.....	17-02-00
a bed with the Lining & furnishers.....	60-10-00
Four Chairs.....	1-12-00
an Iron Pot and Kettle;	2-10-00
a box and trammels.....	1-10-00
wooden dishes.....	11-06
Sum total.....	734-13-02

In the estate of John Prescott, 4th, in 1791, we find a few additional articles, and values are estimated much lower.

Three of the items mentioned are :

	s.
one looking Glass.....	2
two pocket hankerChief.....	1
Two Silver Tea Spoons.....	6

The schooling of the children was confined to a few weeks in the least busy season of the year. As we have seen, the town paid only about the equivalent of eleven dollars for schooling the squadron at Prescott's Mills in 1792, and a little over eight for the squadron at Wilder's. The schools were probably taught in private houses, as we have no record of any school-house built for either squadron until the beginning of the present century. It may be, however, that the children from this section went over the Rigby

Road to a school-house which was built in 1743, opposite the present Deer's Horns school-house. There was a further opportunity for culture in the grammar school which was kept in various central localities at different times in the year, and was usually under the charge of a college graduate.

Apparently the Prescotts had never been characterized by very great earnestness of religious life, even when Puritanism was at its height, and, during the period of religious lethargy with which we are now dealing, we have no reason to suppose that they, or their neighbors, were especially absorbed in caring for the welfare of their souls. Yet most of them probably attended meeting for social, if not for religious reasons, and Sunday was a day of partial rest and friendly communion. The meeting-house at Lancaster Center was fifty-five feet long by forty-five wide. It had galleries on three sides. The deacon's seat was in front of the pulpit and formed a part of it. The wealthier members of the congregation built pews, six by five feet, at their own cost along the walls. The remaining seatings in the centre of the house and in the galleries were so arranged that the sexes were kept apart from each other. A separate location was assigned to the negroes. There were two sermons each Sunday, with an intermission for lunch between. There was doleful singing, without instrumental accompaniment, from the Bay Psalm Book. The frequent baptism of infants gave some novelty to the service. The people from a distance still went to church on horseback or in heavy farm wagons, as, in 1750, there were only "three chaises" in Lancaster.

Timothy Harrington was the pastor in the meeting-house at Lancaster Center. The site at the Old Common had been given up in 1742. He must have exerted a benign and refining influence as a pastor. Mr. Thayer, his successor, said: "In him was discovered a happy union of those qualities which gratify in the man, which please in the gentleman and which delight in the Christian. He could so temper his gravity with cheerfulness, his decision with mild-

ness and his earnestness with moderation, that persons of both sexes and of every age esteemed, respected and loved him. The child looked to him as its father, the young as their friend and conductor, the aged as their companion and brother."

Dr. William Dunsmoor was the physician generally employed in this district. He came on horseback and carried his medicines in his saddle-bags. Bleeding was the favorite method of treatment for ills of every kind. Many of the medicines used had no real efficacy. Dr. Dunsmoor was a man of ability, energetic in action and radical in his views. Although his library of about a score and a half volumes contained only seven works on physics and surgery, yet his sound common sense and his intense vitality made him far superior to the average doctor of his time. We shall find in a man of great influence in the community in various sections. Dr. Stanton Prentice and his successor, Israel Horton, were also employed by some families.

In the houses of the farmers, books were very rare, and pamphlets and newspapers, which were beginning to circulate among the more cultured, were seldom seen there. Neither did people have time or means to travel for pleasure; most of them had little occasion to go on business. Probably, a large proportion of the women had never more than a score of miles from home.

Yet these rude farmers and millers, with their cramped, hard lives and narrow privileges, acted worthily their part in some of the most momentous movements in the history of the world. They helped to conquer the French and regain possession of a continent. They helped to resist and overthrow the tyranny of England, the most powerful nation. They helped to build up order out of anarchy and to organize a government which awakened the admiration of all mankind and has ever since served as their pattern and example.

CHAPTER VI.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR AND THE REVOLUTION.

IN the general struggle between England and France for the control of North America, Lancaster, like other colonial towns, took a deep interest, and did its utmost, both in money and men, to help the mother country.

In the earlier portion of the war, there were few soldiers from within the present Clinton limits. When the success of Montcalm at Fort William Henry alarmed the colonists, the militia of Massachusetts set out with all possible dispatch to resist his further progress. Two companies of from fifty to sixty men each, set out under Lancaster captains, from the regiment of Oliver Wilder. When they reached Springfield, they learned that Montcalm had withdrawn to Canada, and so their services were no longer required. Among those who served in this expedition were Moses Sawyer, who at this time may have lived with his father at Sawyer's Mills, in the company of Capt. Nathaniel Sawyer, and Simon Butler, a trumpeter, in the company of Capt. John Carter.

In the following year, 1758, while successful expeditions were being conducted against Louisbourg on the north and Fort Duquesne on the south, it was the misfortune of the Massachusetts soldiers to be assigned to the expedition of the incompetent Abercrombie, who attempted to take Fort Ticonderoga. As a result of his misjudgment, some two thousand men fell in a useless struggle. Moses Sawyer and Jotham Wilder were in Abercrombie's army. The former

was in the company of Capt. Asa Whitcomb, of Col. Jonathan Bagley's regiment, which served from March to December, 1758. Asaph Butler, who was in the same company and among those who were sick, probably lived at that time within present Clinton limits. Although the terms of Jotham Wilder's enlistment are not given, yet it is certain that he was in the army about Ticonderoga in 1758. Three members of the Larkin family, which we have noted as belonging to the Wilder community, but living just within the present limits of Berlin, took part in this campaign. John Larkin died from disease. Four members of this family took part in one or more expeditions of the war.

In the spring of the following year, Jotham Wilder, with his two neighbors, Daniel Albert, Jr., and Frederick Albert, served under Amherst in Capt. James Reed's company, which was probably attached to Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment. This expedition took Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point with little fighting, repaired the fortifications and roads, and built a fleet of boats, but the action of Amherst was so dilatory that they failed to carry out the work planned for them and share with the troops of Wolfe the glory of the capture of Quebec.

These same men, after a winter spent at home, probably returned the following year and accompanied Amherst's expedition to Montreal, which led, without any serious fighting, to the final conquest of Canada.

This war, which was so wide-reaching in its general effects upon the history of the world, exerted its greatest direct local influence in arousing a military spirit among the people. The stories which Sawyer, Wilder and their comrades told of their adventures must have formed a central theme of interest in the narrow lives of their relatives and neighbors, and the younger generation must have been inspired by them to long for a similar opportunity to see the world and display their daring. Greater attention was given to the militia, and each able-bodied citizen was drilled in military

tactics. Henceforth, for many years, the musters on training days were among the most important epochs in the lives of the people, and military titles were the ambition of every aspiring youth. It was from service in this militia that Moses Sawyer received his much-valued commission as a lieutenant, and that John Prescott, 5th, received from local authorities the title of captain. It is more doubtfully claimed by some that the looseness of life in the camp, and the example of the English soldiers tended greatly to increase the intemperance and licentiousness of the American troops, and through them of the community at large.

The French and Indian war enlarged the political horizons of men, and the citizens of Lancaster became citizens of the world. The people, no longer needing the help of England against the French, were more free to consider their own needs and rights. Meanwhile, the ill-judged measures of the English government tended to estrange more and more the sympathies of the colonists.

We can well imagine the bitter feelings awakened in the minds of the Prescotts, Allens, Sawyers and Wilders by the Stamp Act, the quartering of troops, and the Boston Massacre. How they must have been chafed by the conservative tendencies of the Willards and the other loyalist leaders of the town. How they must have worked with Dr. William Dunsmoor, Aaron Sawyer and other patriotic citizens, to wrest the control in local affairs from Tories whose attachment to England was greater than their love for freedom.

The first recorded success of the Whigs came at a town meeting on the first Wednesday in January, 1773. The warrant for the meeting contained an article, "To chuse a Committee to Draw up our grievances and Infringements upon our Liberties and to Lay them before the Town when the Town shall so order." Under this article, a committee of seven was appointed. The three names first on the list were: Dr. William Dunsmoor, John Prescott and Aaron

Sawyer. It will be noted that all of these were descendants of John Prescott, the pioneer. Ebenezer Allen was also a member of the committee. Thus, the majority of the seven was made up from two men living within present Clinton territory, one who lived just over its northern border, and another from Sawyer's Mills. The resolves presented by this committee, and adopted by the town, were published in the *Boston Gazette*, May 17, 1773. They were worthy of a liberty-loving people who knew their rights and were ready to defend them. They are as follows:

"1. Resolved, That this and every other Town in this Province have an undoubted Right to meet together and consult upon all Matters interesting to them when and so often as they shall judge fit; and it is more especially their Duty so to do when any Infringement is made upon their Civil or Religious Liberties.

"2. Resolved, That the raising of Revenue in the Colonies without their consent either by themselves or their Representatives is an Infringement of that Right, which every Freeman has, to dispose of his own Property.

"3. Resolved, That the granting a Salary to his Excellency the Governor of the Province out of the Revenue unconstitutionally raised from us is an innovation of a very alarming tendency.

"4. Resolved, That it is of the highest Importance to the security of Liberty, Life and Property that the publick Administration of Justice should be pure and impartial and that the Judge should be free from every Bias either in Favour of the Crown or the Subject.

"5. Resolved, That the absolute Dependency of the Judges of the Superior Court of this Province upon the Crown for their support would if it should ever take Place have the strongest Tendency to bias the Minds of the Judges, and would weaken our Confidence in them.

"6. Resolved, That the Extension of the Power of the Court of Vice-Admiralty to its present enormous Degree is a great Grievance and deprives the Subject in many Instances of the noble Privilege of Englishmen Trials by Juries.

"7. Resolved. That the Proceedings of this Town be transmitted to the Town of Boston.

DR. WILLIAM DUNSMOOR	} Committee for Grievances.
JOHN PRESCOTT	
JOSIAH KENDALL	
EBENEZER ALLEN	
NATHANIEL WYMAN	
JOSEPH WHITE	
AARON SAWYER	

Attest: DANIEL ROBBINS, *Town Clerk.*"

The delegate to the General Court received instructions in terms no less patriotic.

From this time on, the Whig leaders remained in power, and the measures which they carried placed Lancaster in the front line of the towns which resisted the tyranny of Great Britain. In the same year, Ebenezer Allen and other men of the same stamp, were made selectmen. At a town meeting held September 5, 1774, John Prescott (4th), was chosen a member of the Committee of Correspondence. He had already attended a convention of the Committee of Correspondence of the towns of Worcester County, held in Worcester, August 9. At this town meeting of September 5th, and its adjournments, ammunition and guns were bought, measures were taken to organize one hundred volunteer minute men and to stop the consumption of English goods. January 5, 1775, we find John Prescott's name at the head of a committee of fifteen appointed to see that all citizens stood by the cause of the patriots. Ebenezer Allen was on the same committee. The nature of the work of this committee may be suggested from the following advertisement which appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy*:

"LANCASTER, July 17th, 1775.

"Whereas Nahum Houghton being complained of as being an enemy to his Country, by officiating as an unwearied Pedlar of that baneful herb TEA, and otherwise rendering himself odious to the inhabitants of this Town, and notwithstanding being warned, he did not appear before

the Committee that his political principles might be Known. This therefore (agreeable to a vote of said Town) is to caution all friends to the Community, to entirely shun his Company, and have no manner of dealings or connections with him, except acts of common humanity.

JOHN PRESCOTT, *Chairman.*"

Colonel Willard, after having accepted his appointment of Mandamus Councillor, and having been forced while away from home to promise that he would not either "sit or act with said council," in April, 1775, joined the British in Boston, and never returned to Lancaster. His brother and nephew also went over to the British. On June 7, 1775, we find the selectmen, with Ebenezer Allen as chairman, asking the Provincial Congress what shall be done with the estates of these men. They were ordered to improve them and report to future legislatures. The estates of Abijah and Abel Willard were confiscated.

Meanwhile the younger men were getting ready to fight, and when on the 19th of April, 1775, the Lexington alarm was sounded, they sprang immediately to arms. Six companies from Lancaster—with two hundred and fifty-seven men—joined the American lines at Cambridge and possibly took part in the end of the fighting, as, General Heath says: "General Whitcomb was in this day's battle." Among those who answered this first call were nearly all the able-bodied young men from the Prescott and Wilder neighborhoods.

Capt. John Prescott (fifth of the name) led a troop of horse, and with him went Sergt. Elisha Allen and Sergt. James Fuller. Eben Allen rode in the troop of Capt. Thomas Gates. Among the foot soldiers marched Lieut. Moses Sawyer, Jonas Prescott and Abel Allen. Stephen and Titus represented the Wilder family, and Larkin Corner sent all who could carry a musket.

Most of these troops came back at the end of two weeks to attend to the planting, but some re-enlisted in Andrew Haskell's company of Col. Whitcomb's regiment, which took

part in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17th. Among these were Corp. Ebenezer Allen, Jr., Abel Allen and Jonas Prescott, surgeon's waiters, and Jotham Wilder. The Prescott family was further represented by Corp. Josiah Bowers, husband of Rebecca Prescott, and by Jonathan Whitman, the husband of Eunice Prescott. The latter was killed, and thus the family offered its sacrifices for liberty. This regiment took part in the siege of Boston in the brigade of Gen. Nathaniel Greene of Rhode Island, which was reputed to be the best clad and best drilled in that ill-disciplined army of farmers, who wore their varying suits of homespun and offered only a slack obedience to the orders of their commanders.

It is fitting, also, to recall that Col. William Prescott, the commander of the day at Bunker Hill, was a descendant of John Prescott, the pioneer, and that he may have drawn the noble qualities, which he displayed, from his ancestors who lived on Clinton soil. Col. Abijah Willard, his brother-in-law, well knew the blood that was in him, when he replied to Gage, asking if he would fight: "Prescott will fight you to the gates of hell."

It is not our province to follow the events of the siege until the withdrawal of the British, nor to trace the later course of the war until, after seven years of alternate defeat and success, freedom was established. The men from this section, for the most part, entered service only when some special demand for soldiers came from some point near at hand, and as soon as the special need was over they returned to their homes. Burgoyne's campaign called out a considerable number of our men in 1777, and this section was represented in the Rhode Island campaigns of 1778 and 1781. The following record will show the individual service of men from this section as far as the statistics have been preserved. While it will be seen that most of the actual fighting occurred in the campaign against Burgoyne, yet we must remember that in the Revolution, even more than in our

Civil war, men were injured by exposure and questionable diet more than by battle. Disease was far more destructive than arms. Small-pox, especially, was the dreaded scourge of the American army in the early years. Although there are few casualties for us to record, yet there were doubtless many lingering disabilities incurred, of which we know nothing:

Daniel Albert, probably a resident at the time within present Clinton limits, served one month and fifteen days from August 1, 1778, in the company of Capt. Manasseh Sawyer, Col. Josiah Whitney's regiment, in the Rhode Island campaign.

Abel Allen, enlisted in the Continental Army. Was in the company of Andrew Haskell, Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, as a surgeon's waiter at Bunker Hill and siege of Boston. Served one month and eight days in Capt. John White's company, Col. Job Cushing's regiment, on Bennington alarm in July, 1777. He enlisted for nine months in June, 1778, under Capt. Andrew Haskell, and went to Fish-kill. He is also recorded as doing duty near Boston from April 1 to July 2, 1778, Capt. John White's company, Col. Abijah Stearn's regiment.

Amos Allen was with his brother, Abel, in Capt. John White's company on Bennington alarm, and in Continental Army, from May to December, 1778, in Capt. John Drury's company, Col. Ezra Wood's regiment, at Ticonderoga. In 1782, he was at home, and was spoken of in a receipt for bounty, as Lieut. Amos Allen.

Ebenezer Allen, Jr., served for twelve days in answer to the Lexington alarm, April 19, 1775, in the "Lancaster Troop," a mounted company under command of Capt. Thomas Gates. He was at Bunker Hill, in the company of Capt. Andrew Haskell, as corporal.

Elisha Allen, Serg't, was in the company of Capt. John Prescott (undoubtedly mounted), and saw active service for

the twelve days after Lexington alarm. He enlisted again in July, 1776, and served as sergeant in the company of Capt. Samuel Sawyer, regiment of Col. Jonathan Smith, until December 1st. The company was engaged in the affair at Kip's Bay, September 15th.

Jacob Allen enlisted in 1780 for six months' service. He was in the Continental Army in 1781, 7th Massachusetts regiment, Col. Ichabod Alden, Capt. Rufus Lincoln.

Samuel Allen was in the company of Elias Pratt from April to July, 1779, doing guard duty over prisoners captured from Burgoyne's army and confined at Rutland, Massachusetts.

James Fuller answered the Lexington alarm as sergeant in Capt. John Prescott's company. (See Elisha Allen.) He was a private in Capt. Manasseh Sawyer's company. (See Daniel Albert.)

Daniel Harris did not move to Clinton territory until after the war was over, but from his prominence and that of his family in its later history, his military record is given. He was in the Continental Army at Ticonderoga from May to December, 1778, in Col. Ezra Wood's regiment, Capt. John Drury's company. He answered the call for troops to defend Rhode Island from Sir Henry Clinton in July, 1781. He was a sergeant at West Point, in Capt. Nathaniel Wright's company of Col. Drury's regiment, from September to November 18, 1781.

It is probable that some of the Larkins, one or more of whom answered nearly every call for troops from the Lexington alarm to the close of the war, may have lived across the line from Berlin, within present Clinton limits.

John Prescott, 5th, as captain, led a troop of thirty-two men, to Cambridge, in answer to the Lexington alarm. They served twelve days. He was at this time twenty-five years of age.

Jonas Prescott was one of the minute men who marched to Cambridge. He was in the company of Capt. Benjamin

Houghton, Col. John Whitcomb's regiment. He was a surgeon's waiter in Andrew Haskell's company, Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment, which took part in the battle of Bunker Hill and siege of Boston. He moved to Rindge, N. H., in the early part of the war and served as surgeon in Col. Enoch Hale's (N. H.) regiment in 1778, in Rhode Island service.

Moses Sawyer was second lieutenant in Capt. Joseph White's company, Col. Asa Whitcomb's regiment. He went into active service for a short time in answer to the Lexington alarm.

Jotham Wilder (son of the Jotham Wilder of the French and Indian war), was at the battle of Bunker Hill in the company of Andrew Haskell. He served under the same captain for coast defence at Hull in the battalion of Col. Thomas Marshall. This battalion was raised in April, 1776, and was in service on the following October. In July, 1777, he went to Bennington in the company of Capt. John White, regiment of Col. Job Cushing, for one month and eight days' service. He was at Ticonderoga in Capt. John Drury's company, Col. Ezra Wood's regiment, from May to December, 1778. We find him again in Capt. David Moore's company, Col. John Jacob's regiment, which served in Rhode Island two months from October 1, 1779.

Reuben Wilder enlisted for nine months, June 25, 1779. He was then eighteen years old, and belonged to a lot of recruits of whom Washington said, "A portion of whom I am told are children." He was on duty at Rutland from October, 1779, to April, 1780, in the company of Capt. Ephraim Hartwell. His name is given in a list of six months' men, raised to reënforce the Continental Army in 1780. The bounty given to these men was as follows:

"LANCASTER, June 23^d.

"On the 3^d article in y^e Warrant, Voted to empower the Committee Chosen to hire the Men therein Mentioned on any Terms they think Proper, and if the s^d Committee or

any of them shall contract with any Person to Do the Service Required by the Orders which are the occasion of this Vote, that the Town will in all Respects indemnify and make good to each one of s^d Committee severally all Monies, Damages and Expences which they or any of them shall incur by performing their s^d Contracts, and will also pay them their reasonable Expences and for their Trouble in and about the Premises.

"June 26, at an adjournment—Voted to Accept the following Report of the Committee viz: The Committee engage to each Man that will enlist 1400[£] Law^l Money, such Part as each Man may want to be paid Down, the Remainder, when paid, to be made as good as it now is; or 13[£]. 6^s 8^d Law^l Money to be paid in the Old Way in Corn, Beef and live Stock or any Produce as it formerly used to be sold, or the value thereof in Continental Money. The above Sum offer^d is a Bounty from the Town in Addition to the Wages allow^d. by the Court. And furthermore the Committee Engage that the Money which may be Due from the State for the Six Months Service the Town will get for each Man that will produce proper Certificates."

He enlisted again in Capt. David Moore's company, in Lieut.-Col. Enoch Hallett's regiment, for three months' service in Rhode Island in the summer of 1781.

Stephen and *Titus Wilder* served as minute men, in answer to the Lexington alarm, in the company of Capt. Benjamin Houghton, Col. John Whitcomb's regiment.

While the younger men were in the field, the older men at home were furnishing the means to carry on the war, and were bearing the losses resulting from a depreciated currency and accumulating debts.

Ebenezer Allen was on the committee of correspondence and safety, elected in March, 1776. His son, Elisha, was on this committee in the following year. November 24, John Prescott and Frederick Albert were appointed on a committee to oppose the bills of credit issued by the state. In June, 1780, Prescott was one of a committee to hire soldiers. In July, 1780, and again in January, 1781, Ebenezer Allen

was one of a committee for the same purpose. To hire soldiers for the last years of the war was no easy task, and large bounties were paid for men to fill the quotas. The women, too, had their burdens, not only in the anxiety for their absent husbands and sons, but in the deprivations and added work which came from the cessation of commerce, since they were obliged to add to their other labors the preparation of substitutes for so many articles of food and clothing, which had formerly been imported.

The closing years of the war, and those immediately following, must have been full of financial distress to the people of this section. As the currency depreciated, prices rose. Futile endeavors were made to fix the prices of commodities by law. Ebenezer Allen was one of a committee to prepare a schedule in February, 1777. July 10th, 1779, he was a delegate of the town to a state convention at Concord to regulate prices, and in August, of the same year, to a county convention at Worcester to adopt measures to carry into effect the recommendations of Congress and the state conventions. Ebenezer Allen and John Prescott were on the town committee to see that the measures were enforced. As Congress was unable to purchase food and clothing with its worthless money, it tried to levy contributions directly from the states, which in turn, called upon the towns. We find an undated bill signed by Ebenezer Allen, chairman of the selectmen, with other members, charging the state, among other items, with stockings at £1, 6s. per pair. This would be over four dollars by the present system of money. In March, 1780, the town voted "that the price of Men's Labour be six pounds (twenty dollars) pr day." The currency had so depreciated in 1780 that during that year the town was obliged to raise a tax of some £350,000.*

Thus closes the record of the war as far as any par-

*The New England "pound" (£) was not £ Sterling, but "lawful money," 6s to the dollar \$3.33/3 to the £.

particulars can be found bearing upon local matters. It may seem a wearisome list of dry details, but for those who can read between the lines, these details are transfigured by the qualities which glow beneath. By the love of liberty, the heroic resistance to oppression, the unyielding firmness in the midst of discouragements, the patient endurance of privations thus displayed, our country of today and all the rich blessings that it showers upon us, were made possible, and while we pay our dues to the great leaders of the war, we should not forget our local debt of gratitude to the Allens, Wilders and Prescotts, who, in a humble way, played their part as nobly.



SOUTHERN PORTION OF LANCASTER, 1795.

Scale, 250 rods to the inch.

The survey for this map was made "in obedience to an order of the General Court, dated June 26, 1794." The original has been altered only in size and in the lettering of the name. The physical geography of the map is incomplete, and in some cases, of questionable accuracy. The roads leading north, south, east and west from Prescott's Mills, as given in the map of 1830, page 182, were in existence in 1795, although omitted from this map. For convenience in reading names, the southern part of the map is placed uppermost as in the original.

CHAPTER VII.

CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

ALTHOUGH the Revolution was over, the weight of indebtedness incurred pressed heavily on the people for many years. The credit of the state could be maintained only by increased taxation. This taxation bore most severely upon the owners of real estate. Mortgages grew more and more common, and forced sales were of frequent occurrence.

Lancaster, like all farming communities, was anxious for relief. In 1786, Ebenezer Allen was sent as the representative of the town to a county convention at Leicester which met to consider this question. He attended the adjournment of the same convention which met in Paxton. The convention resolved on a petition to the General Court, but Lancaster chose rather to instruct its representative. Moses Sawyer was one of a committee of seven, chosen for this purpose. While these instructions call for levying taxes by duties rather than by direct taxation, and ask for a decrease in the expenses of government and a change in the courts, yet they condemn in the severest terms any resort to violence. Shay's insurrection found little sympathy in Lancaster. On the other hand, the town furnished a large force of troops for its suppression. Two names of the younger Prescotts, Sergeant Jonathan and Corporal Joseph Prescott, are found on the rolls, and also that of Abel Allen. The insurrection was crushed after a brief and bloodless campaign.

After holding the office of delegate to these conventions

called to consider financial troubles, Ebenezer Allen does not appear prominently again in public service outside of local affairs. In addition to offices already mentioned, he was often moderator at town meetings. He was foremost in the movement for settling Rev. Nathaniel Thayer as a colleague to Rev. Timothy Harrington in 1793, and was for half a century a leading member of the church. He lived to see the country for which he had labored so earnestly and so wisely, firmly established and well started on its prosperous career. He died in 1812 at the age of eighty-eight. His wife survived him some years. In "Fletcher's Reminiscences," as quoted by Rev. A. P. Marvin, we find the following picture of the old lady and her maiden daughter, Tabitha. "Her, I saw several years after her husband's death. She was then about ninety-three years old, and her daughter, Tabitha, was near seventy-five, and at that age, she talked to her daughter just as though she was only a child. They had always lived together, and the relation between mother and child had never been broken. We were shown large hanks of linen thread that Aunt Allen had spun that summer on her little wheel."

Ebenezer Allen's farm was broken up before his death. The record remains of liberal portions given to three of his sons before the close of the eighteenth century. May 7th, 1811, ninety-four acres of land, with the buildings east of the road (now North Main Street), and five acres west of the road, with buildings, were sold by Ebenezer Allen to Aaron S. Bridge and William Bridge, of East Sudbury. These men did not occupy this estate, for we find that they were still residents in East Sudbury when they sold it, January 11, 1813, to Moses Emerson.

Of the sons, Amos and Samuel Allen only remained in this section long after they reached their majority. In 1782, Amos received from his father ninety acres of land, and built a house on the west side of North Main Street. His lot extended as far south as the Rigby Road. He was a

resident of Berlin in 1785, and had sold his farm here to Abijah Pratt. The house and a part of the farm passed through the hands of Jonathan Wheelock, Samuel H. Haynes, Benjamin Wheelock, Benjamin Thomson and Thomas W. Lyon. The latter bought in 1801, and sold the house and a few acres of the land to Nathan Burdett in 1810. In 1814, Burdett sold to Robert Phelps. Amos Allen returned to this district in 1789, and bought of Jonathan Prescott a farm of seventy-five acres on what is now South Main Street. In 1795, Allen sold this to John Fry, and in 1800, John Fry sold to John Lowe. This was afterwards known as the John Burdett farm. Apparently, Amos Allen left town again in 1795. In 1816, he received a letter of dismission from the church in Lancaster to the church in Luzerne, New York.

Samuel Allen evidently cared for his aged father, and sometimes their real estate transactions were closely combined. He lived on the old estate, probably in his father's home. He owned various large pieces of land in his own name between Rigby and Goodridge Brooks. Ebenezer Allen owned an estate on the road leading from the mills to South River (at Harrisville), from 1808 to 1811. Tradition states that Samuel lived here, at the present northwest corner of Chestnut and Water Streets. Ebenezer Allen sold this to T. W. Lyon, and Lyon sold, with additions, to Emory Harris in 1812. Samuel Allen lived at a later time on George Hill.

In 1779, John Prescott, 5th, sold to Moses Sawyer, sixty acres of land along the river, which he had bought of the heirs of Hezekiah Gates. In 1790, he sold forty-two acres along Rigby Brook to Benajah Brigham. February 21, 1783, John Prescott, 4th, sold to his son, John Prescott, 5th, one hundred and thirty-three acres of land "with buildings." If Prescott Street was extended until it met the river on each end, the land included between it and the river would

have belonged to this farm. It is probable that the house, afterwards known as the Harris house, on the site of the present Tyler house, at the northwest corner of Cedar and Water Streets, was built by the father at about this time for his son. In 1790, this house and farm were sold to Joseph Haynes of Princeton, together with eighty acres east of the river, for four hundred pounds. Haynes apparently lived here until 1796, when he sold to John Hunt of Uxbridge. John Prescott, 5th, at the time of sale in 1790, went to live in his father's house.

January 25, 1785, John Prescott, 4th, sold to his son, Jonathan, ninety-eight acres of land on both sides of the road from the mill to Moses Sawyer's. This would include the land from above the present location of Pleasant Street to Union Street and at some points beyond, from Mossy Pond to Prescott Street extended and to the river. It is probable that Jonathan Prescott built the house afterwards occupied by Amos Allen, John Lowe and John Burdett. He sold out his farm to Amos Allen in 1789.

John Prescott, 4th, was already a worn-out old man, when, in 1786, he gave the mills and two hundred and seven acres of land to his youngest sons, Joseph and Jabez,* with the condition that each should furnish yearly to him or his wife, as long as either of them should live, "one load of hay, five bushels of Indian Corn, three of rye, three of wheat and one thousand feet of boards."

Jabez seems to have been his father's chief reliance. In 1788, the father sold to this son for three hundred pounds, thirty-five acres of land, with buildings, northwest

* The land given to Joseph and Jabez Prescott, jointly, was divided October 8th, 1787, so that Joseph kept the northwest portion and Jabez the southeast portion. In 1790, the fifty acres of the land and the saw-mill given Joseph, went by judgment of the courts to Joseph Turnbull of Petersham, apothecary, for a debt of eighty-five pounds.

of the farm of John Prescott, Jr. In this deed, the old "sullor," evidently that of the ancient Prescott house, is mentioned. The price paid, and the subsequent transfers of the property, more or less modified, show this to have been the house standing on the present site of C. M. Dinsmore's house, the northwest corner of Water and Chestnut Streets.†

The wife of John Prescott, 4th, died in 1788, but he lived to see the constitution adopted, and to cast his vote for Washington. He died in 1791, in his seventy-ninth year. It is possible that his estate became involved in the financial difficulties of the times, or it may be that none of his children had the disposition to follow the business of their father, or they might have been lacking in ability to manage it successfully. However, it may be explained, it is certain that after one hundred and forty years of possession by five successive generations of the Prescott family, in 1795, the mills were in the hands of John Sprague, the Lancaster lawyer, and were for some years from this time known as Sprague's Mills.‡

Joseph and Jabez Prescott both removed to Ohio, the

†One hundred and twenty acres, including this lot, with buildings, were sold by Jabez and his father to Benajah Brigham, of Berlin, and by him to Richard Sargent of Mendon in 1795. Through the hands of G. B. Newman, who had foreclosed a mortgage on it, the estate passed in 1805 to Jabez Lowe, of Leominster; from Jabez Lowe, "of Lancaster," in 1807, to Ephraim Brigham in part, and to J. Sawyer in part. J. Sawyer had eighty-seven acres of the land, which he sold to Calvin Winter. Ephraim Brigham sold the house and the rest of the land to Ebenezer Allen in 1808. Jabez Prescott sold to Moses Sawyer, sixty-seven acres northeast of the mill, in 1791. We shall see how this land was sold four years later to Nathaniel Lowe. In 1793, Obadiah Fry, of Bolton, bought fifty acres of Jonathan Prescott.

‡In 1793, Jabez Prescott sold to John Sprague about fifty-four acres of land, and one-half grist-mill, £100. April, 1793, John Prescott sold to John Sprague, one-half saw-mill, £45. August, 1795, John Ballard sold to John Sprague, one-half grist-mill, and one-half saw-mill, £166. This gives a total of about a thousand dollars.

then distant West. Jonas had become a doctor in Rindge, N. H., as early as 1776. After five years he moved to Keene, N. H., and thence to Templeton, Mass. Jonathan was a constable in Boston, so that Capt. John Prescott, fifth of the name, was the only one that remained near the mills. He lived in the house afterwards known as the Hoadley and the Evans house, now standing back of the buildings at the corner of High and Water Streets, and owned by Harold Parker. The old homestead of the Prescotts must have been destroyed or moved before 1788, when the old "sullor hole" is mentioned, but no record remains of its disappearance. Only a small amount of land was left to John Prescott, 5th, and later this was reduced to fourteen acres by the sale of several pieces east of the river. Meanwhile, mortgage after mortgage was put on the little that remained. John Prescott was an active member of the Trinity Lodge of Free Masons, and the records that have been preserved of that organization show that he was often labored with for his bibulous habits, and on one St. John's day, he was forbidden to attend the exercises, "as he had repeatedly appeared to be intoxicated at our public celebrations."

It will be remembered that he had married Mary Ballard in 1775, but they had no children. A child lived with them, however, for whom he paid at the district school. He was for a year committee man of School District No. 10. As he died of dropsy in 1811, at the age of sixty-two, it is highly probable that his general health was poor for a long time. He surely lacked either the character, the energy or the opportunities of his ancestors, for, outside of his position as captain at the time of the Lexington alarm, we find little to record of public service or private enterprise. His widow survived him, but the house and the lands which remained with it were sold by the administrator at auction, except the right of widow's dower. In April, 1814, Poignand & Plant bought out the rights of Mary (Ballard) Prescott.

With the death of John Prescott, 5th, the direct line of

the Prescott family, although existing in its former vigor elsewhere, passed out of the history of this section. In this family, Clinton finds its origin, and for the first century, its record was the history of the town. For another quarter of a century, the family held a most prominent position in the slowly growing community, and it was not until after a century and a half had passed since the setting of the first mill-stone, that its immediate influence ceased to be felt.

From 1795 to 1809, when the mills were pulled down, they were successively known as Sprague's Mills, Brigham's Mills and Lyon's Mills, although the title of Prescott's Mills was still somewhat used. During the ownership of the Spragues, the mills were in charge of Richard Sargent, by whom, they were probably rented. When Richard Sargent came to town in 1795, he sold out a large farm in Mendon. We have seen how he bought the house and one hundred and twenty-five acres of the land afterwards owned by Emory Harris. Tradition states that he was a Quaker, and attended the church in Bolton. It has been said that his remains rest in the little burial ground near this church, but our search there for his headstone proved fruitless. Margaret Darling, his granddaughter, who lived in his household, became the wife of Nathan Burdett. Mr. Sargent's business as a miller was evidently unsuccessful, for he was obliged to mortgage his homestead in 1800 and again in 1801. The last record which we find of Richard Sargent is the sale of the privilege where the Lancaster Mills' dam now is to Daniel Aldrich in 1805. This had fallen into his hands through a judgment against Stephen Sargent.

The part of the farm of Amos Allen, which was on the northwest corner of Rigby Road and Main Street, was sold by Abijah Pratt to Jonathan Barnard in 1790. Barnard sold to Jabez Prescott in 1793. Prescott sold to Coffin Chapin, "with buildings," in 1794. Chapin lived here for a short time. Daniel Aldrich also lived here. The land and build-

ings passed through the hands of John Sprague, Richard Sargent, Jr., who died after being here a few years, Benajah Brigham and Stephen Sargent, who bought in 1801 for six hundred dollars, and sold in 1813 for thirteen hundred dollars. It is probable that Sargent erected new buildings on this lot or greatly improved the old ones. In the early times of Poignand & Plant, there were several buildings on it, the chief of which is still standing in a modified form in the lumber store of W. A. Fuller. When Stephen Sargent sold this estate, he immediately bought of Edward and Solomon Fuller the farm near Clamshell Pond now known as the Carruth farm, for fifteen hundred dollars. This Stephen Sargent married Mary Temple of Boylston, in 1801. They had eight or more children. His estate passed through the hands of Joseph Butler, Emory Harris and Ephraim Carruth to Charles E. Carruth.

In February, 1792, Benjamin Gould bought eight acres of land of Jonathan Barnard on the east of the road and north of Rigby Brook, where the house of E. K. Gibbs now stands. This land was immediately transferred to Elizabeth Gould of Topsfield. This Benjamin Gould was born in Topsfield in 1751. He led thirty minute men from his native town to the battle of Lexington. He bore upon his cheek through life a prominent scar caused by a bullet wound received there. He was made a captain and was the last man to leave Charlestown Neck when the Americans withdrew from Bunker Hill. He was at White Plains, Bennington and Stillwater. He was in command of the main guard at West Point at the time of Arnold's flight and André's capture. After the war, he was unsuccessful in business, and evidently began to build on his lot near Rigby Brook without any reliable prospect of finding means to complete his house. The cellar was dug, and in a corner of it a temporary structure was finished off, and here he and his family lived for some years. November 9, 1802, Elizabeth Gould sold the land, with buildings, to

Josiah Flagg, for three hundred dollars. In 1804, Flagg sold to John Lowe.

A noteworthy family the Goulds must have been, for the father, notwithstanding his poverty, retained all his old courtliness of manner. In the records of Trinity Lodge of Free Masons, we find that he received assistance on account of his poverty as follows: "Voted: Br Stewards be directed to furnish & deliver to Br Gould 1 bottle Wine, ditto Spirits, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz lemons, 2 lbs sugar" etc. Again, it was voted: "To raise Br Benjamin Gould to the Sublime degree of Master Mason free of any expense, he being a worthy member and under low circumstances." The mother, from whom the children seemed to have derived their scholarly tastes, is described as wisely directing her household affairs, taking part in an interesting conversation and being engaged upon literary work at the same instant.

Benjamin A. Gould, born in 1787, and Hannah Flagg Gould, born in 1789, spent most of their childhood in this cellar home. Here they must have received from their mother the rudiments of the education which made the one the Harvard graduate in 1814, the famous principal of the Boston Latin School, the learned editor of Latin classics and the wealthy East Indian merchant, and made the other the popular poet, whose verses were known and loved throughout the land. One of her sweetest poems dwells thus on Rigby Brook:

The pleasant little meadow brook
That runneth bright and free,
With what a kind of spirit look
It smileth up to me.
With sunny sprinkles from the skies
Its countless ripples shine
Like thousand living starry eyes
All speaking into mine.
For I was once a child beside
A brook as clear and bright,
'Ere life's first meadow violets died
Or waned its morning light.

On the great anniversary of the foundation of Lancaster, in 1853, Benjamin A. Gould said : " On returning to the place of our birth (Lancaster) and our childhood (the site of the cellar house) after forty years, how changed was the scene. The alders had been cut from beside the brook where formerly sported the speckled trout ; and the stream itself had been degraded into a straight and narrow ditch. The surrounding wood had disappeared. The old buildings were gone, and where our house stood, a village had grown up. But one thing remained the same ; and that is, our father's well. It was a shaft sunk deeply into the earth more than half a century ago, terminating in a living spring of ice cold water, which heeds not the drouth, nor the freshets above. This was stoned up with slate stones laid flat wise, having their edges smoothly cut in a circular form, presenting from above a beautiful hollow cylinder." He quoted from a poem of his sister's :

"Though all be changed around it,
And though so changed are we,
Just where our father found it
That pure well spring will be.
Just as he smoothly stoned it,
A close, round shadowy cell,
Whoever since has owned it,
It is our father's well.
And since that moment, never
Has that cool deep been dry ;
Its fount is living ever
While man and seasons die."

After living here and elsewhere in Lancaster for many years, the Gould family moved to Newburyport. Here Capt. Gould spent his old age, rejoicing in the success of his children, and tenderly cared for by his poet daughter, who thus sings of the closing years :

"God's blessing on his reverend head !
It now the crown of glory wears
* * And fourscore years and ten have given,

As near the tomb they bear him down,
An earnest lustre. Opening heaven
Seems pouring on that silvery crown."

Moses Sawyer, during the earlier part of his life, is to be thought of as the younger member of a family of which Aaron Sawyer, his older brother, the owner of Sawyer's Mills, was the recognized head. But he was a thrifty man and the financial troubles following the Revolution, which brought mortgages and forced sales to others, apparently furnished him with his opportunity. He was as ready to buy as others were to sell, and so taking advantage of their needs he paid his cheap money for their valuable land. He added acre to acre until his farm extended from the Nashua on the east to a line connecting the western ends of Sandy and Mossy Ponds, and from the southern limits of Clinton as it stands to-day, to the Lancaster Mills dam and the foot of Burditt Hill. We have seen, too, how he bought of Jabez Prescott a large tract of land between South Meadow Brook and the river, and he had another large tract in Princeton. He must have owned, first and last, considerably over a square mile of land, and, when he died in 1805, he left over five hundred acres to be divided among his heirs. Thus, next to John Prescott, the pioneer, he was the greatest land owner who ever lived within present Clinton limits.

His executive ability was recognized by his fellow citizens, whom he served for several years as selectman. He was often made moderator of their town meetings. He was prominent in church affairs. His appreciation of liberal studies is shown in the fact that he gave his son Artemas a college education. This son graduated at Harvard in 1798, and was, as far as known, the first man, born within the present limits of Clinton, to receive a college degree. This Artemas Sawyer studied law and went to Marietta, Ohio, where he was killed by being thrown from a horse.

The story of the life of Moses Sawyer, Jr., the eldest son, belongs to the history of Lancaster, as he spent little of his

manhood in this section of the town. In 1792, he married Elizabeth Divoll. His father built for the young couple the southern end of the house now known as the Sawyer-Burdett house, a short distance from the old homestead. The son also received a portion of his father's farm. It was here, May 7, 1793, that the eldest child, Sally, was born, whose life of over a century was a connecting link between the present and the far distant past. The character of the family to which she belongs is shown in the following extract from an article on the approach of her hundredth birthday:

"Though of a quiet and retiring disposition, yet she is of that sturdy New England type of womanhood of the old school. She possesses a deep religious character of the conservative orthodox type, and on the Sabbath, when she sits at her window and observes her neighbors going up to the house of worship, it gives her unfeigned pleasure. However, she deplored the fact that church-going is not now so general as in the "olden time," when it was the exception, rather than the rule, to be absent from the sanctuary." Moses Sawyer, Jr., sold out his farm to Ezekiel Rice and moved to South Lancaster, where he remained, an influential citizen, until his death in 1831.

Peter Sawyer, at the death of his father, received half the old dwelling-house, but, in 1813, he built upon the main portion of his inherited farm in the intervale through which Mine Swamp Brook flows, just before it joins the river. Here, it is doubtfully claimed, he had a brick kiln and made bricks for Poignand & Plant when they were building the cotton mill on the Prescott Mills' water privilege. His only way of reaching his house was by a private cart-path running where the road to the east of Sandy Pond is now located. He still kept up most neighborly relations with the folks on Burditt Hill. He had two daughters and five sons whose births are recorded. Of these, Peter, born November 18, 1811, spent his long and useful manhood as a

citizen of Clintonville and Clinton. Peter Sawyer, his father, died in 1831.

Ezra, who remained a bachelor, lived with his mother in the old homestead. She was familiarly known as Grandma Betsy Sawyer, and lived, a remarkably bright old woman, to the great age of ninety-four. In 1814, when the activity of the British navy excited fear all along the coast, a company of artillery, and one of infantry, went from Lancaster to take part, if necessary, in the defense of Boston. The company of infantry was commanded by Capt. Ezra Sawyer. This company probably included some from this district beside the captain, but, as the rolls have been lost, their names will never be known. Their term of service lasted only a week. This Ezra Sawyer was a school teacher during the winters and, as far as he was able, worked the rest of the year upon the farm.

An accident, which happened in the spring of 1815, weakened his health and shortened his life. He, with Samuel Newton, a young man of twenty-seven, and Daniel Felton, who was twenty-three years of age, started out on the evening of April 18th, to spear "suckers" in Sandy Pond. As they left the house, one of the women folks asked when they would return, and Newton jokingly answered: "When we have drowned Capt. Sawyer." They launched their boat, which was a new one, and, as the darkness gathered, lighted their torches. For a while, they had good sport, but after an hour or so, when they were some rods from the northwest corner of the pond where the water is more than thirty feet in depth, the boat was upset. Of course, the lights were put out, and the oars were lost in the darkness. Newton and Felton could swim, but Sawyer could not. They helped him to keep above water as they righted the boat, and then he climbed into it. Then they attempted to push the boat to the shore, but one of them sank, and the other, thoroughly chilled and exhausted, said that he must swim in and bring help. He attempted to do this, but he was too far gone, and

soon Sawyer listened in vain for the strokes of the swimmer, but heard instead the gurgling of his drowning comrade. He must now paddle the boat to the shore with his hands. He was able to accomplish this after a long time, but he was too chilled and exhausted to stand. About midnight, he made his way on his hands and knees to his house and told his story. Mrs. Newton, frantic with fear and grief, ran to the neighboring house of Nathan Burdett and roused him to go and look for her husband. He, getting what help he could, hurried to the pond, hoping to find that Newton and Felton had reached the shore, and had been lost in the woods. But the search was in vain. It was not until they dragged the pond the following day that the bodies were found. Capt. Sawyer never got over the shock, although he lived on for ten years afterward.

Zebulon Rice of Boylston had a family of seventeen or eighteen children. Joseph, one of the youngest of these, was born August 6, 1769. He became a basket maker. September 29, 1796, he married Betsy, the daughter of Moses Sawyer. They had three sons and three daughters. It is possible that they lived in Boylston for a few years, as they were both admitted to the church in Lancaster, by letter from the church there, April 13, 1800. A house at the present corner of South Main and Coachlace Streets was given to Betsy Sawyer as a dowry, by her father, Moses Sawyer. In a paper given before the Clinton Historical Society, Judge C. C. Stone said: "It is described as being a small three-roomed house, with small, diamond-shaped panes of glass in the windows, indicating that it was very old." Joseph Rice lived here for some years. Neither record or tradition has preserved any account of the building of this house. As the land is supposed to have belonged to the Prescotts until it came into the hands of the Sawyers, it was probably the work of one or the other of these families. The farm of Joseph Rice, acquired by his wife's inheritance and by pur-

chase, was about one hundred acres in area. It reached from the river at the now submerged intervale below Rattlesnake Ledge, to Mossy Pond. It lay north of the estate bought by Ezekiel Rice of Moses Sawyer, Jr., for whom, as will be remembered, his father, Moses Sawyer, Sr., had built the Sawyer-Burdett house.*

In 1823, Joseph Rice built for himself and his son, Nathaniel, who married Anna, the daughter of Jacob Stone, a new house on the site of the old one. This remained in existence less than thirty years, being burned in the spring of 1851 or 1852. The story is told of Mrs. Rice that, as she went after wood one day, she found in the wood-house a huge rattlesnake. Seizing a stick of wood, she killed the snake. She afterwards "tried it out," and obtained about a pint of oil from it for medicinal use. Joseph Rice, Jr., was the second son. Abel Rice, the third son, was a noted mover of buildings.

There is considerable doubt as to when the saw-mill, near the present position of the Woolen Mill dam, was built. It is certain that Prescott, the pioneer, had a mill at this point. It is possible that there was a bloomery here in the middle of the eighteenth century. Some ascribe the building of a saw-mill in 1790, to Moses Sawyer, Sr., others to David Rice, a brother of Joseph, while others say that a mill was built by Peter Sawyer, either alone or in company with his brother-in-law, Joseph Rice. But papers which are still in existence, show clearly that a mill was built by Joseph Rice in 1801, with money furnished by his father-in-law, Moses Sawyer. It had a small reservoir and a fall of some ten feet. It was the custom to hold back the water to fill the reservoir, and thus great inconvenience was caused to the mill

* An old well was discovered in the early part of the present century near Rattlesnake Ledge, and not far from the Clinton Reservoir. It is said that there were some old apple trees beside it, and that bricks were turned up near by. If any house ever existed here, the story of it has been irrevocably lost.

below at the old Prescott privilege. This is one of the reasons why the owners of that privilege, Poignand & Plant, purchased the mill of Joseph Rice in 1814. The amount paid was five hundred and ninety-five dollars. The mill is said to have had a good business while it remained in existence. In 1802, Ezekiel Rice of Northboro bought of Moses Sawyer, Jr., the house on North Main Street where Moses Sawyer, Jr., was then living. Ezekiel Rice moved hither, and lived here until 1814, when he sold his farm to Nathan Burdett.

About 1796, Jacob Stone bought of Ephraim Bennett, of Boylston, some three hundred acres of land lying along the old county road from Lancaster to Worcester, and extending from Sandy Pond to the Boylston line. This Jacob Stone was the son of Isaac and Keziah Stone. Isaac Stone was the son of Dea. Simon Stone, for many years the leading citizen of Harvard, who traced his ancestry to Dea. Simon Stone of Watertown, who came from England in the ship, *Increase*, in 1633. An inventory of the estate of Dea. Simon Stone, of Harvard, in 1746, shows how restricted the life of those days must have been compared with ours, since such articles as the following were deemed worthy of mention in an estate of a leading citizen: "A loom and tackling . . . a lanthorn; a looking-glass; . . . wheels and cards; flax combs; sheep shears; . . . a warming pan; skillets; a fire-slice; trammels; keelers; a razor; a pigeon net." Isaac was born in 1725, and had taken part in three campaigns of the French and Indian War, in two of which, he held the office of corporal. He spent most of his married life in that part of Lancaster which became Boylston in 1786. Jacob Stone was born Aug. 25, 1770. As he grew up, he learned the carpenter's trade, for which he and his sons were so distinguished in after years. Soon after the purchase of his farm, he began to build a house just a few rods north of Mine Swamp Brook, on the east side of the road. This house was a large one for those days, being about

thirty feet square and two stories in height. A kitchen extended along the whole of one side, with a huge fireplace occupying a considerable part of one of the long sides of the room. There were doors at either end of the room, which led directly to the open air. The three rooms on the other side of the house opened from the kitchen, as did the stairways to the cellar and second story. North of the house, was a driveway, leading to the large barn situated well back of the house. At the north of the house, on the other side of the driveway, was a long, low building, a part of which was used as a carpenter's shop and a part as a carriage-house. A house built by Robert King, and now occupied by Joseph Leadbetter, is near the spot where the Stone house stood.

As soon as his new home was completed, Mr. Stone brought to it his bride, Martha Barnes, of Boylston, whom he married September 28, 1793. Their married life together was very brief, for she died in less than two years, and her infant twins died at the same time. May 11, 1797, Jacob Stone married Anna Barnes, by whom he had five sons and seven daughters. The five sons were: Joseph, James, Jacob, Abel and Oliver. All became carpenters, and the four daughters who married, had carpenters for their husbands. One of the other daughters died in childhood, and two others were never married. In addition to his own large family, Mr. Stone generally had several apprentices living at his house, and his father, Isaac Stone, spent his last years with him, dying September 14, 1816, at the venerable age of ninety-three.

For over a quarter of a century, Jacob Stone was the most noted builder in all the region round, having at times a score of men and boys in his working force, and many of the most important contracts fell into his hands. Among these, was one for the woodwork of the Brick Church in Lancaster, which was built in 1816, and some of the arched bridges of the town were constructed by him. He, and his

sons after him, were especially noted for the framing and raising of houses, work that was very different in those days from what it is at present. The timber used was much heavier, and the tools much more simple. As it would have been difficult for an ordinary force of carpenters to raise a large house alone, it was customary to invite all the men in the neighborhood to a raising. The dozen or so men who were thus called together fell to working with might and main until at last the ridge-pole was laid, and then the liquor was passed around, and there was a grand merry-making to celebrate the occasion. The boys, who had been "hanging around," and occasionally assisting by tossing pins to the men upon the frame, or by running errands, esteemed themselves happy if they were allowed to clean out the rum-soaked sugar from the bottom of the glasses.

April 12, 1818, Mrs. Stone died, and on April 14 of the following year, Mr. Stone married Isabella Bennett. She had no children of her own, but the younger portion of the family were brought up by her. The children went to school in Boylston, as it would have been two miles to the nearest of the Lancaster schools. As their nearest neighbors were a mile away by the road, the family, and those who lived with them, constituted a little community by themselves. In the latter part of his life, Mr. Stone met with business reverses, and in the hard times in the latter half of the thirties, had to give up his house where he had lived for more than forty years, where plans had been matured for the many buildings he had constructed, where his children had been born and reared, and which had been endeared to him and his family by scenes of joy and suffering. He moved to the Fitch place, in Sterling, where he lived until July 8, 1847. Joseph, his eldest son, who never married, was living with him and caring for him when he died. The house near Mine Swamp Brook was burned soon after Mr. Stone moved away. It was not occupied after Mr. Stone left it.

We shall have occasion in later history to note the work of James and Oliver Stone and their descendants; and also that of Nathaniel Rice, the husband of Anna Stone, and Levi Greene, the husband of Achsah Stone, and their descendants.

There was a cart-path, leading from the road by Mr. Stone's, and running along in the valley of Mine Swamp Brook to the point where it flows into the river by the homestead of Peter Sawyer. On the brook about half way between the houses of Mr. Stone and Mr. Sawyer, tradition says there was a little saw-mill in early times, and credits the building of it to Moses Sawyer. At the beginning of the present century, this region was owned by Jonathan Sampson of Boylston, who bought the land, one hundred and forty acres in extent, of Thomas Gates in 1793. No buildings are mentioned in the deed. Sampson sold it in 1801 to John Severy of Boylston, who immediately transferred it to his father, John Severy of Sutton. A small, one-story house was built by the stream. According to tradition, there was another little house near by. It may be that bricks were already made in small quantities of the fine clay found here, and it may be that Severy varied his work by doing some tanning of leather.

This region was regarded as an unlucky one during the first half of the century, and the superstitious believed that it was haunted. In this brook, two young ladies, Charlotte and Mary Sawyer, were drowned near the mill soon after it was built. They had been visiting in Boylston, and a violent storm had arisen which had swollen the brook to a torrent. They felt obliged to return to their home, notwithstanding the danger. As they were attempting to ford the stream, both on one horse, the horse slipped and both fell off and were drowned. Their bodies were recovered and carried to Moses Sawyer's and buried in his family lot, which is now submerged by Coachlace Pond. A while after, a stranger

was discovered on the roadside by Mr. Sawyer's house on Burditt Hill. As he appeared to be suffering from small-pox, he was carried to one of the houses at Mine Swamp Brook and died there and was buried near by. Certain facts and events connected with the Severy family added to the superstitious feeling in regard to the place. Children dreaded to go near it after nightfall, and even the imagination of men of sound common sense was so worked upon that they honestly believed and declared that, as they sat in the house, they had heard the approaching hoof-beats of a galloping horse which seemed to stop at the door, but when the door was opened, no horse or rider could be seen, and there was no sound save the wind which moaned mysteriously about the building.

Leaving legends, and coming to the Lancaster records, we find that John Severy, Jr., who evidently occupied the house, married Phœbe Kendall, December 9, 1779, and that he died at the house of Winsor Barnard, his son-in-law, who lived at that time in the Peter Sawyer place, where the brook joins the Nashua, September 10, 1834, at the age of eighty-two. Winsor Barnard had married Phœbe Severy November 28, 1813. It is stated that John Severy had two sons and four daughters, and that he was a revolutionary pensioner. In 1818, the place passed from his hands into those of Levi Howe, who was born in Lancaster, in 1764. He had a daughter, Dolly Stratton Howe, born August 7, 1821. She was his only child. He lived here for some years. He sold part of his farm to Capt. Artemas Harrington, who married Martha Stone. Mr. Harrington did not buy the house, but built one east of the mill over the Boylston line. It is said that he started the first brick kiln, digging his clay from the place which was afterwards filled by Cunningham's Mill Pond. He died shortly after this purchase, and his wife sold the brickyard and estate to Ezra and Luke Sawyer, in 1844. The Howe house and that built by Harrington have both been destroyed.

On the South Meadow Road on a farm afterwards owned by John Sheehan lived James Elder. He came from Worcester, and married Sarah Gates of Lancaster, January 16, 1770. He was familiarly known as the "General." He organized a company of drunkards, whom he always marshalled on muster days. James Pitt says in his "Reminiscences": "The qualifications for enlistment were, to be drunk on three public days, and each man to provide himself with the necessary uniform and equipments, which were as follows: The uniform was to be a red face; the equipments, a junk-bottle, stake and withe. The bottle was a flask, in which to carry the powder (they used liquid powder instead of kerneled), the stake was to be driven into the ground, when the soldiers were so drunk they could not stand alone; and the withe was to fasten them to the stake." Whenever Elder heard that any one was drinking heavily, he always called on him and claimed him as a recruit. When a leading man in the town fell into his fireplace under the influence of liquor, General Elder ordered his adjutant to call out the company. When asked what he was going to do, he replied: "I am going to storm hell; the soldiers are beginning to eat fire already."

"Cuff Tindy" lived north of the Elder farm. He was a negro, black as ebony. He drew a pension for his services in the Revolution. He lived with Perley Hammond, his nephew. He died at a great age, about 1824. Perley Hammond was a mulatto, and married a negress. His father was a negro, and his mother pure white. The house in which he lived was said to have been the last log house in Lancaster. The family was well-to-do, and had a snug farm. In 1820, a new house was built. Hammond was a blacksmith, and an excellent mechanic. He died in 1826. The property was squandered by his cousin, Murray Waterman. Some of the citizens can yet remember "Miss" Hammond, Perley's widow, the fortune teller who disclosed to them the mysteries of fate for a dime.

Samuel Dollison, or Dorrison, was brought up on the farm now known as the Howard or Bingham place, on the South Meadow Road. Both of his parents were practical jokers. One day, John Dollison, the father, to gain protection from a thunder shower, crawled into a sugar tierce that stood on the brow of a hill. There he sat placidly smoking, but his wife saw her opportunity to repay the old gentleman for some of the jokes he had played on her, and running out in the rain, she started the tierce rolling down the hill. He felt sore in more senses than one, until he had "got even" with his wife.

John Goldthwaite, the broom-maker, lived in the old rickety house known as the Rigby place. In the latter part of his life, he lived entirely alone. In 1799, Daniel Aldrich, of Uxbridge, owned this place. Within the next few years, it passed through the hands of Stephen Sargent, Eben Southwick, John Hunt, and Stephen Sargent, a second time. Ebenezer Pratt bought the farm in 1819, and erected a small house of two stories. He married Emily Rice, the daughter of Joseph Rice. They had six children. About 1830, his house and farm were sold to Joseph Rice.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMMUNITY EAST OF THE RIVER.

As the community east of the river remained a farming people until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century, and thus was not brought into very close connection with the comb-makers and cotton manufacturers on the other side, it is proposed to take a comprehensive view of the leading families, until their farming life was broken up by the development of manufacturing industries.

Of Jotham Wilder, the farmer and cattle raiser, whom we took as the representative man of the district east of the Nashua, little is known after the close of the French and Indian war. He continued living for some years at the old homestead, near the site of the Carville house, on a large farm of three hundred acres or more. Tradition relates that, between 1760 and 1770, an event occurred, which must have filled the latter part of his life with gloom. He and his nephew, Aurelius Collis Wilder, were ploughing one day about a mile above the present location of the Lancaster Mills' Bridge, when they happened to see a deer. The old man took his gun, which he had with him in hopes that he might get some game, and followed the deer, telling his nephew to stay in the field. But the young man, after his uncle had disappeared, followed him. After a while, the farmer, all intent on killing the deer, saw a movement in the underbrush, and, as it parted, he fired. The shriek of his nephew told him of his awful mistake. He hastened to his

aid, but when he reached him the wound had already proved fatal.

Stephen Wilder, the eldest son of Jotham, will be recalled as a Revolutionary soldier. He settled on a portion of his father's farm to the northwest of the homestead. His house was near the present Jonas E. Howe place. He married Betty Sawyer, of Harvard, in 1770, and they had seven boys. He was a very prosperous farmer, leaving at his death, in 1820, an estate valued at eight thousand dollars. Levi, his eldest son, having died at the age of eighteen, John, the second son, tried to manage the farm. He was familiarly known as Doctor John Wilder, as he had studied medicine to some extent, although not enough to receive a degree. As he became indebted to his brothers for their share in the estate, he found it difficult to pay his interest, and finally became dependent on his children. He had married Sally Moore, of Boylston, and they had five sons and four daughters. John, one of his sons, became a Baptist minister of note, and another, Levi, was a teacher of music. Leonard Pollard, a son-in-law, managed the farm for a good many years, but he was killed by lightning, in 1834. Franklin, the fourth son, then tried to take his father's estate, but the load of his misfortunes, finally culminating in the burning of his house in 1842, made him insane. There are none of the descendants of Stephen Wilder in the male line now living in town.

Titus Wilder followed his father, Jotham Wilder, at the old homestead, and he received about one hundred and forty acres of his farm. We have seen him as a soldier of the Revolution. From his marriage with Mary Allen, sprang a family of eight children. Of these, Elisha succeeded his father on the farm, having married Emily Pollard. He had three sons and two daughters. He built the Carville house, recently burned. He died at the age of forty-three, in the year 1836. Titus Wilder, the father, died at the Poor Farm, as a Revolutionary pensioner, in 1837. Titus, his second

son, became a school-teacher, and, it is said, taught in every district of Lancaster. He served with his brother, Ebenezer, in the war of 1812. They were in an artillery company, which was on duty about Boston for a few weeks in 1814, when Boston feared the coming of the British fleet. They thus kept up the patriotic tradition of the family. Titus died in 1833.

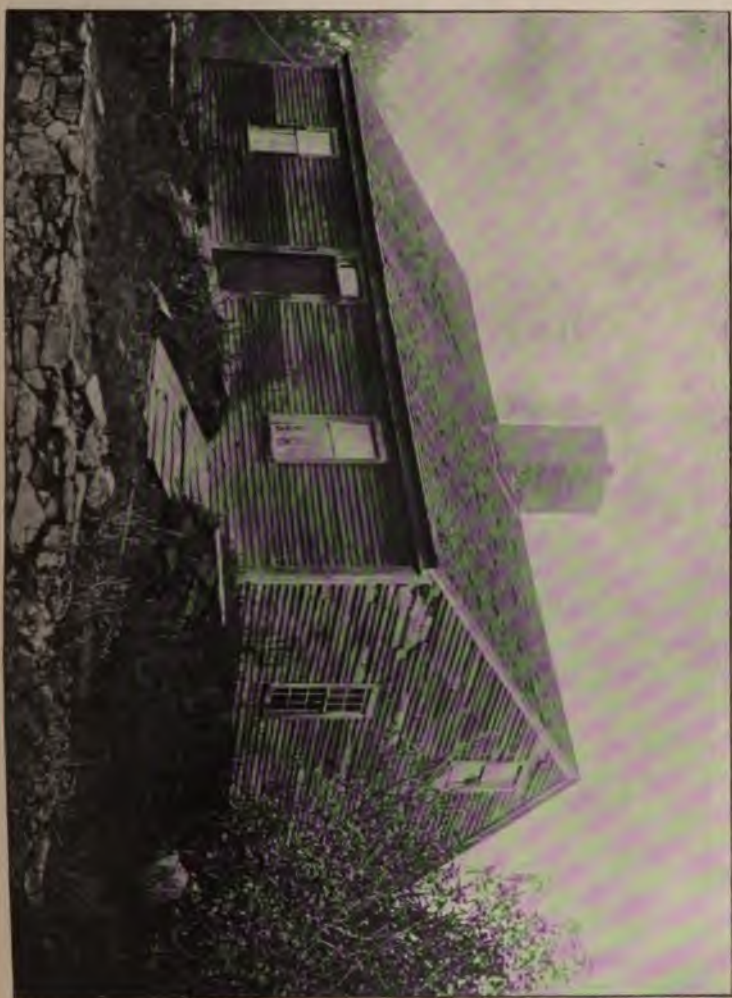
Ebenezer, the third son, settled on a portion of his father's farm, near Clamshell Pond. He married Lucena, a daughter of Moses Sawyer, November 3, 1807, and after her death, in 1825, he married Clarissa Keyes, of Berlin. He had a dozen children, seven sons and five daughters. He was well educated. A daughter says of him: "Father was a man of superior mind. He read many portions of Homer and Virgil by the light of pine torches at the age of sixteen, and he never forgot them." He was a teacher in the common schools. It is said that he was the first teacher in the South Woods school-house, which was built in 1809. He died in 1858. His descendants of the second and third generations are still living in town on Chace Street, so that this family may claim the longest continuous, or nearly continuous, citizenship in the male line of this community, since it has lasted through two hundred years and some eight generations.

The farm of about eighty acres next beyond the old Wilder-Carville estate to the east, was occupied from about 1781 to 1802 by Simon Butler, who married his cousin, Elizabeth Butler, in 1782. They had one son and two daughters. In 1791, he married Eunice Butler, another cousin, by whom he had two sons and one daughter. All the children of the second marriage were either deformed or imbecile. Titus Wilder, Jr., who married Eunice, a daughter of the first marriage, took part of the farm on the death of his father-in-law, in 1802, and a part went to Simon Butler, 2d, who sold out his share to Peter Larkin, 2d, in 1815. Most of it

passed, after several transfers, to Baxter Wood, whose grandson still controls it. In 1820, Joseph Butler built the house which stands first on the right after passing the Lancaster Mills' bridge. He bought the land of Reuben Hastings. Joseph Butler is recorded to have had seven children. He had married Parney Temple, of Boylston, a sister of Stephen Sargent's wife.

The Carruth house was built by James or Edward Fuller, who, as tradition reports, had a farm here of an hundred acres, not far from the middle of the eighteenth century. He had, we are told, a family of three sons and one daughter. Ignatius Fuller, who married Anna Reed, of Sterling, in 1787, owned this land in 1796; Edward, in 1798. Edward, who had married Susannah Maynard, of Berlin, in 1802, remained on the old place, which was sold in 1813 to Stephen Sargent for fifteen hundred dollars. The farm then contained one hundred and five acres. The evidence in the registry of deeds in regard to these Fullers is not complete.

On the bridle-road, leading off toward Clamshell Pond, James Fuller, Jr., "cordwainer," built a house. He bought land of Thomas Gates, and others, in 1778, and of William Tucker, in 1788. James, Jr., and his wife, Sarah, are recorded as baptized in 1775. There is also a record of the baptism of five daughters. We have already noted the service of James Fuller in the Revolution. He died in 1831, at the age of eighty-one. One, Robert Hudson, a "Briton," of Shrewsbury, who married Dinah Butler, July 12, 1780, is said to have built a house and settled at the end of this same bridle-road nearer Clamshell Pond. He was a shoe-maker. Stephen and Titus Wilder sold him land, the former in 1795. In the deed of the latter, the land is said to be near the house where "Robert Hudson now dwells." The death of his wife, in 1806, appears in the records of the first church of Lancaster. In 1807, he married Polly Fife, of Berlin. In 1813, Robert Hudson, Sr., sold to Robert Hudson, Jr., the estate, on condition of support for self and wife. The estate was immediately sold to Rufus Sawyer, of Berlin.



COLLIER-CARMICHAEL HOUSE

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The Alberts were said to be of Dutch extraction. The district around the point where Clinton, Berlin and Boylston meet was in the latter portion of the eighteenth century familiarly called the Six Nations. The Wilders, and others, were English; the Alberts, Dutch; the Larkins, Irish. There were families of other nationalities which lived a little outside present Clinton limits: Andrew McWain, a Scotchman; Louis Conquerette and Hitty, Frenchmen, and John Canouse, a Hessian, a deserter from Burgoyne's army.

On Chace Street, north of the Tucker-Chace estate, lived John Pollard. He was born in 1729. The date of his settlement here is unknown. He had eight sons and two daughters. He died May 10, 1814, at the age of eighty-five. His wife, Elizabeth, died at the age of seventy-eight, March 4, 1816. Gardner Pollard, a comb-maker, followed his father

on the estate, erecting a new house near the old one in 1816 or 1817. He had three sons and seven daughters. Levi remained in this section, and built the Eli Sawyer house. We shall have occasion to notice him as a comb-maker.

Mr. Pitts tells in his reminiscences of a very ancient house occupied by William Larkin, which stood a quarter of a mile east of the Pollards'. It had diamond-shaped window panes of mica set in lead. It is possible that this house was the original residence of one of the earlier Wilders. This William Larkin was one of the five sons of Philip Larkin, whose names appear so often in the rolls of colonial armies. He was born March 13, 1730. He served in three campaigns in the French and Indian War. He died January 4, 1814, in the poor-house, his wife and daughters, who had done everything they could for him in his old age, having preceded him to the grave.

Josiah Coolidge, of Bolton, cordwainer, bought of David Wilder, of Leominster, April 30, 1779, a tract of twenty-five acres, north of John Pollard's. No buildings are mentioned in the deed. December 1, 1797, Josiah Coolidge, then of Lancaster, sold to John Goss, of Sterling, the same twenty-five acres, with buildings, for three hundred and thirty-three dollars. It is evident that the buildings constructed during the ownership of Mr. Coolidge, had little value. The same year, John Goss bought eleven acres of the Pollards, and in 1815 he bought thirty-two acres more. This John Goss was the son of Joseph Goss, of Sterling, and a great-grandson of John Goss who settled in the northern part of the town in the first half of the eighteenth century. He married Mary W. Fuller. They had eight children. Three of them died in infancy, and one in young manhood. Mr. Frank Sawyer, who now occupies the old homestead, is a grandson of Mr. Goss, and Mrs. Eli Sawyer is a daughter. John Goss died March 24, 1843.

Samuel Dollison, or Dorrison, bought ten acres of land of Gardner Pollard in 1814, where the house of Mrs. E. A.

Harris now stands, for three hundred dollars. In 1817, he sold the same to Asahel Harris, with buildings, for four hundred dollars. Although Mr. Dollison has the reputation of having built the original Harris mansion, it is evident from the price paid for the property that there was no house of any considerable value on the land when it went out of his hands.

Charles Chace of Bellingham, and William Jenks of Wrentham, bought the Tucker house and farm on what is now known as Chace Street, in the spring of 1798, of Major Merrick Rice. As Major Rice was one of the lawyers of Lancaster, and as the property had come into his hands from those of Benjamin Houghton and Josiah Coolidge, who had received it from Thomas Tucker two years before, it is probable that the estate had passed from the hands of the Tucker family on account of the hard times at the close of the eighteenth century. The house, like that of William Gould on the "Mill Road," and that of Elias Sawyer at what is now Lancaster Mills, had been begun, but through lack of funds had never been finished. It remained for Mr. Chace to complete it. It was a large, square, New England mansion, and may still be seen standing on its original site, between Chace Street and the Nashua. The farm contained one hundred and fifty acres, or thirty-five acres more than there had been in the Tucker farm. The price was two thousand dollars. Mr. Jenks relinquished his hold on the estate in 1802.

Mr. Chace was not only a farmer, but also a tanner, currier and shoemaker. He bought the hides directly from the neighboring farmers whenever they slaughtered cattle. These hides he tanned in vats which were constructed to the north and south of the house. The tanning was wholly done by means of bark; no chemicals were used. It was two years from the time when the hides were received, before the leather was ready to be made into boots and shoes. The

currying and shoemaking were done in a shop of one story, six rods to the west of the house. This building was about eighteen by thirty feet. It was high studded, in order that the sides of leather might be hung up there to dry. On one side of the building, the drying and dressing were done; on the other, was the shoemaker's shop. The work, which is now so specialized that it passes through scores of hands, was done by Mr. Chace and his apprentices alone. He had but little machinery to aid him, and what he did have was of the simplest kind. His two oldest sons probably learned the whole business of their father, but, in later life, Alanson confined himself to boot and shoe making, while Charles, Jr., became a tanner.

Mr. Chace was approaching middle age when he came from Bellingham. He had lost his first wife, who had borne him two children. One of these children had died in childhood, the other grew up and married a man named Crowningshield. For his second wife, Mr. Chace had married Ruth Jenks. By her, he had four sons, Alanson, Charles, William J. and George Ide, and two daughters, Diana and Amia Ann. All of these, with the exception of William J., grew to maturity. The family life was that of the ideal New England home, as it existed in the early part of the century. There was great earnestness of religious belief, but no austerity. Mr. Chace belonged to the Rhode Island family of Chaces, and brought with him from his old home the Baptist belief. Although the members of the family attended public worship at the old church at Lancaster Center, still they clung to their own form of faith and gathered their neighbors to worship with them, and thus became the originators of the Baptist organization in the town. When John Burdett settled in Clinton, they found in him an equally devoted co-worker.

Something of the beautiful home life of the family can be surmised from this extract from a letter written by the youngest son to the mother on his thirty-sixth birthday.



TECHNOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

"This day reminds me anew of the untold, unpaid and unpayable debt of gratitude which every son is under to a good mother, and for which the only return he can make is to show her that he is not insensible of it. Frequently, when not otherwise occupied, does my mind wander back to the days of my early childhood, when it was so sweet to pillow my head upon my mother's knee, when her lap was my home, the safe refuge to which I flew from every childish grief or trouble. And there are moments when my spirit, worn and soiled by the cares of life, has lost its freshness and its hope, in which I would fain be that little boy over again and again nestle in my mother's bosom and find it as secure a retreat from the trials of manhood as I did then from the trials of infancy."

Mr. Charles Chace died about the middle of the present century at the age of nearly ninety.

Alanson Chase, born October 22, 1795, and his brother Charles, probably with the aid of their father, bought in 1818 of Seth Grout one acre of land, and of James Pitts one acre of land and one-twentieth of the water power at the dam now controlled by Lancaster Mills. They erected a small tannery between the spot where the present machine shop stands and the river. The old part of the house, so long known as No. 1, Green Street, was built by Charles Chace, Jr. The shop, house, land and water right were sold to James Pitts in 1828. Charles Chace, Jr., removed to Still River and his connection with Clinton history ceased.

Alanson still continued to live at the old homestead. As his father was already an old man, he took charge of the farm as well as continued in his business of shoe making. It is doubtful if he ever did much tanning after selling out to Mr. Pitts. In the later history of the district, we shall see him serving as a member of the school committee of Lancaster; as one of a committee of five representing Clintonville in the division of property when the town of Clinton was incorporated; as a selectman of the new town; as one

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in nearly the same words as it appeared in the Courant of September 5, 1885, and as it was afterward told to the author by the venerable man.

Before a school-house was built, the pupils were accustomed to gather for instruction during the winter at certain private houses. In the northern part of the district, the house of Charles Chase was the general place of meeting. On alternate winters, the school was kept in the southern part at the Wilder house, where Daniel Carville's house now stands. In 1809, a little school house was erected a short distance west of the Fuller-Carruth house, opposite the McLean house of more recent date. It was on the western side of the road and faced toward the south. There was no hall or entry, but the outer door opened upon the school room. The outside garments hung upon the wall. The building was heated by a stove near the center of the room. The writing desks stood on three sides, and the benches for them stood a little out from the wall so as to allow a passage-way. In front of the writing desks, were the seats of the smaller pupils. The master's desk was at first in the northeastern corner. In 1826, short seats were put in instead of long benches and the master's desk was moved to the eastern side. The scholars stood for recitation on the south and west of the room in front of the desks. When the house was no longer needed for school purposes, it was sold to Alanson Chace. He moved it to the Acre. Here, in 1885, it was "still in existence as the L of a house owned by Mr. Greenwood and occupied by Martin Kittredge." This school was always noted for its earnest study, and some went forth from it, such as Roscoe G. Greene and George Ide Chace, who exerted a powerful influence in the world.

The list of male teachers in this house was as follows: "First, Ebenezer Wilder, who was succeeded by Dr. John Andrews of Boylston; then, Asa Sawyer, who died in Berlin; next, Walter Willard, Baxter Wood, Titus Wilder and Silas Thurston, all of whom died in Lancaster; Nathaniel

Longley died in Bolton; John Gamble in Sutton; Major Rufus Hastings died recently in Westboro; Rev. N. Briggs, Pelham; Artemas Barnes, died a few years ago in Worcester; James Davenport, died in Mississippi; Thomas W. Valentine of Northboro, died recently in Brooklyn, N. Y.; Sanford Kendall, now living in Worcester; Prof. George I. Chace, recently died in Providence; Rufus Wilder, now living in Schuylkill Haven, Pa.; Jotham Holt, died in Keene, N. H.; Solon Carter, died in Lancaster; Samuel I. Rice, resides in Northboro; Augustus Whipple, killed by the blowing up of a boiler on a steamboat in New York harbor; Rev. Andrew Bigelow, D. D., recently deceased in Southboro; Josiah Pierce, died in West Boylston; Caleb Maynard, died in Northboro, and Charles Pollard, now residing in Lynn.

"The list of female teachers includes Abigail Fyfe, died in Berlin; Nancy (Pierce) Dorrison, now living in Clinton; Abigail (Townsend) Whitney, died in Harvard; Abigail Walden, died in Richmond, N. H.; Achsah (Houghton) Moore, died in Sterling; Sally (or Lucy) Stearns, died in Lancaster; Diana Chace, died in Harvard; Lucy Pollard, now living in Dorchester; Elizabeth (Carter) Whittenden, died in Cambridgeport; Susan (Coffin) Houghton of Bolton; Lucena (Wilder) Humphrey, lives in Fort Wayne, Ind; Sophia Locke of Lancaster; Emmeline (Bailey) Breck, died in Sterling; Francena Priest, if living, in Lowell; Elizabeth Wilder, wife of Dr. Lee, lives in Barre.

"Of those who went to school in this old house, who subsequently became teachers, we have the following: Sarah (Goss) Sawyer, daughter of John Goss; Lucy Pollard; Emily (Pollard) Ladd; Anna Gertrude (Pollard) Adams; Mary (Pollard) Nourse—all daughters of Gardner Pollard. George I., Diana, and Amia Ann Chace—children of Charles Chace; Edward Fuller, if living, now in Washington, and Mary Ann Fuller—children of Edward Fuller; Roscoe G. Greene, of Robert Hudson's family, afterwards

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the other hand, although at first it scarcely equalled the comb-making in the number of hands employed, had a phenomenal development in the forties, and finally became in its various branches and collateral forms of labor the main source of the prosperity of the community.

In 1805, the saw-mill and grist-mill of the Prescotts', together with adjoining lands and a house to the west of the mills, all of which had in 1793 and 1795 fallen into the hands of John Sprague, the lawyer, were sold by his son, Samuel John Sprague, to Benajah Brigham, mason, of Boston, for one thousand six hundred and fifty dollars. In the following year, the mills were sold to Thomas Willard Lyon, and the consideration named was one thousand dollars. In 1809, Lyon bought small lots of land from Ebenezer Allen and Nathaniel Low. On August 18, 1809, the mills and various lots of land were sold to Poignand & Plant by Lyon for one thousand three hundred dollars. Within the next few years, Poignand & Plant bought additional pieces of land from John Prescott, Jonas Lane, Jeremiah Ballard, Robert Phelps, Esek Pitts, Stephen Sargent and Nathan Burdett. What was left of the Prescott estate, as we have already seen, came into their possession from the administrator in 1814. They also bought of Ezekiel Rice and the heirs of Moses Sawyer, their rights in a ditch eight feet in width from Sandy Pond to the water course. This ditch had been dug by one of the earlier Prescotts, probably the pioneer, for conveying water from Sandy Pond to Prescott's Mills. The purchase of these mills by Poignand & Plant was the most important event that had happened in the history of this district since the coming of John Prescott, 1st, in 1653.

Each of the partners was of foreign descent. David Poignand, the elder of the two, was born on the island of Jersey, January 12, 1759. His ancestors were Huguenots, who had fled to this island from Poitou, France, to

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length of time. The amount of sales during the last two years was much less than during the first two. He was naturalized July 18, 1804. He bought "segars" and snuff frequently. He was a sportsman. His expenditures for dress were such that he must have been very nice in his appearance. He was a reader and buyer of books. He made a close study of French. He was, perhaps, influenced in this by his relations with Delicia M. Poignand, for her family were even more familiar with French than with English. The first mention of her, made in his account books, is on February 8, 1806, when he took her and her friend, Miss Frances Bazin, to the theatre. It cost him five dollars. It is evident that he did not, at this time, wish to show too particular attention to either of these young ladies, for he gave Gray's and Goldsmith's Poems to Miss Bazin, and the Vicar of Wakefield to "D. M. P." January 23, 1807, he took the two again to the theatre, and again gave each of them a book. This time Miss "D. M. P." received a volume on "Solitude." March 13, he takes them to the theatre once more. Miss Bazin is no more spoken of, and the only direct allusion to D. M. P. is the record of giving her a volume of poems. Through the summer of this year, "a horse and chaise" are hired with suspicious frequency. Perhaps, it was only for business purposes. In 1808, he went to England, leaving Boston October 26, and arriving in London just one month later. His passage cost him one hundred and fifty-five dollars, besides the stores and wines, which came to thirty-five more. Here the record ceases.

It is probable that he went to England with the definite purpose of closing up his old business and preparing for manufacturing for himself. It has been said that he made a careful study of machinery while abroad, and that he brought back with him drawings of many mechanical inventions that he thought might prove useful. He is even accused of having smuggled in parts of the machines themselves. He was naturally a mechanical genius, and in later

years invented a picker, with two beaters, for cleansing cotton. He was also the first to introduce an improved method of spinning by circular spindle boxes.

He must have returned from England by spring, for we find him riding about the country in the summer with Mr. Poignand, to inspect the water privileges near Boston. They were at first attracted by one near Waltham, but the price was too high. At last, the old Prescott Mills in Lancaster were brought to their notice. The water power seemed adapted for their purpose, and the property could be bought at a low price. The bargain was closed, and they became proprietors. Mr. Plant married "D. M. P." during the same year in which he came to Lancaster.

James Pitts has given us a picture of this leader in cotton manufacturing in this section, which is worthy of preservation; "Mr. Plant was one of the most methodical men I ever knew; he was superlatively precise in all his affairs on the farm and in and about the factory; and when the property was sold, not a bruise or a mar or mark of abuse was to be seen on any of their property, whether in doors or out, except in the natural wear and tear, although it had been in constant use over thirty years; he was also equally precise in his personal appearance; his dress was never gaudy or flashy, but plain and good and scrupulously neat; he was one of those men to whom dirt never adheres; he was also always at home, and seldom, if ever, went away from his business; although the company owned good horses and carriages, he very seldom rode out except to church. Mr. Plant was a man of books; although limited in number of branches, he was quite proficient in the sciences, and very correct; he had a fine library, a profusion of maps, globes, a theodolite and a beautiful telescope for the amusement and benefit of himself and his family."

As Mr. Poignand displayed many traits of the typical Frenchman, so Mr. Plant was a typical Englishman. He was tenacious of his rights, and firm almost to stubbornness.

He was determined that the cotton factory should be the center of the community to which his partner and he should stand in a sort of paternal relation. For this reason he bitterly opposed the immigration of people from Lancaster Center not connected with the factory. To prevent their coming, it is said, that he would buy up beforehand the houses and lands which he had heard they were proposing to occupy. He was a man fitted by nature and disposition to make his stamp on the community, which, during his stay, was known as Factory Village.

There was a third man; one employed by the firm who was, perhaps, as important an element as either of the partners in the history of the Factory Village. This was Captain Thomas Willard Lyon, whom we have already noticed as making the original purchase. It is probable that it was largely through his influence and from the hope of obtaining his assistance in their projected enterprise that Poignand & Plant entered upon the daring scheme of starting a cotton factory, without machinery and without experienced help, to run in competition with the established factories of England. It was surely largely due to his skill as a machinist that their undertaking met with success, for from the drawings and verbal descriptions of Mr. Plant, aided by his own great ingenuity, he constructed a complete outfit of machinery for the mill, surpassing in many respects the outfits of the English mills. This was done in spite of the apparently unconquerable difficulty of obtaining desired castings.

Although Captain Lyon has received credit for no great inventions, yet he made many ingenious improvements in machinery worthy of being patented. For instance, it is said that he first invented machinery for making a cop. Only a few years since, at the mill on Water Street, they were using some machinery which was built by him seventy years before. It seems possible, in the light of his later life, that Captain Lyon was more generous than shrewd, and that, while he labored, others enjoyed the fruit of his labors.

In 1812, he bound himself by a pledge under a forfeit of three thousand dollars not to reveal the secrets of the machinery which he had made.

Such were the men whose influence was to be so potent for the next score of years in the life of District No. 10, and whose labors furnished the opportunity which called their still more able successors hither.

As the town of Lancaster had given Prescott certain privileges to encourage him to set up his saw and grist-mill on this stream in 1653, so now in this second great enterprise, started at the same point, they offered to Poignand & Plant a partial release from taxation for a time, if they would proceed with their work.

The plans of the partners were well laid before the property was purchased, for we find them at once entering upon the work of construction. December 13, 1809, they paid Mr. Newton eleven dollars and forty-six cents, for pulling down and removing the old grist-mill. They first built a work-shop and blacksmith-shop for the construction of machinery. Calvin Winter received his pay for shingling this building, January 22, 1810. On the 18th of the same month, Newton received nine dollars for pulling down the saw-mill. May 1, 1810, Joseph and Peter Kendall signed a contract for building a brick mill, fifty-seven feet by thirty-eight and a half feet, three stories in height. The structure built under this contract, still forms the western end of the Yarn Mill on Water Street.

The building of this mill at once aroused new activity in the whole community and gave employment to many of the farmers. The stone for the mill and dam was furnished by Joseph Rice, Gardner Pollard, Charles Chace, Stephen and Titus Wilder, Nathaniel Low, and others; the lumber came from Peter and Ezra Sawyer, Joseph Rice and Ebenezer Wilder. It has been said that Peter Sawyer furnished some of the brick from a new kiln which he had opened on

his farm, but most of them surely came from Gates and Johnson, who lived outside present Clinton limits. Meanwhile the machinery was being prepared as rapidly as circumstances permitted and such progress was made that the mill was at work before the War of 1812 fairly began.

Companies for the spinning of cotton by hand had been organized in Philadelphia in 1775, and, in 1780, a similar company was organized in Worcester, but neither of these were run upon the factory system. In 1786, some rude machines for cotton spinning had been set at work in East Bridgewater, and others in 1787, at Beverly. Moses Brown had made some attempts at cotton spinning previous to 1790, but had succeeded poorly. During that year, at his invitation, Samuel Slater visited Pawtucket. In December of the same year, Slater set into operation the first successful cotton machinery in America. Several mills were erected for spinning cotton in Rhode Island during the next twenty years, but the enterprise of Poignand & Plant was the first successful one of the kind, even for cotton spinning, in Massachusetts.

The American Cyclopaedia states that a factory built by Francis C. Lovell and others in Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1813 was "the first in the world that combined all the processes necessary for converting the raw cotton into finished cloth." The History of Waltham states: "The first record of its work is on the books of this company under the date of February 2, 1816, at which time the entry was made of one thousand two hundred and forty-two yards, 4-4, or thirty-six inches wide cotton. There is no doubt that this entry records the date of the first manufacture of cotton cloth in America, where all operations were performed under one roof." But cotton cloth and gingham were made here in Factory Village under one roof and by the factory system in 1813. Records of sales and samples of the goods have been preserved. There seems to be no doubt that the mill

of Poignand & Plant may justly assert its claim to the priority falsely assigned to the Waltham factory. Other factories, like those of Slater, had spun by power a little before that of Poignand & Plant. Other individuals and firms had produced finished cloths without the factory system, or with only a partial development of it, but the old mill now standing on Water Street was probably the first building in the world in which cotton cloth and gingham were entirely made under the factory system.

The war of 1812, with the accompanying embargo, gave very great advantage to the firm, for, since the importation of goods was stopped and the preparation for home production was limited, demand was greatly in excess of supply and prices doubled. The two products of the factory were gingham and sheetings. In 1813, the former brought from forty to fifty cents per yard, the latter, three-fourths of a yard wide, was sold, according to the quality, at from thirty to forty-five cents per yard. As the war went on, these prices, high though they seem, grew higher and higher, giving greater and greater profits to the manufacturer.

The accounts show that a considerable portion of the goods were manufactured on small orders directly from the consumers. The Shaker community was among the heaviest buyers of this kind. To many of the entries, samples of the goods are attached. These samples are considerably coarser in quality than those made at the Lancaster Mills to-day.

From the beginning, Robert Phelps was the overseer of the mill, and, at first, he is the only male whose name appears on the pay-roll. This Robert Phelps was in 1812 already a man of forty-two. He was the son of Robert and Rachel Phelps. In 1794, he had married Polly Todd. They are recorded to have had five children. April 1, 1814, he bought of Nathan Burdett his house and land on North Main Street. Here, he lived for many years. He died June 9, 1854.

It was some years before there were more than a dozen names of females on the pay-roll at any one time, and these names changed frequently.* The men and boys at work inside the mill during the same years were Amos Darling, Charles Whipple, James Carroll and boy, John Low, Blake Mullens and P. Gallie. An examination of the records of Lancaster shows that very few of the females were born within the limits of the town, and doubtless almost all of them came hither for the special purpose of mill work. Of the males, the name of John Low is the only one familiar to our citizens. These workers, although they came from out of town, must have been of Yankee birth. Later in the history of the mills, many are found working, who were born in the district.

The house on North Main Street which Poignand & Plant bought of Stephen Sargent in 1813 was made over into a boarding house. In later years, it became known as the "Tavern," and is now used as W. A. Fuller's lumber office. Mr. Pitts says that Mr. Plant lived in one end of this house until 1824. Willard A. Howe was the keeper of this house. In 1818, he was in Marlboro, and Calvin Howe had charge. Willard A. was back again in 1819. At this time, he made a contract to give board, washing and lodging for one dollar and sixteen cents a week. In 1827, when Isaac Whitney of Harvard agreed to take charge of the boarding-house, the

*NAMES TAKEN FROM THE PAY-ROLL FROM 1812-1814.

Mary Holden.	Sally Rugg.	Abigail Thompson.
Sarah Holden.	Sally Hinds.	Maria Houghton.
Sally Richardson.	Mary Brooks.	Sally Haskell.
Abigail McBride.	Elizabeth Brooks.	Lucinda Woods.
Sarah McBride.	Sally Ellenwood.	Sally Newhall.
Abigail Holman.	Mary Pierce.	Sally Wilder.
Mary Parker.	Mary Goodridge.	Rhoda Tower.
Nancy Fife.	Susan Kingman.	Charlotte Moor.
Ann Parker.	Eunice Kingman.	Eliza Thompson.
	Polly Norcross.	

rate per week was fixed at one dollar and eight cents. There were twelve beds in the building. Among the regulations, we find: "As a light will be lighted every night and placed in a lanthorn, it is expected that no boarder will take a light into the chambers." On Sunday, if not at public worship, the boarders "will keep within doors and improve their time in reading, writing and other employment." In 1818, William Toombs agreed to keep a men's boarding-house, charging two dollars a week for board and washing. Rum produced a "Sunday riot," and after that no more was sold at the store from which the workmen were supplied, and no one was employed in the mill who habitually used it.

The method of hiring workers and the wages paid can be understood from the following case in 1815. A whole family agreed to come together on these terms: The house rent was to be from twenty to thirty dollars per year, and cut wood was to be furnished at two dollars a cord; the man was to receive five dollars per week; his son, sixteen years old, two; his daughter of thirteen, one and a half; his daughter of twelve, one and a quarter; his son of ten, eighty cents; his sister, two dollars and one third; her son of thirteen, one and a half; her daughter of eight, seventy-five cents. There had at this time been little agitation in regard to the hours of labor and the employment of children. It is probable that this child of eight spent twelve hours a day in the factory six days in the week. In the twenties, when the braiding of straw became an established industry in this section, and work was given out to the women and girls to do at home, it became almost impossible to get help from the families near the mills, and the proprietors were obliged to return to their earlier methods and get help from a distance, even sending agents to New Hampshire and Vermont to hunt up girls. Sometimes, much bitterness of feeling came from hiring help away from other mills. It is said that the first family of Irish birth hired to work in the mill was named Quinn. They lived in a building known as the "Laundry," a little south of the girls' boarding-house.

Mr. Poignand settled in a small house on North Main Street, which stood on the location now occupied by Walcott's Block. When this block was built the old house was moved a few rods east from Main Street to the place where it now stands. To-day, the building looks small and poor enough, but Mr. Poignand lived there for many years, and there he entertained his aristocratic friends from Boston. It has been claimed that the library belonging to him and Mr. Plant jointly, was the largest at that time in any private house in the state, containing as it did from two to three thousand volumes. These works were in both English and French. Mr. Plant also lived in the house, for a time.

From this house, a daughter of Mr. Poignand, Louisa Elizabeth, was married February 13, 1814, to Colonel Thomas Aspinwall. The Rev. Nathaniel Thayer performed the ceremony. The bride's dress was made of cloth woven in the factory. This Thomas Aspinwall was the son of Dr. William Aspinwall of Brookline, who was chiefly instrumental in introducing vaccination into the country. Thomas was born in 1786. He graduated from Harvard in 1804. He then studied law and engaged in his profession. His intentions of marriage with Miss Poignand were published June 16, 1811, but the war of 1812 delayed their union. At first, he was major in the 9th U. S. Infantry. He received the brevet of lieutenant-colonel for bravery at Sackett's Harbor. At Fort Erie, he lost an arm and received the brevet of colonel for his conduct. The year after his marriage, Colonel Aspinwall was appointed U. S. Consul to London by President Madison, and held that office for thirty-eight years. We shall see him and others of his father's family as prominent stock holders in the later history of the factory.

The water supply at the mill was somewhat irregular on account of the dam at Rice's privilege. This was a source of great annoyance to the partners. The high price received for goods seemed to justify an increase in business. The

partners therefore resolved to buy out Rice and build a new mill. Capital was lacking and they sought to obtain it by admitting a new member to the firm. The man secured was David Greenough, a Boston merchant. The share of Poignand in the firm was eight thousand seven hundred and ten dollars and fourteen cents; of Plant, two thousand four hundred and twenty dollars and sixty-eight cents; of Greenough five thousand five hundred and sixty-five dollars and forty-one cents, half as much as the other two together. Greenough was to be the selling agent, while the others kept to their previous work at the factory. Measures were taken for starting the new building, and the sum of ten thousand dollars was borrowed on the note of the firm. The work must have progressed rather slowly, for the mill was not completed until 1819. Many improvements, however, were made at the old mill in connection with building the new one, for instance, Lyon made two water wheels at the same time, one twenty-five feet in diameter, and another, eighteen, which were evidently for the two mills. The mill at the "upper privilege" when finished was seventy six feet long by forty wide. It had "a porch" sixteen feet long. It was two stories high. It was built, with the exception of the basement, of wood. The lower story held thirty two looms, while the second story was devoted to miscellaneous machinery. The building, with its machinery, was valued at nine thousand dollars. This building in later times was known as the "Old Red Mill," and remained until recent years in the yard of the worsted mill of the Bigelow Carpet Company. The Brick Mill, after the changes made in it, was valued, with the machinery, at sixteen thousand dollars. It contained eight hundred and ninety-six spindles. The dam was raised a little and the fall was reckoned as sixty-two feet in height. Both mills were heated by stove-like furnaces and lighted by lamps. There was also a machine shop, sixty-one feet long by twenty, valued at twenty-two hundred and ten dollars. This was fifty-three feet from the northeast cor-

ner of this factory. In 1829, there were ten other houses belonging to the concern, together valued at about ten thousand dollars. The most important of these was the brick dwelling-house now known as the Parker house, which was built in 1823-4 for Mr. Plant. It was at that time considered the finest house in town, and cost three thousand dollars.

The factories for the years during which we have a record produced a little over two hundred thousand yards of cloth annually. When peace was declared, December 24, 1814, the excessive profits ceased. The market was after a short time again supplied with foreign goods, which were cheaper than could be produced here. The mills had begun to expand at the wrong time, at the flood tide of profit, just before the ebb. Although the farmers rejoiced that the war was over, and that they could once more exchange their crops for foreign goods, the manufacturers, who had started their factories because commerce had ceased, began to feel that their only salvation was in a protective tariff. For this, they had to wait.

Meanwhile, David Greenough became involved in the general ruin of the class to which he belonged. June 23, 1819, a dun came to Poignand & Plant from Israel Thorndike. He held, through David Greenough, the note of Poignand & Plant for the ten thousand dollars before mentioned, secured by a mortgage on the factory. No interest had been paid for a year and a half, and Mr. Thorndike stated that the matter must be straightened out at once. Bankruptcy seemed inevitable, as the firm had no ready money, but parties were found who were willing to take up Greenough's relations with the mill after he had assigned. At the request of John H. Bradford and Seth Knowles, made in June, 1819, Poignand & Plant forwarded a statement of their affairs.*

*ASSETS, JUNE, 1819.

Value of property when D. G. became partner.....	\$14,538 62
Additions since	29,729 36

In the light of transactions that took place at a later date, it is evident that the mills were much less valuable than the partners believed. The parties in Boston, however, were evidently satisfied with this statement, for after due investigation, they, in connection with Benjamin Rich, agreed December 28, 1819, to furnish Poignand & Plant with fifteen thousand dollars as they should need it, on certain conditions. This loan was preliminary to a partnership which was formed February 18, 1820. Each of the new partners was to pay in five thousand two hundred and eighty-four dollars and twenty-one cents. David Poignand and Samuel Plant were each to have seven thousand nine hundred and twenty-six dollars and and thirty-one cents in the firm. The total value was thus thirty-one thousand seven hundred and five dollars and twenty-five cents.

Debts due firm, cotton, etc., on hand	{ 3,731 19
	{ 743 11
Pd. and contracted for new factory and machinery.....	19,930 00
	<hr/>
	\$68,672 28

LIABILITIES.

To partners D. G.	\$5,568 41
D. P.	8,352 62
S. P.	2,784 20
	<hr/>
	\$16,705 23
Note to Israel Thorndike.....	\$10,000 00
Interest.....	600 00
D. G.'s protests.....	945 64
Debts due.....	8,474 28
Bal. on D. G.'s book and notes.....	4,187 37
	<hr/>
	\$24,207 29
	<hr/>
	\$40,912 52
New debts becoming due at new factory.....	15,578 17
	<hr/>
	\$56,490 69
Balance in our favor.....	12,181 59
	<hr/>
	\$68,672 28

By an act* passed by the Massachusetts Legislature January 27, 1821, these five men, Isaac Bangs acting attorney for John H. Bradford, were incorporated for the purpose of carrying on the manufacture of cotton in the town of Lancaster, under the title of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company. This is the first of the many articles of incorporation which have affected the history of this community.

The capital stock was fixed at seventy-two thousand dollars, and divided into thirty-six shares of two thousand dollars, Poignand and Plant were to have six shares each. An agreement was made that no stock should be sold without being first offered to other partners. There were notes against the concern at this time for twenty-two thousand dollars. David Poignand was made president. He was to give his whole time to the business, and to be allowed rent and "reasonable maintenance," together with two per cent. of all dividends. Samuel Plant was made clerk and manager. He was to have a salary of five hundred dollars, and the support of himself and family. Isaac Bangs, as representing J. H. Bradford, was made treasurer and selling agent, and was to receive two and one-half per cent. on the

*AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE LANCASTER COTTON MANUFACTURING COMPANY.

Section I. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court Assembled and by the authority of the same; that David Poignand, Samuel Plant, Benjamin Rich, Isaac Bangs and Seth Knowles together with such others as may hereafter associate with them or their successors, Be and are hereby made a Corporation by the name of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company for the purpose of manufacturing cotton in the Town of Lancaster in the County of Worcester, and for that purpose shall have all the powers and privileges and be subject to all the duties and requirements contained in an act passed the third day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nine, entitled, "An Act defining the General powers and duties of manufacturing corporations." Section second fixed the real estate not to exceed \$30,000, and personal, not to exceed \$70,000.

proceeds. Seth Knowles and Benjamin Rich, together with the other three, were directors. A dividend of seventeen per cent. was declared the first year. It is doubtful if it was earned.

September 2, Lewis Tappan, who was anxious to become selling agent for the corporation, purchased the six shares of Rich, and thus became possessed of a one-sixth interest. Part of these shares went to Thomas Aspinwall. Benjamin Pickman bought out Bradford, in the same month, and Seth Knowles, October 4th, the same year. So that Benjamin Pickman, or he and his son, Benjamin T. Pickman, were then possessed of a one-third interest, twelve shares. Mr. Tappan, as he entered upon his work as selling agent, found that "our goods are unquestionably superior to any others in this country." He was anxious to increase the business, and urged that T. W. Lyon's place be bought in order that the dam might be raised. On the 19th of May, 1823, a deed of the estate was received. Lyon then, or shortly after, moved to Northboro, where he was in the machine business for twenty years or more.

In 1824, much complaint was made of the quality of the goods, and the sales were slow even at a greatly reduced price. The trouble came from the inexperience of Mr. Tappan in buying cotton. September 2, 1824, Benjamin T. Pickham informed Poignand & Plant that he had purchased the shares of his father, and that he, as owner of twelve shares, was dissatisfied with the selling agent, Mr. Tappan. He said the last dividend paid was not earned, and the company was running behind hand. The pressure brought to bear upon Mr. Tappan by the directors caused him to resign in October, 1824, and Benjamin T. Pickman became treasurer and selling agent. Notwithstanding a loss by fire of over one thousand dollars during this year, the profits of the concern were such that they could fairly pay a dividend of six thousand dollars for 1825. The tariff of 1824 doubtless helped in this direction. In 1827, the dam gave way, so that

work was stopped for some months. The tariff bill of 1828 tended to the increase of profits, inasmuch as it shut out foreign competition.

On the 28th of August, 1830, Mr. Poignand started for the post office in Lancaster, as was his wont. When he reached J. G. Thurston's store in New Boston, he stopped and told Mr. Thurston that he was not feeling well. Mr. Thurston took him into the house, where he lay down. He died within a few minutes. His wife survived him only three years. They were both buried in the cemetery opposite Madame Thayer's. It is hard to separate the work of Mr. Poignand from that of Mr. Plant so as to assign to each his place in the history of the community. The latter was the younger man, was more active, enterprising and, perhaps, more self-assertive, but, without the pecuniary aid of the older man, the factories could never have been started here, and his mature judgment was doubtless a most important factor in the success of the business.

The tariff bill of 1832, with its provisions for decreasing protective duties, injured the business. Benjamin T. Pickman died in the spring of 1835, leaving his accounts as treasurer and selling agent somewhat involved. Thomas C. Smith, who settled his affairs, was made treasurer. The business prospects were so poor that the factory was closed in May of this year. As the stockholders were discouraged, in September, the factories were offered at auction. They were not sold, however, until July 26, 1836. The purchasers were Nathaniel Rand and Samuel Damon of Lancaster, John Howe and Edward A. Raymond of Boston. The sum paid was only thirteen thousand nine hundred and eighty-one dollars and fifty-six cents, for one hundred and seventy-seven acres of land, the two factories with water power and machinery, a blacksmith-shop, machine-shop and eleven other buildings. This property was sold in several lots. The stockholders had their last meeting October 25, 1838. Samuel Plant represented ten shares; the Poignand estate,



SAMUEL PLANT.

nine shares; Thomas Aspinwall, six shares; Augustus Aspinwall, three shares; Thomas C. Smith, four shares, and Charles Torrey, four shares. Thus passed away our first great textile industry, but it had prepared the way for a greater to follow.

It is said that Mr. Plant tried to buy the house he had lived in, now known as the Parker house, and that he had engaged Nathaniel Sawyer to bid it off in his interest. Through some misunderstanding, Sawyer's bid was not recognized, so Mr. Plant lost his hold on the house. He moved to Leicester, and two years afterwards, to Northampton. There, we are told, he spent his old age in writing for the press and translating French works. He died in February, 1847.

He had a large and most interesting family. His six sons and six daughters were born in or near Factory Village, and attended school in District No. 10. His oldest son, George Poignand Plant, became one of the great western pioneers. A memorial volume says: "Born in a New England village, his boyhood was one of thrift and labor and early application to the duties of life, but which, guided by the ambition of a gifted sister, directed his mind toward those studies and pursuits to which he owes his eminence and which in a great measure controlled his after life." "The library of his father, chiefly mechanical, scientific and practical, served to satisfy his first literary yearnings and to form his tastes. The cotton mills of his father afforded his first application of that knowledge to material things * * * and he chose engineering as a profession." He moved to the West, and rose to great prominence in his profession. The memorial further states: "The civil engineer under whose supervision the road was built, and who then and there brought the 'iron horse' into harness—the first in the Mississippi Valley—was George P. Plant." He founded the firm of George P. Plant, which controlled great flouring mills at St. Louis. He held many prominent offices in that

city, among them those of president of the Merchants' Exchange, president of the American Central Insurance Company, president of the Millers' National Convention, president of St. Luke's Hospital. He died February 24, 1875. His brothers, William, Samuel and Alfred, were associated with him in business in St. Louis. The latter graduated at Yale College in 1847. These brothers, and their descendants, have been among the ablest men of St. Louis.

It is probable that some one of the Prescotts may have taken possession of the water privilege in the Nashua above the present Lancaster Mills' dam in the early times of the settlement, as such a privilege could scarcely have escaped the notice of such millwrights. The fall at this point is marked upon a map of Lancaster published in 1795, as "seven feet."

August 7, 1796, John Prescott, 5th, sold to Elias Sawyer of Boylston, for five hundred dollars, nineteen acres of land on the west side of the Nashua, four acres on the east side, and "five acres of the river between the two pieces of land so as fully to include falls." No buildings are mentioned in the deed. About eight weeks before, Elias Sawyer "of Boylston," had sold to Silas Haynes and J. H. Wheeler, one hundred and twenty acres of land, with buildings. Mr. Sawyer evidently began to build without any adequate means for carrying out his plans. A mortgage was placed upon his property in 1798, and another in 1799. In this latter year, Jesse Cook secured a judgment against him, and a part of the land and of a house which had been built, were set off to satisfy this judgment. May 23, 1800, Elias Sawyer sold all his land here, and all the buildings and fixtures, to John Hunt, for a net price of about eight hundred dollars. Ruth Sawyer signed the papers as his wife. Thus, this Elias Sawyer vanishes from our history. On account of a judgment secured against John Hunt, the mill privilege of Elias

Sawyer was set off to Stephen Sargent, April 23, 1804. It then passed through the hands of Richard Sargent into those of Daniel Aldrich of Uxbridge. In 1810, James Pitts, Sr., bought the privilege and the property connected with it, of Daniel Aldrich. When he settled upon this estate, he found the frame of a dwelling-house, which he made into the building now known as No. 1, Chestnut Street, but the mill and dam he was obliged to entirely rebuild. His son says: "There was then remaining of Mr. Sawyer's works, the frame of the saw-mill which he had commenced, but never covered, and which had become so much impaired by exposure as to be worthless, and had to be taken down to give room to the new structure. * * * There also remained of Mr. Sawyer's works the mudsill of his dam, * * * the crank and some of the mill-irons which Mr. Sawyer made himself. Mr. S. was a most remarkably hard-working man, but was very poor and suffered great adversity from want of means to complete his mill."

One of the ancestors of the James Pitts who purchased this mill was a maker of clocks in Taunton in the eighteenth century; another owned a grist-mill in the same place; another controlled an iron foundry in Norton and cast for the government cannon which were used during the Revolution. James Pitts himself was a millwright, and among other pieces of work constructed machinery for a cotton factory in West Bridgewater. On account of his work elsewhere, Mr. Pitts did not immediately settle upon his property here. Although he completed the house on the west side of Chestnut Street, next to the river, partially built by Elias Sawyer soon after his purchase, it was not until September 22, 1815, that Mr. Pitts, then a man of thirty-two, began to occupy it with his family. He lived in one half, while in the other half, he and his apprentice, Warren Cudworth, made "the running gear and fixtures" for the saw and grist-mills. The next spring, he began his dam. This was thirteen feet in height, or less than half as high as that of

the Lancaster Mills. Most of the ground now covered by the Lancaster Mills Pond must still have been well above the water. Meanwhile the saw and grist-mill was being put up, so that Mr. Pitts was able to do his first sawing in November, 1816. In addition to the land which he bought of Aldrich, he bought a piece of Calvin Winter of Boylston and another of Deacon John Burdett, so that his farm was in all some eighty acres in extent. Most of this land was still uncleared forest, which gave material for the work of the mill. A part of the intervale where the Lancaster Mills now stand was diked and made into grass land.

Mr. Pitts had brought from West Bridgewater some cotton machinery which he had there, and in January, 1820, this water power was for the first time made to do service for the spinning of cotton yarn. This machinery was in a room of the saw and grist-mill. At first, very little help was hired for the cotton manufacture, but the four sons of the family had their stints upon this work from the time they became eight years old. In time, the business developed, but the greatest number ever employed did not exceed five men and ten girls, including the family.

We have seen how, in 1818, Alanson and Charles Chace bought of Mr. Pitts an acre of land and one-twentieth of the water power. They built a small tannery about twenty rods below the dam. They carried on business for ten years and then sold out to Mr. Pitts, who enlarged their tannery and changed it into a shingle mill for himself, and a shop which he rented to comb makers. In 1831, he enlarged this mill still further and introduced here his cotton machinery. In 1835, the elder Mr. Pitts committed suicide, and his four sons, James, William, Hiram W. and Seth G., undertook the business.

In 1836, the saw and grist-mill, which was just at the dam, burned down and a new one was built some fifty feet lower down. This mill was sixty feet by sixteen. The other, after all its enlargements, was fifty-six by twenty. The Pitts brothers changed their business from the manufacture of cotton yarn to the making of satinet warps.

In 1841, James Pitts, Jr., by making large additions to a house which had been put up by Charles Chace while the tannery was in operation, fitted it up into a dwelling place, which was for forty years or more known as No. 1, Green Street. It was moved to the German Village at the time of the building of the brick boarding-house. Newton Sweet and his son, H. N. Sweet, both of whom worked in the mills, took the old dwelling-house which afterwards became known as No. 1, Chestnut Street. The brothers had for some time discussed the project of greatly enlarging their works and more fully utilizing their water power, but to some of them it seemed unwise to attempt so much with such small capital as they had. In 1842, certain overtures were made to them by the Bigelows, and they agreed to sell all their property for ten thousand dollars, a price which seemed most satisfactory to them. Their saw and grist-mill was removed down the stream to Sidney Harris' comb shops. On May 28th, 1844, the mills and the house with the adjoining land were deeded to the Lancaster Mills.

James, William and Seth G. Pitts were all members of the Universalist Church formed in Lancaster. The two first mentioned signed the constitution when it was first adopted in 1838. Hiram W. Pitts was afterward a successful manufacturer in Fitchburg and elsewhere. James Pitts continued in this section as a machinist, living to a good old age. He conferred a great benefit on succeeding generations by publishing as a "Septuagenarian" his "Reminiscences" in the Clinton Courant.

CHAPTER X.

THE EARLY COMB-MAKERS.

- COMB-MAKING was introduced by new settlers, who soon became closely connected by marriage with the earlier population. Of the families living within present Clinton limits before the closing years of the eighteenth century, that of the Pollards is the only one which assumed any prominence in the new industry. The names which are especially associated with this manufacture are Lowe, Gibbs, McCollum, Lewis, Sawtelle, Howard, Burdett and Harris.

The Lowes of Clinton were descended from Captain Nathaniel Lowe, who sailed from Ipswich and was captured by the French, May 10th, 1742. He was carried to France, and never returned to America. His son, Nathaniel Lowe of Leominster, the father of Nathaniel and John, was born in 1732. In 1795, Nathaniel Lowe, Jr., then a young man of thirty-one, bought of Moses Sawyer the land northeast and east and southeast of Prescott Mills, which Jabez Prescott had sold to Sawyer four years before. This farm of sixty-seven acres covered the southern portion of the Plain (now so called), together with a greater part of the land between the present Walnut Street and South Meadow Brook to the base of Burditt Hill. The fourteen acres which remained to Capt. John Prescott are spoken of as a notch cut out of Mr. Lowe's South Farm. Whether Mr. Lowe moved to Clinton at the time of his purchase, is uncertain. He was surely settled here when his first daughter, Polly, was born

in 1798. Nathaniel Lowe is recorded in one of his deeds as a cooper, and it is said that he made most of his money by comb-making, but, after he came to this region, he worked for awhile as a shoemaker, and his farm received considerable of his attention. He had two large barns, and kept oxen and cows and a large flock of sheep. He built a house northwest of the present intersection of High and Water Streets, which was in later years moved a few rods to the west and made over into the building now standing between the railroad and the Yarn Mill and recently occupied by Luis Burk. He also built a little shoe-shop, which stood northeast of what is now the intersection of High and Water Streets.

Jabez Lowe, his cousin, worked with him in this shop for a time. The shop was used by Nathaniel Lowe for making combs after 1808. His family consisted of six sons and three daughters. Two of his sons and one of his daughters died in childhood, or youth, and another daughter just as she reached maturity. As the other five children moved to the West, his farm passed out of the hands of the family in 1829, two years after his death. It was bought by Emory Harris, who kept for himself the southerly portion and one of the barns. He sold the northerly portion and the house to Amory Pollard. Mr. Pollard sold it to Williams Greene, who transferred it to Camden Maynard. Francis E. Lowe received somewhat more schooling than the other children of Nathaniel Lowe, and had the advantage of the instruction of the famous Thomas Frye, who taught in the Quaker Village in Bolton. While the four brothers all did good service in helping to develop the new western country, he was especially efficient, and received many honors from his fellow-citizens. He is still living in Havana, Illinois.

Although Nathaniel Lowe probably moved here before his brother, John, yet the honor of introducing the comb industry is usually assigned to the latter. We are told that before he came to this neighborhood he had been, for

some years, the keeper of the toll-gate on the Haverhill and Amesbury Turnpike. In 1800, he bought of John Frye of Bolton, the farm which had been previously held by Jonathan Prescott and Amos Allen. This has been more recently known as the Burdett-Maynard farm, and is on the east side of South Main Street, just above the upper Worsted Mill. In 1804, he bought a lot of forty acres, upon which was the unfinished house of Benjamin Gould and the nail shop of Asahel Tower. Mr. Tower used the water power in cutting strips of iron into the desired sizes. The nails were headed by hand. Mr. Tower afterwards carried on his business in South Lancaster. Arnold Rugg drew wire here for a short time. Neither of these men employed many assistants. In 1804, John Lowe also bought land on the road running from Sprague's, or Prescott's Mills, to Sandy Pond. He had married Mary Burdett, while in Leominster, and had a son, Henry, when he came here. He built the house where his son-in-law, Enoch K. Gibbs, now lives, about 1807. His shop stood northwest of his house, and has since been made, with many changes, into a dwelling-house which still stands near by.

Although comb-making has changed less in the past century than most arts, yet many of the processes have been greatly simplified and quickened. As John Lowe carried on the trade, little machinery was needed and no power was employed, except that of the muscles. The horns, which had been purchased from the neighboring farmers, or at the slaughtering pens at Brighton, were first sawn with a hand-saw into desired lengths and down one side to the hole left by the extraction of the pith. After they had been heated, soaked and softened by dipping in boiling oil, they were spread open and placed alternately with hot irons, and then the pile was put in clamps and pressed by the aid of wedges or of a screw and lever. This pressing was the most dirty and heavy part of the work, and was not usually done by those who knew the trade as a whole, but by some one who

looked after that alone. When the horn had been pressed sufficiently, it was thoroughly cooled, taken out of the irons and thrown into cold water to stiffen it. The next process was that of shaping according to the design for the dressing-comb, the back-comb, the side-comb, the pocket-comb, or the "louse-comb." This was done at the time of which we are speaking by the hand-saw, although it was not long before dies were introduced. The teeth were marked by a pattern, and then sawn by hand or, later, by a circular saw run by foot-power, or still later, by water-power, when it could be obtained.

In 1826, Joseph Willard, in his "History of Lancaster," says: "In consequence of the great improvement in machinery within a few years, double the quantity of this article (the comb) is manufactured with a considerable reduction in price. The improved machinery is an invention of Mr. Farnham Plummer of this town. It will cut one hundred and twenty dozen side-combs in a day. It cuts out two combs from a square piece of horn at the same time. The circular saw, which was previously used, cuts but one tooth at a time. Capt. Asahel Harris, an intelligent man who deals largely in this business, assures me that the new machine is a saving of nearly one-half in point of time, that it saves also one-third of the stock, besides much hard labor. It can be so constructed as to cut combs of any size." When the teeth were finished, the comb was smoothed and polished on a sponge or felting filled with ground pumice stone. The work up to this point was done by men and boys; the rest was done by girls. They looked over the combs to find defects, cleaned them, and did them up in paper packages and put them into the wooden boxes ready for sale. Smaller manufacturers often disposed of their combs to J. G. Thurston, the store-keeper of South Lancaster, paying their help by orders on him, and receiving the rest of their pay in goods or in money. We read of one of the old comb-makers, who went alone to Albany on horse-

back, with his merchandise in his saddle-bags, to find a market. Of course, the larger manufacturers of later times sold the product through agents and city firms. The business started by John Lowe spread so that Mr. Willard said in 1826: "There are fifteen or sixteen establishments (in Lancaster) for making combs, in which fifty persons at least are employed. The annual sales of this article are from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars."

John Lowe had a family of three sons and six daughters. He died in 1851 at the age of seventy-nine. Henry, his oldest son, born February 3, 1801, and Thomas, a son of Nathaniel, bought a water privilege on Rigby Brook in 1823, and began in the "upper shops," which they built, the manufacture of combs by water-power. Before this time muscular power alone was used. They did not succeed in business and soon sold out to Henry Lewis, who, in turn, sold in 1836 to Haskell McCollum, a son-in-law of John Lowe. McCollum bought another water right of his father-in-law, and taking Anson Lowe as a partner built the "middle shops" and so increased the business that the district about the shops became known as McCollumville. The title of Scrabble Hollow, as applied to this section, so familiar in recent times, is also a product of the same nicknaming age. Enoch K. Gibbs, who had married Martha Lowe, a daughter of John, built the "lower shops" four years later. James S. Lawrence and Charles Miller were also sons-in-law of John Lowe and followed his trade. The sons, sons-in-law and grandsons of John Lowe in various combinations carried on the comb business here, employing from twenty to twenty-five hands, until after the incorporation of Clinton, although the middle and upper shops had passed into the hands of A. L. Fuller before this time. We shall have frequent occasion to mention Haskell McCollum and Enoch K. Gibbs in the later history of the town.

These two upper shops were afterwards owned by N. C. Munson of Shirley and Charles Frazer. These, with the

lower shops, which the Lowes retained, were destroyed in 1876, when the dam at Mossy Pond gave way and the waters of the reservoir of the Bigelow Carpet Company were precipitated through Rigby Brook.

The neighboring water privilege on South Meadow Brook where Allen's mill had stood, was also utilized for comb-making. It will be remembered that it was purchased by Moses Emerson in 1813. This Moses Emerson had been a merchant on the Old Common, keeping "the most extensive store in the county," and was a man of some wealth. He kept a "coach," which showed a style of living before unknown in this neighborhood. He married his fourth wife in 1813. He was a selectman of Lancaster during the years 1813 and 1814. As it is said that he did not move on to his newly-acquired property until 1817, his stay here was very brief, for he died in 1822, at the age of forty-eight. His estate of two hundred and one acres was bought from the guardian of his children by George Howard of Bridgewater, in 1825. The Goss-Allen mill must have been long disused, as it had wholly disappeared at this time. Mr. Howard built a new dam, and put up a shop and dwelling-house, all of which he rented to Levi Pollard and Joel Sawtelle. They made combs here for some years, but as their business did not prosper, they were obliged to abandon it. George Howard then carried it on himself with a much greater degree of success. He sold his shop to Ephraim Fuller in 1839. This shop was made into a dwelling-house, and is now located on Fuller Street, and was recently known as the Hale house. Mr. Howard lost his wife, Sarah M. Howard, September 7, 1830. In 1833, he married Elizabeth Buss of Leominster.

Perhaps there is no family among the comb-makers which presents the life of the period in its various phases so fully as the Burdett family. For this reason, and also from the fact that for three generations this family have taken a

prominent part in the history of the community, a special study may be made of it as a type.

The first member of the family of whom any record has been found, was Robert Burdett of Malden. He was there in 1653, the year when Prescott first settled here. His great, great grandson, John Burdett, moved from Malden to Leominster in the latter part of the eighteenth century. He died there in 1843, at the great age of ninety-seven. He was a Revolutionary soldier, and fought at the battles of Lexington, Bunker Hill and Saratoga.

Three of his eleven children settled in the district which was to become Clinton: Mary, born in Malden, March 26, 1775, who became the wife of John Lowe; John, born in Leominster, February 19, 1777, and Nathan, born in Leominster, July 21, 1788. Another son, Phinehas S., born February 19, 1797, lived for some time with his brother, Nathan, in his youth, and three sons of Phinehas, Augustus P., Horatio S. and Albert T., were engaged in business here when Clinton was incorporated. Jerome S., their cousin, the son of James, was in business here also.

We have already seen how John Lowe bought a farm here in 1800, and probably settled on it soon after. As soon as young Nathan was of age to learn a trade,—in 1808 or before,—he became an apprentice at comb-making with his brother-in-law, John Lowe, and boarded with him in his new house, which he had just built by Rigby Brook.

It is not probable that Nathan Burdett, and others whom we speak of as learning the comb business, were legally bound by closely drawn papers, neither was the work of these apprentices confined to the shop, but they helped on the farm, as the season demanded, and gave a share of their time to the cattle. Yet Nathan Burdett must have learned his trade in a short time, for he soon became a teacher of the art, and had for his pupils the two older sons of Daniel Harris, who lived on Water Street, just opposite the end of what is now Cedar Street. One of these learners,

Emory, was the equal of his teacher in age, while Asahel was six years younger. It may have been while he was working here that he first met Margaret Darling, who became his wife September 30, 1809. This Margaret Darling was of Quaker descent, and came from Smithfield, Rhode Island. She was at this time living at the house of Stephen Sargent, near by that of Daniel Harris. The young couple first lived at Daniel Harris', then at John Lowe's, and then Mr. Burdett bought the low building still standing as an L. to a house on the west side of North Main Street, north of Hollis Wood's. The house and lot cost three hundred dollars. April 5, 1814, Mr. Burdett sold it to Robert Phelps for five hundred and fifty dollars.

Mr. Burdett bought of Ezekiel Rice, the house on Main Street, which had been built for Moses Sawyer, Jr., and the farm connected with it. A year after he went there, a terrific gale occurred. Trees were uprooted, and the air was filled with flying boards and bricks, but, although the family cowered in the cellar, expecting every second that the house would go, yet the heavy oaken timbers withstood the force of the wind. This farm contained some thirty-seven acres, and extended just north of the reservoir, with an average width of twenty-five rods, from Rattlesnake Ledge across South Main Street beyond the swamp where Coach-lace Pond now lies. Mr. Burdett bought of Captain Thomas W. Lyon, in 1825, twenty acres adjoining and south of his original farm. This included the present Reservoir Lot. He afterwards bought various other lots of land, especially wood-lots by Mossy and Sandy Ponds, so that his farm at times must have exceeded seventy acres. He always kept a yoke of oxen, three or four cows, a small flock of sheep and a few swine. For some years he kept four draught horses for "teaming."

The farm afforded excellent pasturage, hay, fodder and grain sufficient for the cattle. Indian corn and rye furnished the family with hasty-pudding and brown-bread,

and buckwheat supplied cakes. Wheat was sometimes sown, but little used. Pumpkins and potatoes, and the usual garden vegetables, were raised in quantities sufficient for the needs of the family. The fruits, with the wild berries, furnished "sauces" and pies. A large portion of the apples were sent to Joseph Rice's to be pressed, for no farmer in those days could be without his cider. Milk was used as the main article of diet by the children, and all beyond what was needed in its original form was made into butter and cheese. Fowls enough were kept to furnish eggs and an occasional chicken. The Burdetts salted down pork and beef, smoked hams, and were kept fairly supplied with fresh meat by a system of barter. Whenever Nathan Burdett, or one of his neighbors, Peter Sawyer, Joseph Rice or John Burdett, killed a "critter" or a calf, sheep or hog, he sent pieces of it, or perhaps a quarter, to each of the others, expecting to receive a like share from them when their turn came for slaughtering. The tallow was made into candles. The hides were sent to Charles Chace to be tanned, and then John Burdett or Alanson Chace made the leather into boots and shoes. Although homespun was rapidly giving way to store goods, yet the wool from the flock of sheep was sent to Ephraim Fuller's to be carded. It was then spun into yarn by the women folks, and knitted into stockings, mittens and comforters. If the supply was more than sufficient for these purposes, it was sent to "Miss" John Goss, who lived just east of the point where the Bolton station is now located, to be woven into cloth for outer garments,—no one wore flannels in those days,—upon her hand-loom. Firewood and lumber were cut from the forest, and thus nearly all the simple wants for shelter, fuel, light, food and clothing were supplied by home products, almost as much so as they had been a hundred years before. Rum, molasses, salt fish, tea, coffee and the spices were still the principal articles of commerce, although the call for dry goods grew greater and greater as new tastes were created and cheaply satisfied.

These goods were obtained chiefly from barter of farm products or combs, so that little money was handled.

Mr. Burdett built on the opposite side of the road from his house, a shop of two small rooms for the manufacture of combs. In 1820, he became a teamster for Poignand & Plant. He continued in their employment for six years, and then returned to comb-making, and kept it up, more or less, for a dozen years. He often had four apprentices, or journeymen, working for him at one time. Among the apprentices at various times, were Charles Copeland, Henry Lewis, Henry Lowe, Eben Pratt and Phinehas Burdett. The latter was his youngest brother. His sons, too, learned more or less of the comb trade. Samuel Dorrison, or Dollison, who lived at "Grannie" Sawyer's,—the widow of Moses Sawyer,—did the heavy work. Sally Tucker, and the girls of the household, did the cleaning and packing. The principal product of this shop was pocket-combs, of which about twenty-four dozen were made per day, when the farm required no attention.

During the six years from 1820-1826, when Mr. Burdett was teamster for Poignand & Plant, he drove to Boston once every week. During the last part of the time, he had four horses. He was usually gone three days on his trip. The first day, he would carry the finished cloths to Boston. The second, he would unload and load again with cotton, and the groceries which he bought for the store of Poignand & Plant and that of J. G. Thurston. On the third day, he would come home. The neighbors, Joseph Rice, John Burdett, and others, would drop in during the evening after his return, and as they sat around the foaming pitcher of cider, which was often refilled, they would hear the story of the trip. The other three days of the week the farm received Mr. Burdett's attention.

There were nine children in the Burdett family, six boys and three girls. One of the boys died in childhood, and one of the girls in infancy. Hannah Goldthwaite, a young

half-sister of Mrs. Burdett, was brought up in the family and one or more apprentices often boarded at the house. The routine of life in this large family was similar to that of other families in the village, and seems strangely contracted according to modern standards.

The kitchen was the center of home life. It was thirteen feet wide and twenty-four feet long. It had no plaster or paint. The walls were sheathed, but overhead the beams were uncovered, and blackened by smoke. From strings drawn across, hung the yellow strips of drying pumpkin. Here, too, in the early winter, hung the huge bunch of sausages, three feet in length and two in thickness. The great fire-place was near one end of the room and was so large that it was not necessary to cut the "four-foot wood" to burn in it. Here, most of the cooking was done by boiling in iron kettles hung from the crane and by frying in the "spider," or by broiling on the gridiron over the coals. The Thanksgiving turkey was hung on a stout string from the strong mantelpiece, and was turned as it roasted by one of the children, who, from a safe distance, twisted and untwisted the string. The "Johnnie cake" was baked on a board or pan propped up in front of the fire by bricks. Once a week the brick oven was heated by building a fire in it, and after the coals had been cleared out, huge, iron baking dishes, thick and round, of rye and "Injin" bread were put in, and with them an unlimited supply of pumpkin and apple pies, the huge pot of beans and the "Injin" pudding.

The kitchen was, of course, the eating and living room as well as the room for the preparation of food. The front room contained the bed of the parents, and underneath it, in the daytime, was the trundle bed of the younger children. The front door was never opened, for the little "entry" was used as a bedroom for the older girls. The boys slept over the kitchen. The lower ends of the rafters were just above their feet, and the snow, sifting through the loose shingles, often gave them an extra coverlet before morning. The

front room in the second story was not finished off until the boys grew up. Built out from the kitchen was a store room, with bins for rye meal and Indian meal. There was the place for milk and butter, cheese, lard and candles. Apart by themselves, were hung the hams and, perhaps, in winter, the quarters of beef. In the little attic above were the sage, the thoroughwort, and the many other herbs that every careful housewife made ready each autumn. Of course, there was a "buttery," where the food and some of the dishes were kept. The cellar was stored in winter with the products of the garden and the salted meats, and, in summer, it had to serve the housewife instead of a refrigerator.

The family attended religious services at Lancaster Center. The brick church was finished in 1816. Nathan Burdett bought "Pew 126," in the gallery, in 1826, of the Town of Lancaster, for thirty-eight dollars. The church building at that time was still under control of the town. The boys in summer time used to walk barefoot as far as Sprague's Bridge, and then put on their shoes and stockings, which were as carefully taken off on their return. Dr. Nathaniel Thayer was their pastor, and his influence entered deeply into their lives as it did into those of all his people. It was said: "The selectmen did not mend a piece of road without first consulting Mr. Thayer." He looked after the schools, and his kindly presence was often felt by the scholars. In doctrine, he was a conservative Unitarian, and his preaching had for its chief aim the elevating of character. We are told: "As a pastor he was indefatigable. If any were sick or in affliction, his sympathy was prompt and sincere. No matter how distant the family might live, if they were in trouble, their minister was with them, rain or shine."

Dr. Calvin Carter of Lancaster, was their physician, of whom Rev. A. P. Marvin says: "His practice extended through the northern and central part of Worcester County far into Middlesex. There was no end to his jokes and pleasantries."

People in those times had less of refinement than today, but more of a rough, jolly good-fellowship. Yet there was a general lack of self-restraint that led to great looseness of morals. Men grew hilarious over their liquor and told coarse stories such as we seldom hear today. Now the Burdett family was one of the most temperate in the neighborhood, yet even here the older boys were brought up to take their hot toddy before breakfast, and it was looked upon as very "queer," when one of them gave up his daily dram on account of an accident to one of his companions in a drunken frolic on a Fourth of July morning. It was not until the first third of the century had nearly gone by, that the Washingtonian movement made "temperance" common, and even then the agreement signed was so lax that the society formed was spoken of as "going to its grave with the pledge in one hand and the rum-bottle in the other." The first temperance society in this section was formed in 1830, and was made up of young men who had surely seen examples enough of the evils of intemperance to lead them in the other direction. The Burdett family was one of the rare exceptions during the half century that followed the Revolution, in which none of the boys became the victims of rum.

From 1842 to 1845, Mr. Burdett was one of the selectmen of Lancaster. When the growth of District No. 10, after the coming of the Bigelows, gave it new influence in the affairs of the town, he was chosen as the man who could best look after its interests. In 1845, Mrs. Burdett, the mother of all his children, died. He afterwards married Deborah H. Ross of Sterling. He lived to see all his children established in positions of usefulness and honor, and died in 1871, at the ripe age of eighty-three.

Of the children and grandchildren of Nathan Burdett, we shall have frequent occasion to speak in later history. Eliza, the eldest daughter, who married James Stone, February 15, 1827, was the mother of Christopher C. Stone

and Mrs. William T. Freeman. James Stone lived in a house on the east side of South Main Street, about half way between the old Sawyer place where Widow Betsy Sawyer then lived with Samuel Dorrison, and the Nathan Burdett house. The building was erected about the time of Mr. Stone's marriage. William Burdett, the oldest son, married Sally Tucker, August 31, 1832. His father put an addition on the northern end of the dwelling-house as a tenement for the newly-married couple. After living here for some years, the family moved to Northboro, where Mr. Burdett recently died. A second daughter married John H. Wood of Holden. Two children died in childhood, and the four remaining sons, Nathan, Thomas, George W. and Alfred A., as they are important factors in the later history of the town, will receive our future attention.

Although John Burdett was not a comb-maker, yet his relationship with John Lowe and Nathan Burdett demands that he should receive some consideration at this point. He was born February 19, 1777, in Leominster. He married Sarah Shute. She died March 17, 1832, and Mr. Burdett married a widow, Sally Carpenter, August 3, 1834. He came from Leominster to this section. He bought the Prescott-Allen-Lowe farm, on the slope of Burditt Hill, north of that of Joseph Rice, in 1812, of Titus Wilder, Jr. There were forty-four acres in this farm. Later, he bought more land. At first, he lived in the little old house where John Lowe had lived before him, but, about 1818, he built a house, which was considered among the best in Factory Village, on the spot where the J. F. Maynard house now stands. James Pitts says of him: "Dea. Burdett was a perfect example of industry; he was a boot and shoemaker by trade, and a finished workman, as also an excellent farmer. He managed from the income of his small farm and his shoe-bench to bring up his large family in respectability and comfort." He united New England thrift with religious earnestness. We shall find him to be the foremost of the old inhabitants

of the community to take an important part in its later commercial development, and we shall also find him the spiritual center of the early Baptist society. He had six sons and seven daughters, who grew to maturity. These children were noted for their musical ability. All were good singers, and the boys played upon the various instruments which were then used in church choirs. John Burdett, Jr., was the only one of his sons who remained in this community. This son was under the instruction of Thomas Frye, the Quaker teacher, for a while. He married Persis Houghton in 1832, and took his bride to a new house which he built some forty rods north of his father's. He remained here ten years. He then moved to Holliston.

While comb-making in this region had its origin with John Lowe, and was carried on in a small way, with varied regularity as an adjunct to farming, by a dozen or more proprietors, of whom Nathan Burdett has been taken as a type, yet it received its final development from the Harris family. In 1805, Daniel Harris of Boylston, received from the widow of John Hunt the surrender of all rights she possessed in the estate on Water Street. This John Hunt, during the few years he lived here, was a prominent man in School District No. 10, and had charge of the building of the first school-house. He was "committee-man" from 1800 to 1802. We have already noted his large real estate transactions.

The Harris family had settled in Lancaster more than a century before. We have seen how Daniel Harris served in the Revolutionary War. Soon after the close of the Revolution, he married Abigail Reed, and his oldest son was seventeen years of age before he moved to the Hunt place, in 1805, while his youngest son was born in the year before his purchase. The farm bought by Daniel Harris was one of great area. It began by the river near the present position of the "High Bridge" of the New York, New

Haven & Hartford Railroad, and extended along the west bank of the river nearly to Elias Sawyer's dam. If Prescott Street was extended to meet the river at Lancaster Mills on one end, and High Bridge on the other, it would roughly mark its western boundary. It was the farm originally owned by John Prescott, 5th. It included some land east of the river. James Pitts says in his "Reminiscences": "From my earliest recollection, he (Daniel Harris) always had a fine stock of cattle, with spacious barns and all suitable outbuildings, with the best horse and carriages in this part of the town—and what was better still, always plenty of money."

We have already noted the private "slab bridge" of the Prescotts' by which travellers on the road running east from the mills crossed the Nashua. In a map made by the state survey in 1795, it appears as "Prescott's bridge, 99 feet long." It is spoken of as a "town way." In May, 1807, the town refused to build Prescott's Bridge, but it gave to private parties one hundred and fifty dollars towards its construction. The acceptance of the bridge and roads was the result of skillful manœuvring on the part of Daniel Harris. The people at the "South End" had long been asking the town to take the bridge in charge and give them better accommodations, but the inhabitants of the other sections opposed increasing the taxes for uses that would bring no immediate benefit to themselves. In 1814, the people of Center and North Lancaster felt that the need of a new church was imperative. Here, the people of the "South End" who were less interested in the church saw their opportunity, and they said that they would all join the little Baptist organization that was already springing up among them, unless the town would accede to their demands in regard to the bridge and roads. They carried their point, and Districts Nos. 10 and 11 were represented by Daniel Harris and Titus Wilder respectively upon the committee for choosing a site for the new church and estimating its cost.

December 4, 1815, the town took formal possession of the bridge and the road leading to it from the county road to Boylston. In 1817, the care of "Harris Bridge" was assigned to Gardner Pollard. The bridge was damaged by a freshet in 1818 and repaired by the town at an expense of one hundred and thirty-nine dollars.

We thus find Districts Nos. 10 and 11 working together perhaps for the first time, against the rest of the town. Daniel Harris was by location and interests the connecting link between the two sections, and his name was appropriately given to the bridge. In 1822, it was rebuilt by Daniel Harris as a member of the building committee at a cost of one hundred and forty-six dollars and eighty-nine cents. In 1837, a much better bridge was built at a cost of four hundred and eighty-nine dollars and fifteen cents. The necessity for the repeated repair and rebuilding of earlier bridges arose from their cheap and faulty construction. Joseph Willard said in 1826: "It has, till lately, been usual to build them with piers resting upon mudsills. • When the ice freezing closely around the piers, the water, upon breaking up of the river in spring, works its way under the ice which forms a compact body under the bridge, and the whole fabric, which thus loosened from its foundation is swept away by the accumulated force of the large mass of ice that become irresistible by the power of a very strong current." Later, stone abutments were used with timber work in the center. Later still, the bridges were made of a single arch.

From the time when he came to District No. 10, Daniel Harris took an earnest interest in the school, and served three years as "committee man." He was a temperance man in an age when temperance men were rare. He died at the age of eighty, October 22, 1838. His wife followed him March 26, 1842, at the age of seventy-eight. Their daughter, Maria, married Alanson Chace, and her children still retain a portion of the real estate which their mother

inherited. The two other daughters married gentlemen who lived elsewhere, although the daughter of one of them, a Miss Plympton, married Levi Harris, and is still living on Water Street. For years, the old homestead of the grandfather was in possession of Levi Harris. This Levi Harris was born in Lunenburg in 1805. He learned comb-making of Gardner Pollard. He afterwards went to Leominster. After a time, he came back to this community and followed his trade at one of the Lowe shops. He lived in the Lawrence house. He became the owner of the Daniel Harris farm in 1844. He was a "quiet, honest, able citizen," one who "always attended strictly to his own business." He was a Unitarian in religion. He died October 13, 1883.

Emory, the oldest of the three sons, was born in 1788. We have seen how he learned the comb business of Nathan Burdett, but farming always took a large share of his time. He lived in the house formerly occupied by Richard Sargent. He bought this, with seventy-eight acres of land, of T. W. Lyon in 1812. The preceding year, Lyon had bought the house and about forty acres of land of Ebenezer Allen, who had bought it of Ephraim Brigham in 1808. On the same side of the road was his shop, which was in later years made over into a dwelling-house by Edmund Harris, while his barns were on the southern side. In 1829, his estate was greatly enlarged by the purchase of the "Nat. Lowe farm," and the retention of the southerly portions.

Mr. Emory Harris was a very "hardworking" man, and at the time of his death in 1838 at the age of fifty, was worth from ten to fifteen thousand dollars. This was a greater wealth in gold value than Moses Sawyer, Ebenezer Allen or either of the Prescotts had ever possessed. The size of fortunes measured by money values had, however, already begun to increase in this section, as elsewhere in growing communities. If we would read history aright, we must remember that a hundred thousand dollars to-day in Clinton represents less comparative wealth than ten thousand

did among the farming people and millwrights of a century ago, and that the change has been a gradual one.

On the tombstone of Mr. Harris, we find the inscription, "In him the poor and fatherless ever found a friend." Unlike many epitaphs this statement represents the chief characteristics of the man as he appeared to his neighbors. If any industrious young man wanted help to gain a start in life, it was to him that he appealed, and he never appealed in vain. If any were in trouble, they were sure to find in him a sympathizing friend and helper. A single incident will illustrate the character of the man. A child of Nathan Burdett's was suddenly taken very ill with croup while his father was on one of his teaming trips to Boston. It was known that the child could not live until the regular time of the father's return. The matter came to the ears of Emory Harris. He at once mounted his fastest horse and galloped away on the Boston Road. He never drew rein except to make a change of horses, until he had found the father. He told him the story and gave him his horse to return upon, while he himself took charge of the team for the rest of the trip. Thus he was constantly helping all who were in need.

Emory Harris married Hezediah Larkin in 1813. She died in 1820, at the age of twenty six. By this marriage, he had two children, George and Harriet. The latter married Charles L. Wilder of Lancaster. The former prepared for Brown University, where he graduated in the class of 1827. He was a scholar of rare ability and gave promise of a life of great usefulness, but after teaching about a year in an academy at Wrentham, he had an attack of typhoid fever, from which he died at the age of twenty-three. In 1821, Mr. Harris married for a second time. His bride was Sally Wilder. By this marriage, he had two children, Frederick and Emory. Frederick, the older, graduated from Harvard University in 1843. He preferred business to professional life, and, in a few years we find him engaged with Hiram W. Pitts of Middleboro in cotton manufacturing. Later, he was

at Montreal in the same business and was becoming very successful, when, in 1863, he died at the age of forty. Emory spent his life on a portion of his father's farm, where he died in 1879. His name will appear in connection with the history of the new town, of which he was an active citizen.

Asahel Harris, the second son of Daniel, devoted himself to comb making more exclusively than his brother, Emory, did, and, through his enterprise, the industry was developed in new directions. He purchased of Samuel Dorrison in 1817 some of the land east of the river, now occupied by Mrs. E. A. Harris. A house was begun here some three years before by Mr. Dorrison on a lot of ten acres, purchased of Gardner Pollard. Great changes were made in and about the house by Mr. Harris. We may say it was practically built by him. He carried on the comb business very profitably in buildings constructed near his house. In 1826, he rented this house and the shops to Jonas B. White, who made combs here for two years. At this time, Asahel Harris put up the brick building between his father's house and that of his brother, Emory. The house is still standing northwest of the point where Prescott Street joins Water. The long row of wooden buildings attached to the house and now used for tenements, were his shops. Here, he used horse power. In 1828, the lands and dwelling-house on the east side of the river were sold to his younger brother, Sidney. In 1830 and '31, the dam was built by Asahel Harris, in company with Sidney, each having one-half of the power, Sidney on the east and Asahel on the west.

In 1834, Asahel Harris met with great business losses and the shops on the river, if indeed he possessed any, together with the right to half the water power, passed entirely into the hands of Sidney for four hundred dollars. After his father's death and that of his elder brother, Emory, both of which occurred in 1838, he took charge of his father's estate, but he transferred it to Levi Harris, who had married his

sister's daughter. He died in 1844 at the age of fifty, of consumption, the disease which swept away so many of this family.

He was commonly known as Captain Harris, from his having had command of the Lancaster Light Infantry at the time of its organization in 1823. He is spoken of as a remarkably fine looking officer. His name is especially associated by our older native residents with "the musters," the grand holidays of their youth. He married Abigail Phelps in 1820, and had five children whose births are recorded, four boys and one girl. All of these died or moved away from Clinton before they had taken any prominent part in its affairs. One was a painter in Westboro; another followed his father's business in Leominster.

The history of the youngest brother, Sidney, belongs to later times and is therefore left for future consideration.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates.

ing from the school-room. Between these, the great fireplace occupied the center of the northern side of the room. It was large enough to hold wood four feet in length. Each of the other sides of the room had two windows, each containing twelve lights of seven-by-nine glass and having board shutters. There were seats entirely around these three sides of the room, the walls constituting the backs, and in front of these were the "writing benches" which also served as backs for a row of seats for the smaller scholars. The teacher's table and seat were movable. The walls were sheathed with common boards, the ceiling was plastered.

November 17, 1800, John Hunt was made a committee "to provide a School Master for the ensuing winter." No record is to be found, however, in regard to any school during this season. April 20, 1801, it was voted "that Sixty Dollars be paid by a tax to finish the School House." July 30, it was voted "that a woman School be kept two months from date to be paid for with the Town's money the ensuing winter." "Agreed with Miss Sally Sawyer to keep said School at one dollar per week." "Agreed with Capt. John Prescott to board said School Mistress for five Shillings per week." Thus, Sally Sawyer became the first teacher whose name has been handed down to the present time. Twelve dollars and seventy cents were voted October 4th for finishing ceiling and building seats. December 7th, it was voted, "that the School be Kept four weeks on the School money." All record of such a school is lost, if it ever existed. Sally Sawyer's wages were advanced a sixpence per week for her sixteen weeks' teaching during the next summer and autumn.

There is no record for the year 1803. April 9, 1804, the district is called No. 10 for the first time in the records. In 1805, Nathaniel Lowe, Jr., and Jonathan Barnard were chosen a committee to repair the school-house with "window shutters and glass." Peter Larkin was made teacher for seven weeks during the winter of 1807-8, and received for his services twenty-two dollars and seventy-five cents and

board. In the summer of 1808, there were eight weeks of woman school. October 31, 1808, Titus Wilder, Jr., was hired to keep school seven weeks, at four dollars and fifty-eight cents per week, "boarding himself." During this year it was voted to find wood among the families of the district in proportion to the number of scholars each sent, and the following list is given with number of scholars each: "Calvin Winter, four; Samuel Allen, three; Daniel Harris, three; J. Rice, three; E. Rice, three; N. Low, two; J. Prescott, one; J. Goldthwait, one; J. Winter, one; E. Sawyer, one; T.W. Lyon, one; J. Low, three." In all, twelve families sent twenty-six scholars. From this time on, it was customary to have two terms of school, one taught by a woman in the summer and one taught by a man in the winter. The length of terms was from six to ten weeks, the average being nearer the latter limit. About one-third of the money was expended on the woman school, and two-thirds on the man school.

In 1823, in consequence of the increase in the number of scholars on account of the development of Poignand & Plant's manufacturing enterprise and the growth of the comb business, the accommodations were found insufficient, and since it was deemed inexpedient to repair the old house, a committee consisting of Daniel Harris, Ebenezer Pratt, David Poignand, Willard Howe and John Burdett, was appointed to consider sites for a new building. It was voted December 8th, to build "in front of Capt. Lyon's." David Poignand, Joseph Rice and James Pitts were chosen a building committee. January 5, 1824, it was voted, that the plan presented by James Pitts be adopted "for the model" of the house. April 19, 1824, four hundred and twenty dollars were appropriated for the building. This house stood on the west side of Main Street, with its northern end just at the point where the southern end of Parson's blacksmith shop now stands. It was built of brick, and the arrangement of the interior differed from that of most school-houses then in vogue by having all the scholars' desks on one side of the

room, opposite that of the teacher, which was on the western side of the building, the door being on the north. There were four rows of scholars' desks raised in tiers one above the other.

Nearly every citizen of long continued residence held the office of "committee man."* The title of agent was used after 1832. The work of this committee man or agent was largely prudential in its nature, as the school committee of Lancaster, taken as a whole, had a general oversight of the schools. Rev. Nathaniel Thayer was the general adviser in regard to educational methods, here as elsewhere throughout the town, and he was a frequent and welcome visitor in the school.

Most of the teachers† were from Sterling, Berlin or Lan-

*The following is the list of "Committee men :"

1800-1801. John Hunt.	1819. Daniel Harris.
1801-1802. John Hunt.	1820. William "Tombs."
1803. No record.	1821. Samuel Plant.
1804. { John Prescott.	1822. David Poignand.
{ Joseph Rice.	1823. Willard How.
{ Samuel Allen.	1824. Emory Harris.
1805. { Joseph Rice.	1825. James Pitts.
{ Edward Low.	1826. George Howard.
1806. { John Low. First half.	1827. Azahel Harris.
{ Jabez B. Low. Second half	1828. George Sawyer.
1807. Daniel Harris.	1829. Eben Pratt.
1808. Joseph Rice.	1830. Hiram P. White.
1809. Nathaniel Low.	1831. George Howard.
1810. John Low.	1832. Nathan Burditt.
1811. Daniel Harris.	1833. Emory Harris.
1812-1815. No record.	1834. Amory Pollard.
1816. Emory Harris.	1835. John Burditt.
1817. Robert Phelps.	1836. Henry Lewis.
1818. Thomas W. Lyon.	1837. Jonas B. White.

†An incomplete list of teachers is given below :

- 1801. Sally Sawyer (two months).
- 1802. Sally Sawyer (four months).
- 1807-8. Peter Larkin (seven weeks), Berlin.
- 1808-9. Titus Wilder (seven weeks), No. 11 District.
- 1810-11. Mr. Hildreth.
- 1816. Catherine Larkin, Berlin.
- 1816-17. Silas Thurston.
- 1817. Betsy Pratt, Sterling.
- 1817-18. Peter Thurston (six weeks).

caster itself. The ladies taught during the summer and spent the remainder of the year in household duties. The male teachers were either farmers or collegians who devoted themselves to teaching during the winter months. The farmers were in general the better teachers since they excelled the collegians in experience and disciplinary power. Two names stand out from the list with especial prominence, both from length of service and the influence they exerted upon their scholars, those of Ezra Kendall and Silas Thurston. The former was born in 1800 and had already had three winters' experience when he began to teach in District No. 10. Although a strict disciplinarian, he seldom resorted to severe measures. He laid down no laws, but told the scholars that he should expect of them "such conduct as was becoming in citizens of such a community as that in which they lived," and he obtained what he expected. Such was his attachment to his scholars that in his ninetieth year he still held each one in memory and delighted to recall their noble qualities. At the close of his first term of ser-

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- 1818. Betsy Pratt (five weeks), Harriet Goodwin (three weeks).
 - 1818-19. Charles Thurston.
 - 1819. Harriet Goodwin (ten weeks), Lancaster.
 - 1819-20. Charles Thurston.
 - 1820. Harriet Goodwin (ten weeks).
 - 1820-21. Samuel Sawyer (ten weeks), Sterling.
 - 1821-22. Samuel Sawyer.
 - 1821-22-23. Sophia Stearns, Lancaster.
 - 1822-23. } Ezra Kendall, Sterling.
 - 1823-24. } George Harris, No. 11 District.
 - 1824-25. } George Harris, No. 11 District.
 - 1825-26. } George Harris, No. 11 District.
 - 1824. Betsy Rice, Cooperstown, N. Y.
 - 1826-27. } Silas Thurston.
 - 1827-28. } Wm. Houghton, Berlin.
 - 1828-29. } John Burditt, Jr., No. 10 District.
 - 1828. Sophia White.
 - 1831. Mary Bailey.
 - 1831-32. Rufus Torrey.
 - 1832. Sarah M. Cotton.
 - 1832-33. Capt. M. Lincoln.
 - 1836-37. Samuel Carter.
 - 1837. Sophia C. Johnson.
 - 1837-38. Silas S. Greenleaf.

vice in the district, he married, and during the three succeeding winters he lived in Sterling and came to his school from there every morning. He was the first male teacher in the new school building. Here, he had among his scholars the children of the Burdett, Lowe, Harris, Plant, Lyon and Wilder families. The text-books used in his day were Scott's First Lessons and the American First Class Book in reading, Adams' arithmetic and Cummings' geography. Writing and spelling received especial attention, and the matches in the latter were centers of interest. He taught for many years in Sterling after closing his labors in Lancaster, District No. 10, and lived there to a vigorous old age. Silas Thurston, whose home was near the Four Ponds, was also noted as a disciplinarian. He meted out justice with impartial severity, and during his administration no scholars were unable to study on account of the disorder of those around them.

The boys were more boisterous in those days than they are at present, and they took every possible advantage of a teacher who was weak in discipline or who failed to secure their respect. We hear of one case in which the teacher was smoked out by closing up the chimney, of another in which the whole school pelted the teacher with snowballs when he appeared one noon. The methods of discipline used by the teachers would seem peculiar to-day. The bodies of some of the old scholars still tingle as they recall the stick, the strap or the ruler which they felt so frequently in their youth. The refractory pupil was often obliged to stand before the school with a split stick upon his nose. In one case, a teacher took off her garter and tied it around the arm of a little boy, and then when his hand began to blacken took out her pen-knife and told the lad she was going to let out the bad blood so that he would not be naughty any more.

Although men have been growing gentler, still human nature was much the same in the earlier portion of the century that it is to-day. Teachers in general sought with earn-

est, though sometimes erring effort, for the good of the scholars, and the scholars, although they sometimes loitered on the way, were, if properly directed, eager to prepare themselves for a life of usefulness and were never happier than when hard at work.

Including the boarding-houses, there were in 1830 some thirty-three dwelling places west of the river within present Clinton limits. The three families near Mine Swamp Brook formed a distinct community of their own, and the people along the South Meadow Road had little in common with those of Factory Village. There were about a score of homes on Main Street between the present site of E. A. Currier's house on the north and the Dorrison place on the south. Two of these were north of John Lowe's on the same side of North Main Street. Hervey Pierce, a day laborer, lived in the house since occupied by Laban Bennett. Ira Stearns lived in the house where Albert Lowe now lives. Levi Harris, then a young man, and T. Sawyer lived south of John Lowe's on the opposite side of the street. Both worked at comb-making. There were five houses on Water Street between the cotton factory and Daniel Harris'. The families at the Pitts Mills were somewhat isolated, as there was only a rude cart-path between the little hamlet and Water Street.

Two cotton factories, together employing less than fifty operatives; half a dozen small comb shops, sometimes giving work to as many more; a score of farms, for the most part of considerable area, but with limited profits; two little stores, one at Scrabble Hollow and one under control of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company; a population of about two hundred, these were the elements, of which the Factory Village was formed. If we add the community east of the river, which was about half as large, we have fifty-two households and a population of about three hundred souls within present Clinton limits in the early thirties.

Perhaps the two school districts, Nos. 10 and 11, had less

on with each other than either had with Lancaster yet the many intermarriages of families tended to m more closely together, while the building of the Mr. Pitts, the comb shop of Sidney Harris and the lle Bridge, and the organization of the little Baptist all conduced to unity of interests. No one who had he slow growth of the preceding hundred and eighty rs, would have imagined that before the second cen- n the coming of Prescott should be completed, these aggling villages would grow into a flourishing town, opulation larger than all of Lancaster had in 1837.

CHAPTER XII.

1838-1848.

THE COMING OF THE BIGELOWs.*

CIVILIZATION is the product of ideas. At first thought we might consider mechanical ideas of little importance in comparison with those which are moral and spiritual, yet the great advance made by the human race during the last century is largely due to discoveries in mechanics. The thoughts of inventors have added immeasurably to the comfort of mankind, and have given the leisure necessary for progress in higher things.

One of these inventors, Erastus Brigham Bigelow, influenced more, perhaps, than any other American, the whole development of the textile art. While his life is of special interest to the people of Clinton, because he is the

*For this account of *The Coming of the Bigelows* the following authorities have been consulted: An article in Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, reprinted in Courant, February 25, 1854; articles on Looms in Appleton's Dictionary of Mechanics, etc.; brief address by Robert C. Winthrop in Addresses and Speeches; Knight's American Mechanical Dictionary; Volume on application for extension of patent on ingrain carpet looms; Address before Wool Manufacturers' Association; Biographical Encyclopædia of Massachusetts; Patent Office Reports; the writings of E. B. Bigelow; the books of the Clinton Company. We have also received much direct information from those who have had an opportunity to become acquainted with affairs under consideration especially from members of the Bigelow and Fairbanks families,

most important agent in the world's history who has had his home in the community, it demands still more attention, because, without this man, the Clinton of today might yet remain an unrealized possibility, since he furnished most of the ideas which lie at the basis of its industrial prosperity.

Even after mechanical ideas have received expression in material forms, they are of little value until business ability has focused upon them the energies of workers, and scattered the product of these two factors among mankind. Although E. B. Bigelow did not lack in executive power, yet he was fortunate in having united with him in his great enterprises, a brother, Horatio Nelson Bigelow, who had a genius for management. A wide range of vision which saw the future no less clearly than the present, enthusiastic energy which swept his fellow workers along with him, together with a thorough mastery of detail, made Horatio N. Bigelow a manufacturer who has had few equals. His most intimate connection with the community, which under his fostering care grew into Clinton, gave him a direct influence upon its destinies greater even than that of his brother. The two, however, must always remain inseparably united in the honor which is due to them, as the founders of the town.

Their father, Ephraim Bigelow, lived in West Boylston, and gained his livelihood by farming, as his father, Abel Bigelow, had done before him. He eked out a scanty income by making chairs and working as a wheelwright in winter. He was evidently a man of enterprise, for we find him becoming a cotton manufacturer in the days before cotton mills were common. The mother is spoken of as a woman of "fine presence, much dignity, strong character and good sense." It seems probable that the sons inherited their characteristics more from her than from their father. The old homestead was a large, square, wooden farm-house, which is still standing. Horatio Nelson Bigelow, born September 13, 1812, and Erastus Brigham Bigelow, born April 2, 1814, were the only children of the family. They

attended the district school during the portion of the year that it was in session, and assisted their parents in the work on the farm and in the shop, when they were not engaged in study.

Horatio remained at home until he was sixteen, and then lived for two years with his mother's father, and worked for him upon the farm. In addition to his study in the district schools, he spent two years at Bradford Academy. He then became the overseer of his father's cotton mill. For two years, he took charge of the weaving room at Beaman's Mill, West Boylston. It was here that he met Emily Worcester, whom he married, September 24, 1834. John Smith married her sister, hence the business connection of Smith with the Bigelows. In 1836, he became general superintendent of a cotton mill in Shirley.

The youth of the younger brother was more varied in its experience, and we are able to look more closely into its details. At the age of eight, he wished to study arithmetic. The teacher thought that he was not old enough, and refused to let him enter the class at school. The boy was too much in earnest to be put off in this way, so he took up the study at home and without assistance performed every question in Pike's text-book as far as proportion. At the age of ten, he was employed on the neighboring farm of Mr. Temple. He worked for him during three summers, receiving as wages for a part of the time four dollars a month. He, like his older brother, early exhibited a musical talent. He became proficient on the violin and the delighted villagers predicted for him a musical career. In later years, both of the brothers retained their musical tastes, and we find record of them in the orchestra of the Orthodox Society in Lancaster, in a choir led by Gilbert Greene. Horatio played first violin and Erastus what was then called "second fiddle." He once made a chair of novel pattern, which he embellished with paint and bronze in such a wonderful manner that the neighbors looked on it with amazement and declared that he

would become a great painter. He also, from earliest youth, had a constructive habit and made many improvements on farming tools, thus giving promise of his future success as an inventor.

During these early years, he made good use of his slender opportunities at the district school. The knowledge and mental discipline he thus gained, excited his ambition, and a broader education became his one great desire. His father needed his help, however, so he was obliged to go to work in the cotton mill. Although he enjoyed studying the machinery, the toil was irksome to him. Somehow, he must get money for further schooling, so, after working all day in the mill, he played his violin at dancing parties until late at night. While still a young lad, he invented a hand-loom for weaving suspender webbing and another for piping cord. From the latter, which worked well, he realized one hundred dollars. In 1830, he had saved enough to enable him to enter Leicester Academy. He studied Latin, and did so well that his teacher recommended a college course. His father was not in sympathy with this idea, and, when the boy's means were exhausted, he was obliged to go to work again.

As he disliked the mill, he went to Boston and was employed in the dry goods store of S. F. Morse & Co. He did not enjoy this occupation and the pay was so small that he could not hope to save much for further study. He became interested in stenography and after a few days' work without any teacher, he mastered the subject. He wrote a little book on short-hand, called "The Self-taught Stenographer." It was published by Carter & Andrews in Lancaster. In Boston, the book met with a ready sale, but, when, encouraged by this, he took a partner and enlarged the field of his operations, he not only lost all his savings, but found himself several hundred dollars in debt. Thus, his prospect of gaining an education was again blighted.

At the age of eighteen, he joined with J. Munroe in the

manufacture of twine. They occupied his father's old mill, but circumstances connected with his father's affairs forced the partners to give up the business. Bigelow & Munroe then tried a cotton factory in Wareham, but did not succeed. We now find the boy, for he was only that in years as yet, taking lessons in penmanship in New York. He soon became a beautiful writer and taught the art for a few months, but he abandoned this occupation as he had others before.

Again he returned home and, with the consent of his father, resolved to study medicine. He began the preparatory work at Leicester Academy. After spending a winter there, he entered the medical school, where he worked for a year, but he longed for further general education as a basis for medical knowledge.

Happening to sleep one night under a Marseilles quilt, he began to think of the slow and costly process by which it was woven on the hand-loom. His attention was particularly called in this direction, because he had seen such looms unsuccessfully operated at West Boylston. Could not some power-loom be invented by which the labor could be lessened? He set himself to work, and invented an automatic loom for weaving knotted counterpanes. Freeman, Cobb & Co., of Boston, took the invention off his hands, agreeing to look after patents, do the manufacturing and give the inventor one-fourth of the profits. Again Bigelow's studies were commenced on a broader basis, for all of his efforts thus far had tended simply toward this object. But he was again destined to disappointment, for Freeman, Cobb & Co. failed in the hard times that prevailed from 1835 to 1837. There is something pathetic, as well as inspiring, in this struggle for an education. The youth is groping so blindly, using his wonderful inventive genius, as the servant of his other more ordinary intellectual faculties.

Still in pursuit of this general education, his attention was drawn to the question whether coachlace could not be

manufactured by power. He had seen this fabric laboriously woven by hand, while he was teaching penmanship in New Jersey. He first sought information in regard to the demand for the article, riding about the country in an old yellow chaise, to see the carriage manufacturers, and, becoming convinced that, if a power-loom could be invented, it would be profitable, he returned again to his home to meditate on the subject.

This may be considered the turning point in Mr. Bigelow's career. He had now reached manhood. Up to this time, with education as his object, he had tried many things, and had apparently gained permanent success in nothing. His friends were justly anxious about him, yet the years of his apprenticeship had not been spent in vain. Perhaps, no other course could have been found so well suited as the one he had taken, to develop the qualities essential to his after success. From his schools, he had gained a fair degree of general discipline, the power of expressing himself in clear and forcible English and a sufficient knowledge of mathematics and the natural sciences to serve his needs as an inventor. From his varied experience, he had gained self-reliance and a general development of character, and, at the same time, he had learned something of human nature and the art of dealing with men. There was no danger that his mind would become unbalanced from the lack of a firm foundation for his genius, or that he would be robbed, through lack of practical ability, of the result of his labors.

There is often some brief period in a man's life about which all the rest centers. All the past has been simply a preparation for the work of this period and all the future is destined to the elaboration of its accomplishments. Such a period had now come in the life of E. B. Bigelow. He had become possessed by an idea which haunted him day and night. He was so absorbed in his work that he noted nothing that was going on around him. The story is told of him,

that one evening during this period, when he was asked to show out a visitor, he took an unlighted candle and silently leading the groping, stumbling guest through the long, dark hall-way, gravely opened for him the door, and then returned to meet, with an unconscious stare, the laughter of the family. His sanity began to be doubted. Yet he pondered on for forty days and then his work was finished and the foundation of his future success was laid. A loom for weaving coachlace by power had been invented.

When we consider that this invention contained many of the essential principles of his other greatest inventions and naturally led on to them, and then remember that these are today giving employment to thousands of workmen and adding to the comfort of millions throughout the world, we may begin to appreciate the fact that this was an important period, not only in his life, as an individual, but also in the history of civilization.

This invention, both in itself and in its issues, directly affected the history of Clinton and hence the following brief description, taken, with slight changes, from "Appleton's Dictionary of Mechanics," is given: "The figure on coachlace is produced by raising on the surface of the ground cloth a pile similar to the Brussels carpet, formed by looping the warps over fine wires which are inserted under such of the warps as have been selected by the jacquard to determine the figure. The warps are then woven into the body of the cloth to tie and fix the loops. The wires are then withdrawn and re-inserted. Automatic pincers, as if instinct with life, grasp the end of the wire, draw it out from under the forward loops, carry it back toward the laythe, where the warps are spread apart, forming what is called the open shed and then introduce and drop it, that the shed may be closed and opened, that by the throw of the shuttle, the weft-threads which are to tie and weave the warp-threads into the cloth may be beaten up by the reeds. The pincers then move back to draw another wire from under the formed

loops and repeat the same operation, several such wires being at the same time in the cloth to prevent the loops from being drawn out by the tension which is given on the warps to insure an even and regular surface to the fabric ; but, as there are a number of these wires woven into the cloth, nearly touching one another, it becomes a matter of great difficulty to contrive a mechanism which insures the taking of only one of these wires to draw it out, and the selecting of the proper one at each operation. The pincers could not properly be made so narrow and work so accurately as to insure this. This difficulty is overcome by an ingenious mechanism placed on the opposite side of the loom, which at each operation selects the required wire, and pushes gripped sufficiently far beyond the ends of the others to be it out by the fingers, which then draw it out, to carry it back and introduce it in the open shed of the warps."

As the word, lace, is generally associated with fabrics differing entirely from coachlace, the details of this patent may cause surprise to those who are unfamiliar with the article. Coachlace is still manufactured, especially in Philadelphia, and used commonly in carriages for borders and straps. It resembles Brussels carpeting somewhat in its structure. It was generally woven from two to four inches wide, upon a very narrow loom.

We may here, at the outset of Bigelow's inventions, understand more intimately the working of his mind by studying his self-analysis. It shows a knowledge of the principles of psychology and a power of introspection seldom found in a mind devoted to such work as his, and we are led to say with his friend, Robert C. Winthrop : "His mind seemed capable of intense concentration of thought and he could bring it to bear upon any subject, material or intellectual, which came within the range of his observation and study with something of lens-like precision and directness. He marshalled his statistical tables with the same skill with which he had applied the hands and levers of his

magic loom, and illustrated his arguments by facts and figures as distinct and exact as the patterns he had taught that loom to weave."

Mr. Bigelow said: "I am not sure, I can convey to your mind a satisfactory idea of the inventive process in my own case. One thing is certain, it is not chance. Neither does it depend, to any great extent, on suggestive circumstances. These may present the objects, but they are no guide to the invention itself. The falling apple only suggested to Newton a subject of inquiry. All that we know of the law of gravitation had to be reasoned out afterward.

"My first step toward an invention has always been to get a clear idea of the object aimed at. I learn its requirements as a whole and also as composed of separate parts. If, for example, that object be the weaving of coachlace, I ascertain the character of the several motions required and the relation which they must sustain to each other in order to effect a combined result. Secondly, I devise means to produce these motions; and, thirdly, I combine these means, and reduce them to a state of harmonious cöoperation.

"To carry an invention through its first and second stages is comparatively easy. The first is simply an investigation of facts; the second, so far as I can trace the operation of my own mind, comes through an exercise of the imagination. I am never at a loss for means in the sense above explained. On the contrary, my chief difficulty is to select from the variety always at command those which are most appropriate. To make this choice of the elementary means and to combine them in union and harmony,—to conduct, that is, an invention through its last or practical stage, constitutes the chief labor.

"In making this choice of the elementary parts, one must reason from what is known to what is not so,—keeping in mind at the same time the necessary combinations, examining each element, not only in reference to its peculiar functions, but to its fitness, also, for becoming a part of the

whole. Each position must be thus examined and re-examined, modified and re-modified, until harmony and unity are fully established. From the severity of this labor many inventors shrink, and this is the main reason why some very ingenious men fail to obtain satisfactory results. In my own case, the labor has not ended with the perfection of my looms; other machines, preparatory and auxiliary, were necessary to give full effect to the inventions.

* * * * *

"I find no difficulty in effecting that concentration of thought which is so necessary in pursuits like mine. Indeed, it is not easy for me to withdraw my mind from any subject in which it has once become interested, until its general bearings, at least, are fully ascertained.

"I always mature in my mind the general plan of an invention before attempting to execute it, resorting occasionally to sketches on paper for the more intricate parts. A draughtsman prepares the working drawings from sketches furnished by me, which indicates in figures the proportion of the parts. I never make anything with my own hands. I do not like even drawing to a scale."

The loom for weaving coachlace by power having been invented, the next thing was to put it into successful operation. E. B. Bigelow turned to his brother, H. N. Bigelow, who at that time, as has been noted, was acting as superintendent of a mill in Shirley. The two brothers were lacking in capital, but they knew that would be forthcoming as soon as the capabilities of the loom had been demonstrated.

Where should they begin business, in other words, where could they get the best prepared facilities for manufacturing at the lowest prices? Fortunately for the "Factory Village" of Lancaster, the hard times had destroyed the confidence of the cotton manufacturers, and Nathaniel Rand and Samuel Damon were glad to lease the upper or "Yellow"

mill,* on the site of the present Worsted mill, for a small rental. This was just the chance that the Bigelows wanted, and they seized it at once. The older brother furnished what capital they had, but this was so small that we are told that two machinists, named Dryden, worked for them several months before receiving any pay, simply from their faith in the final success of the loom. Their father, Ephraim Bigelow, helped them put up the first loom, but the enterprise was saddened by his death before it was at work.

The value of the loom was soon evident and a company was formed for the special purpose of manufacturing coach-lace under an act of incorporation, which passed the House of Representatives, March 7, 1838.†

The name of the company was given by E. B. Bigelow. He derived it from the name of the Clinton House, in New York, where he had stopped while in the city, and with the name of which he was especially pleased. Of course the name of the hotel came from that of DeWitt Clinton. The "Factory Village" soon became known as Clintonville, and finally grew into the town of Clinton.

* This mill is still in existence on the grounds of the Bigelow Carpet Co., and is used as a store-house.

†COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT.
An Act to incorporate the Clinton Company:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by authority of the same, as follows:

SECTION I. John Wright, Horatio N. Bigelow, Israel Longley, their associates and successors, are hereby made a manufacturing corporation by the name of the Clinton Company, for the purpose of manufacturing cotton, woolen and silk goods and machinery, in the town of Lancaster, in the county of Worcester.

SECTION II. The said corporation may hold for the purpose aforesaid real estate to the amount of thirty thousand dollars, and the whole capital stock of the corporation shall not exceed one hundred thousand dollars.

The capital stock was first made twenty thousand dollars. Israel Longley of Shirley was chosen the first president. In the second year, Stephen Fairbanks of Boston was president, and Longley, treasurer. Fairbanks, Loring & Co., were dealers in hardware and carriage furnishings and took an interest in coachlace as an article of sale. It is here that the connection of three generations of the Fairbanks family with our mills began. To them, the mills, and therefore the town, owe much, both for their financial and active business relations. In 1841, Fairbanks was re-elected president and John Wright of Lowell became treasurer, and upon his resignation, H. N. Bigelow was chosen. These four, with E. B. Bigelow, were directors. In 1842, Longley sold out his stock to H. N. Bigelow, and Wright sold his to E. B. Bigelow, so that the interest of these two parties in the corporation ceased at this time. Henry P. Fairbanks, the son of Stephen, soon became a stockholder, so that the inventor and manufacturer, together with the buying and selling agents, were for years the chief owners of the stock. In 1845, some shares were held by David R. Green, William C. Upham and Charles T. Appleton. In 1844, the stock was made fifty thousand, and in 1845, one hundred and fifty thousand. Twenty-five thousand of this came from the issue of stock certificates, the stock being watered to that amount, and the remaining seventy-five thousand from the issue of new stock. The names of Robert Appleton, William Amory, J. S. Amory and S. G. Snelling appear prominently in the affairs of the company at a later date.

During the year 1838, the manufacturing account shows the consignments of coachlace to Fairbanks, Loring & Co., to have amounted to about nine thousand dollars. In the sixteen months next following, the consignments were about twelve thousand. The company had not, as yet, made ready for work and the machinery account shows that the construction of looms was the main business of these two years. The first nine months of 1840-41 give a manufactur-

ing product of coachlace of about twenty-six thousand dollars. During the following years, the increase in product, with slight fluctuations, kept pace with the increase in stock. The average annual gain from 1838 to 1845 was over twenty per cent. During the period of enlargement from 1845 to 1848 the average profits were twelve and one-half per cent. annually.* No wonder such a profit encouraged increase of business.

On the 17th of August, 1842, the Clinton Company, which had formerly leased the mill property of Rand & Damon at the rate of four hundred and fifty dollars per year, received a deed of the whole upper mill privilege, with all the buildings that had been previously connected with it. On the 26th of January, 1845, by an additional act of incorporation, the Clinton Company were allowed to increase their capital stock to three hundred thousand dollars and hold real estate to the value of one hundred thousand in Boylston as well as Lancaster. Sawyer's Mills were taken for spinning, this branch of the business being

* The statement of the financial affairs of the Company August 1, 1845, was as follows :

Original purchase of real estate (and new house).....	\$10,611	25
Cost of machine shop, dye house, mills, tenements, etc.....	17,037	71
Spinning mill (Sawyer's Mills).	19,741	52
Interest, incidentals, etc.....	2,316	22
	<u>\$49,706</u>	<u>76</u>
Cost of machinery on hand.....	\$35,097	37
Coachlace loom patent.....	20,000	00
Merchandise and cash.....	26,626	56
Notes and accounts due.....	2,530	66
Amount paid on unfinished contract.....	12,743	23
	<u>96,997</u>	<u>82</u>
	\$146,704	58
The Company's liabilities are.....	<u>76,704</u>	<u>58</u>
Present capital.....	\$70,000	00
Capital August 1, 1844.....	\$54,293	23
Earnings for the year ending July 31, 1845.....	\$15,706	77

opened in November, 1846. From 1845 to 1848, the real estate and machinery of the company increased several fold by building and construction. The wooden mill now in use on the grounds of the Bigelow Carpet Co.'s Worsted Mill, was, in part, built for a machine shop in anticipation of enlargement; the brick mill, now used as a store-house, was built for a weaving mill, and some of the tenement houses date from this period.*

In view of this increase of property, the company asked from the legislature an act allowing the capital stock to be increased to five hundred thousand dollars. This was granted March 9, 1848. This rapid development at a time when the money market was straightened and the profits were decreasing, frightened the more conservative stockholders, and there was comparatively little building for some time after this.

We have thus far considered the stock, manufacturing account, profits and real estate of the company, but it is in the pay-roll that a corporation influences most directly the history of the community in which it manufactures. In

*A report on the condition of the company November 10, 1847, states the company has :

92 lace looms, with an estimated annual product....	\$90,000 00
20 web looms, " " " "	20,000 00
80 check looms, " " " "	100,000 00
Machine shop	40,000 00
	<u>\$250,000 00</u>

The property of the company is given as follows :

Mill, machinery, real estate, and power in Boylston..	\$97,903 66
" " " " " " " Clintonville,	189,530 35
Machine shop, tools and fixtures	34,261 38
The patents.....	25,333 59
	<u>\$347,028 98</u>
To which if we add—Railroad stock.....	6,666 67
And Hotel stock.....	5,000 00
	<u>\$358,695 55</u>

May, 1841, the pay-roll in the machine shop was one hundred and seventy dollars and seventy-six cents; for coachlace manufacture, four hundred dollars and ninety-one cents. This probably represents the work of fifteen men and twenty-five women. The number employed before 1841 was not more than half as large. From 1841 to 1843, the pay-roll averaged between five and six hundred dollars per month. In 1844, it was from eight to ten hundred; in 1845, from fourteen to fifteen hundred; in 1846, it went up in some months to over two thousand, the machine shop receiving more than half. In 1847, it reached, at times, three thousand. In April, 1848, after the new part, devoted to the manufacture of checks or pantaloon cloth, was fully at work, the items were as follows: coachlace, about eight hundred; checks, about sixteen hundred; coloring, about two hundred; work in machine shop, about twenty-four hundred; spinning at Sawyer's Mills, about six hundred. This should not be received as the usual proportion between the pay-roll of the lace and check departments, for the former, generally, at least equalled the latter.

Turning the pay-roll of April, 1845, for closer analysis, we find the following nine men were employed in the lace manufacturing department: Wm. Eaton,* Stillman Houghton,* J. F. Houghton, J. H. Bancroft, Reuben Holbrook, Alfred Houghton, Charles H. Morgan, Hiram Morgan,* Warren Fales. The women employed, as is evident from their names, belonged, in many cases, to the old families of the town. We find these names: Sawyer, Hemenway, Whitney, Hatch, Eaton, Houghton, Eaton, Hapgood, Powers, Rand, Whitney, Baker, Sawyer, Nichols, Damon, Whitcomb, Whitcomb, Howard, Thomas, Fletcher, Taylor, Nichols, Barnard, Barnard, Wilder, Harris, Prouty, Whitcomb, Tyler, Ward and Hapgood, thirty-one in all, which number, added to that of the men, makes forty. The average wages

* See elsewhere by aid of index for further account of these men,

of the women was a little over twelve dollars per month, or about fifty cents per day of twelve hours.

In the machine shop, during the same month, there were twenty-eight hands. A few extra names are added which were found on the books later during the year : R. S. Freeman,* Abijah Nichols, J. B. Parker,* W. S. Sanderson, R. B. Goodale, Theodore Jewett,* Ezra Sawyer,* Hiram Morgan,* Jonas Hunt,* Sanborn Worthen, E. W. Goodale,* Washington Harris, R. H. Brown, David Sanderson, Joseph Rice, Jr.,* David Smith, Nath. Whitcomb, Gilbert L. Ball, Galen L. Stevenson, A. H. Plympton, J. C. Parnell, A. H. Smith, Michael Smithy, Oliver Sawyer, Daniel Jewett, Jabez L. Wright, Horace Loomis, James Hamblet, Obadiah Goodale, Clark Hopkins, Emory Farnsworth, James H. Stone,* Samuel Beaven,* Samuel Osgood,* A. F. Houghton, James C. Parsons,* B. R. Cotton.* The names of A. C. Dakin* and D. B. Ingalls* appear upon the books at a subsequent date. It is here in this machine shop that we find, more than anywhere else, the promise of the Clinton that was to be, for some of the men who were working here afterwards became most substantial citizens. Moreover, the later improvements made in the machinery of the mills is due in no small degree to these men who, under the charge of J. B. Parker, prepared many of the original looms. The office work was conducted by A. S. Carleton,* to whose careful records we are indebted for so many of the particulars here given. Thus we see that, including Mr. Bigelow's, there were seventy names on the pay-roll of the company.

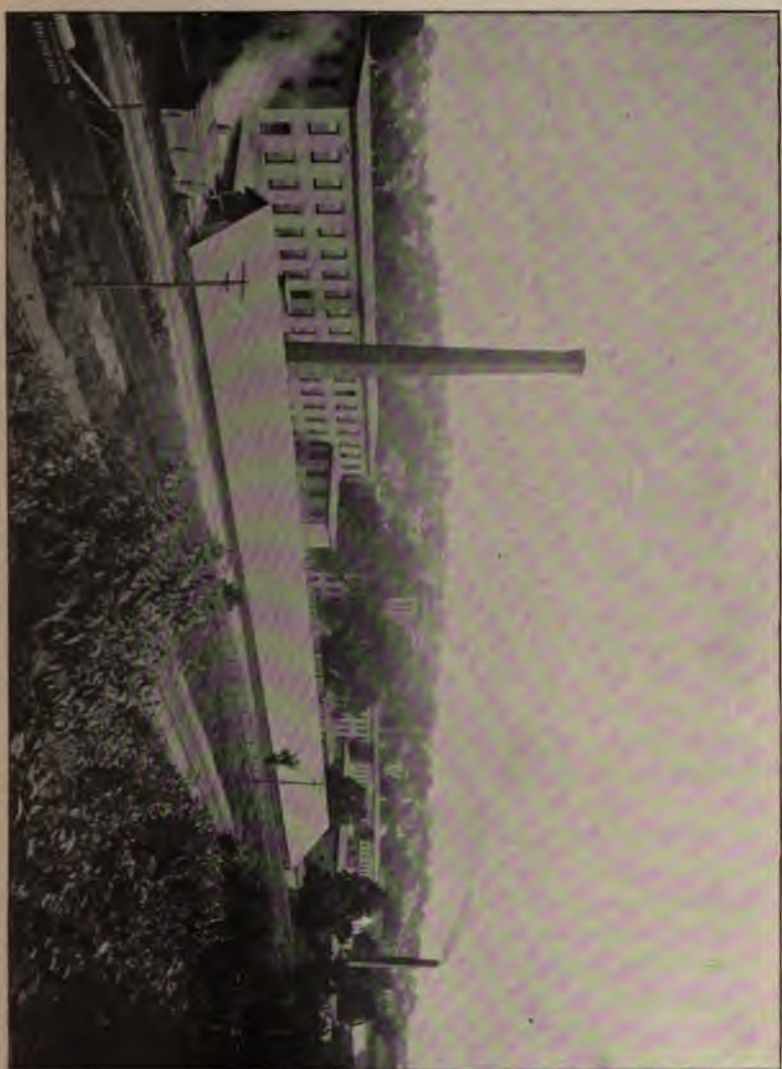
In the summer of 1845, the outside work of the mill also gave employment to between forty and fifty persons. Indeed, we are told, that, during this period, nearly every farmer in the village became a teamster for the corporation. In the list of those working on the wheel-pit and canal, we find for the first time, in any numbers, the names of Irish

* See elsewhere by aid of index for further account of these men.

immigrants—a class destined to take so important a part in the after development of the community. Barry, Farley, Durkin, Cummings, Moran, Cain, Finerty, Donahoe, Breen, and McDermot, are among the names given.

In January, 1846, the coloring department of the town was started; James R. Stewart and Timothy Moran, were, at that time, the only dyers.

To a person of imaginative tendencies, these dry books of a defunct company are full of food for sentiment and thought. To the owners of the stock, their success might have given means for hoarding up money, delighting in its accumulation, but it actually did give an enlarged horizon of life and an increased power of doing good. If one could follow the product of the loom, he would have spread out before him all the romance of the early days before steam cars took the place of coaches. To an old settler of Clintonville, this coachlace would bring back memories of Stiles, starting out in the early morning for Worcester with a jolly coach-load of his patrons, or of a young man who would think of the rides he had taken across the country in his own private carriage, trimmed with this same lace. It is in the pay-roll that the imagination would most desire to revel. For what purpose and in what spirit was the money earned? In what way was it spent? Were there young men here, who were seeking, as E. B. Bigelow had done, for further education? Were there girls who were earning money to buy their wedding garments? Were there young people, who were working to support parents, helping through age or vice? Were there husbands and fathers whose sole ambition was to provide happy homes for their families? Were there those whose highest thoughts were on food and shelter and dress for themselves and who plodded on month after month through a treadmill existence, unconscious of the heavens above and around them? Were there those to whom their monthly wages meant an opportunity for debauch? Were there mothers working



BUGLOW CARPET COMPANY'S WOOLEN MILLS.

the midst of failing health, that their children might have advantages such as they themselves had never known? All such there doubtless were. Many of the older citizens can tell their stories. In presenting these money accounts, we have given only the weft threads, but the fabric when woven presented figures many hued with base longing and lofty aspiration, with dark selfishness and glowing love. We must think of these workers as for the most part young people with futures before them. In 1838, H. N. Bigelow was only twenty-six and E. B. Bigelow only twenty-four. Their fellow-workers were as young as they.

The agent was the soul of the whole undertaking. He gathered around him from all quarters the best men that could be found, but, among them all, there was no such worker as he. He was always in the mill before it started and he was the last to leave it. He was everywhere; he saw everything. Having once laid his plans, he never let go of them for a moment until they were executed. Under such management, the failure of such an invention was impossible. H. N. Bigelow, like his brother, was a man over whom ideas possessed a certain influence. When absorbed in any scheme for the good of the company, he was sometimes impatient of interference and moody, but as soon as the idea was worked out, his whole nature overflowed with geniality.

In the spring of 1848, H. N. Bigelow, finding his time fully occupied with other and larger enterprises, resigned his position as the agent of the Clinton Company. On this occasion, the clerks and overseers gave him "a testimonial of their gratitude for (his) uniform courtesy, generosity and kindness," and A. S. Carleton, in their behalf, said among other things: "You have set before us daily an unusual example of diligence, perseverance and activity; and although, as our leader, you have often given us a hard chase, we have pressed on with that courage which such examples always inspire in the hearts of those whose duty it is to follow. * * You have led us with a skillful hand and we have had confidence in our chief."

E. B. Bigelow, having become convinced that his life-work lay in the direction of invention rather than a profession, relinquished at this time all idea of devoting himself to general culture. We have already spoken of the invention of a loom for weaving knotted counterpanes. The firm, which had taken this loom in hand and had failed on account of the hard times, had recovered itself once more, and one of the members made a favorable contract with E. B. Bigelow for renewing operations. He meanwhile had seen a form of counterpane superior, in his judgment, to the knotted, and advised that the contract be given up, as it would not be possible to compete with this cheaper and more marketable quilt. He set about inventing a power-loom for weaving the new form of counterpane, and met with perfect success in his study of the problem.*

*The following is the specification of the patentee :

In throwing the shuttles, I ensure the two picker-staves to operate simultaneously, so that the shuttle may be thrown from which ever of the boxes is presented to their action. This I effect by the use of one picker-treadle only, which is acted upon by a cam-ball, in the usual way of working such treadles. From the treadle two bands are extended, and press around the two picker-pulleys in such a manner that, when the treadle is depressed, both the picker-staves will be set in action at the same moment. By this arrangement two or more shuttles may be successively thrown from the same end of the loom by the action of one treadle.

The shuttle boxes are raised and lowered in the following manner : A shaft extends along the race-beam from one shuttle-box to the other, and carries pinions, which take into racks attached to the shuttle-boxes; it will be manifest, therefore, that by causing this shaft to revolve, the shuttle-boxes may be raised. The revolving of this shaft is effected by the action of a spiral or other spring, one end of which is attached to the frame of the loom at its back, and said spring extends forward towards the lathe; from this forward end a band attached to it presses round guide-pulleys, and also round a pulley upon the above-named shaft, to which latter said band is attached. The action of the spring, by its drawing upon the band will cause the pinion shaft to revolve, and will consequently raise the shuttle-boxes. Should this spring be thrown out of action, and the band by which the shuttle boxes are raised be re-

These counterpanes which are still commonly seen in Clinton were made of coarse cotton yarn closely woven with raised figures of various design. The counterpane, woven in later years, was loose in texture and inferior in quality. In 1841, the manufacture of quilts was begun by Hugh R. Kendall in the "lower" mill. This mill had passed through many hands since it was owned by the Lancaster Cotton Company in 1836. It was sold, in July of that year, to Nathaniel Rand, Samuel Damon, E. A. Raymond and John Hughes. March 22, 1837, Raymond and Hughes sold out to Rand and Damon. October 1, 1838, Damon sold to Rand his half of the mill property, which was then transferred to E. G. Roberts for six thousand dollars for a half share, and then Rand and Roberts

leased, they will then descend by their own gravity. To take off the tension of the spring, there is a cam upon which the main shaft of the loom, which cam, as the shaft revolves, depresses a treadle, to the end of which a band is attached, which operates in such a way, as to relieve the shuttle-boxes from the action of the spring, and they then descend.

In relieving the picker from the point of the shuttle, I make use of the protection-rod constituting a part of the apparatus employed in the ordinary power-loom, for stopping the loom when the shuttle does not arrive home in the shuttle-box. From the protection-rod, which extends along below the shuttle-boxes, I allow a small arm or finger to descend, which finger, as the latter comes up toward the breast-beam, strikes upon a stop or pin, attached, for that purpose, to the frame of the loom, causing the protection-rod to rock or revolve to a short distance. This gives motion to two arms which extend out from the extreme ends of the protection-rod, opposite to the outer ends of each of the shuttle-boxes; from these arms motion is communicated to a lever which works on a fulcrum over the outer ends of each of the shuttle-boxes, said arms being connected to the lever by rods or wires. By depressing the outer ends of these levers their inner ends are raised, and to these ends are appended rods which carry pieces of wood or metal, which, when down, rest on and embrace the picker-rod, and in that position they serve to hold the picker at a short distance from the end of the shuttle-box, and to stop the shuttle; the picker is then removed from the point of the shuttle by the raising of the lever, and the picker being made to pass home to the end of the box, thus leaving the shuttle and the shuttle-box free to be raised or lowered without obstruction, the picker being also ready again to act on the shuttle.

sold to William and Robert Kelley. The Kelleys sold, September 12, 1839, to Thomas Kendall for twenty-five thousand dollars. March 9, 1842, Thomas Kendall sold to Hugh R. Kendall for thirty thousand dollars. Here Mr. Kendall, paying a royalty to E. B. Bigelow for the use of patent, successfully conducted the manufacture of quilts with H. N. Bigelow as agent at a salary of five hundred dollars. February 27, 1845, the mill was sold to John Lamson for forty thousand dollars. The business was then conducted by Hugh R. Kendall & Co. until the Lancaster Quilt Company was formed in 1848. This company was incorporated with the right to hold capital to the amount of two hundred thousand dollars. Among the men holding prominent positions in the mill were Caleb Sawyer, in charge of the spinning room, Thomas Sawyer, overseer of weaving room, and A. H. Parker, who looked after the bleachery. William N. Peirce, who was afterwards in charge of the bleachery, was in these early days learning his trade here. The mills were so enlarged and the property so increased in value between 1845 and 1851, that the Lancaster Quilt Company, on October 1st of that year, paid one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars for it. The amount of business done previous to 1846 must have been very small, reckoned by present standards, but, in later times, one hundred hands were employed and a hundred thousand quilts worth one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, were produced annually. H. N. Bigelow resigned his position as agent of the company in 1848, after seven years of successful management.

E. B. Bigelow said in 1860: "From the early part of 1839 to nearly the close of 1849, my mind and my time were largely occupied with the invention and perfecting of my said (in-grain carpet) loom." This invention does not directly affect Clinton as much as many others, but yet it demands our attention as one of a series, which are inseparably connected together and interdependent upon each other. Mr. Bigelow's

name, too, has been more prominently associated with this invention than with any other, if, possibly, we except the Brussels carpet loom, with which it is so often confused. Moreover, the experience gained by Mr. Bigelow during these years spent in connection with the great manufacturing interests of Lowell and other places, led him to form plans for his later enterprises in Clintonville on a larger scale than he would otherwise have done.

In 1860, an application for the extension of his most important patent on the ingrain carpet loom was made by E. B. Bigelow. This was printed in a bulky volume of between five and six hundred pages, from which many valuable facts may be derived. The first suggestion of the idea of an ingrain carpet power loom seems to have arisen from a conversation with Alexander Wright, shortly after the invention of the coachlace loom. On account of previous lack of success in power looms, all Mr. Bigelow's "applications for pecuniary aid * * * were unavailing," and he was obliged to bear the cost of the first experiments himself. At last, through George W. Lyman, treasurer of the Lowell Manufacturing Company, he made an arrangement with that company, in 1839. Mr. Bigelow was to give his time to perfect his invention and the company was to construct a trial loom and in case of success build a mill for his looms and pay him a patent rent.

The problem before him was a difficult one. It seemed no less than the question: How can iron be made to think? He must make figures match, have a smooth selvage, and a smooth, even face. The hand-loom weaver could by his judgment meet all practical difficulties. He could pull the weft thread to make the selvage even if the shuttle had done its work imperfectly; he could increase or decrease the force he put into the lathe if the figure was getting too long or too short; he could make the fabric smooth by regulating the tension of the warps. How could dead matter do all these things? Mr. Bigelow taught it how and invented a

two-ply carpet loom which would weave twelve yards a day of carpeting of a quality far superior to that of the hand-loom, which wove only eight. He tried again and soon produced a second loom, with various modifications and improvements, which would weave eighteen yards. A third loom was invented, which brought the product up to over twenty-five yards per day. He also produced a three-ply carpet loom which manufactured from seventeen to eighteen yards per day. The first patents were issued in May, 1842; the third and most important, in February, 1846 (antedated); the fourth, in October, 1849.*

Merton C. Bryant, an expert who testified in regard to this loom, said: "The Bigelow carpet power loom for weaving carpets, as now used, appears to me to be, as a whole, by far the most intricate and complicated piece of mechanism that I have ever known to be used, and in its inception must have called for an immense amount of analysis, combination and inventive power. * * * When I consider the loom as a whole operating machine, * * * I am led to the greatest opinion of the ingenuity, forethought and masterly combination contained in it: the automatic working together of various movements in different directions for different purposes, seemingly at hazard because not regular, and yet all controlled and acting in unison. When I see the attendant with

* In Knight's American Mechanical Dictionary we find the following condensed description of the completed loom:—

"An ingrain carpet loom is one, in which two or more shuttles, one for the ground and the other for the figure, are employed. In Bigelow's, the two, after being thrown, are received in horizontal boxes on each side of the frame, and a third series, containing the different colored yarns producing the pattern, are placed in a set of vertically arranged boxes; all the shuttles are actuated by the same picker-staves; and the figure shuttles are raised and lowered as required by the pinions having a reciprocating rotary motion on a shaft, their presentation being determined by a pattern wheel, having movable cam surfaces on the shaft; one vibrating cam moves the lay forward to beat up the cloth, and another moves it backward, while a shuttle is thrown."

his pattern cards, place them upon the loom and read upon them the directions he has thereon stamped, saying to the loom, 'Give to the carpet the design the artist has painted,' and, on examining the cards separately, see one which says 'Scarlet-filling-thread here;' another saying, 'Ruby-filling-thread here;' another, 'White,' etc.; when I see these stamped directions furnished to the loom, and then the loom set to work and embroider the design, true and faithful, then, looking at the intricate mechanism, I have wondered at the skill and ingenuity of the inventor."

B. R. Curtis sums up the testimony as follows: "Mr. Bigelow was the first person to demonstrate the practicability of successfully weaving carpets by power looms. The loom invented by him is the product of a very high order of inventive genius, sustained by uncommon perseverance and industry in overcoming difficulties and reducing mere intellectual conception to useful and economical results."

In the later months of 1841, Mr. Bigelow went to England and became convinced that, in many important respects, English manufacturers were ahead of the American. The mill corporations of Lowell, in order to benefit by his suggestions, appointed him general adviser for the corporations. During the eighteen months he held this office he made many changes for the better in the mills, and he also started and organized the first successful power-loom carpet mill in the world.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FOUNDING OF LANCASTER MILLS.*

IN 1843, E. B. Bigelow, through his natural genius for mechanics, his study of manufacturing in America and England and his position of adviser to the mills in Lowell, had become one of the leading American authorities on mill construction, while he seemed to have a monopoly, as an inventor, in applying power to the weaving of figured fabrics. He had also formed an extensive acquaintance with New England capitalists, interested in textile manufactures. It was but natural that his attention and that of his friends who had money to invest, should be turned to the making of figured cotton goods.

An arrangement was made whereby certain parties agreed to secure capital, while Mr. Bigelow was to make plans for a mill, advise upon its construction and see that it was equipped with suitable machinery. There seems to have been an understanding at first that the company to be formed should make blue and white cotton checks and that, if Mr. Bigelow could invent machinery for more complex patterns, it should be used, whenever it could be to advantage.

Where should the mills be located? The water power furnished by the fall of the Nashua River in Clintonville, and

* In addition to the authorities given on the "Coming of the Bigelows," we would acknowledge our indebtedness to James Pitts for information in regard to Pitts Mills, and to George W. Weeks for the main body of facts in regard to Lancaster Mills.



UP THE NISQUALLY FROM THE HEAD OF CEDAR STREET.

the cheapness of the terms on which the real estate was offered led to a decision in favor of the present site. The influence of E. B. Bigelow tended strongly in this direction. He may have felt some personal attachment to the village where he had gained his first permanent success, but his desire for the coöperation of his brother, on whom he leaned in matters of business management, must have weighed with him yet more. H. N. Bigelow's ability had been demonstrated by the remarkable prosperity of the Coachlace and Quilt Mills, and the prospect of securing his services as agent must have added greatly in the minds of those interested, to the balance of reasons for establishing their plant in Clintonville.

If, in the summer of 1843, the Bigelow brothers had walked out to look over the premises where they were hoping the new mills might be built, the views which met their eyes as they passed along the road over the brow of the hill would have been very different from those which now attract the gaze of the passer-by. Before 1838, there had been only a rude cart-path from Main Street to the Pitts Mills, but, on the petition of the Pitts family in that year, a road had been built by the town. It followed, as the cart-path had done, the depression between Burditt and Harris Hills, a little south of the present line of Union and Mechanic Streets, and then descended the hill where there is now a foot-path on the east of Chestnut Street. It went by the Pitts Mills and the dwelling-house and crossed the river by a ford near the present foot-bridge and came out again into the road of to-day near what is now known as the Cameron house. The present road was laid out by J. C. Hoadley as engineer. One of the leading citizens of Lancaster is said to have declared in town meeting: "God Almighty never intended the road should be elsewhere than in the natural depression He had made for it." Where the Bigelow Carpet Mill now stands, lay "Slab Meadow," and most of the western slope of Harris Hill was yet covered with woods. The view of the

Nashua valley from the brow of the hill was one of forest, save where, in the intervale now occupied by the Lancaster Mills and Green Street, there was a luxuriant meadow of twenty or thirty acres, cultivated by the Pitts family.* There were two little mills, the saw and grist-mill, and another, used for manufacturing cotton goods. In both mills together there were, at this time, five men and ten girls. The dam used by the Pitts brothers was thirteen feet high, and in the same position as the present one. This dam flowed back the river about a mile and the pond was nowhere more than two hundred feet wide. Near the dam, at the foot of the Chestnut Street of to-day, was a house, now No. 1, Chestnut Street. The Sargent house was just across the river, where it is still standing.

The power furnished by South Meadow, Rigby and Mine Swamp Brooks had been thoroughly utilized before this time, and some advantage had been taken of the fall of the Nashua both here at the Pitts Mills and at the Harris Comb Shops, but most of the force of the river was yet running to waste. When the Bigelow brothers stood here on the banks of the rapidly descending stream, they must have realized most keenly the value of the force which was waiting here for some one to control it and bring it into the service of man, an available force of seven hundred horse-power, capable of doing continuously the work of a thousand men, if brains and money could be found to apply it to advantage. Here the most important factor furnished by nature for the building up of Clinton was brought into connection with the most important personal factors in her development, at a time when the course of the world's history encouraged the establishment of such industries as those on which the prosperity of the town was to be founded.

We must remember that, up to this time, Factory Village had remained a little hamlet, scarcely larger than it had been

*See, for further account of earlier history, pages 158-160.

in the thirties, when it was credited with less than three hundred inhabitants. It was not until after 1843 that any extensive enlargements were made at the Coachlace or Quilt Mills, and these, with a few other much smaller mills, like those of Pitts and Fuller, and several small comb shops, did all the business that was done except a little farming. The few houses on the west side of the river were still for the most part scattered along Main and Water Streets. There was no church, no railroad, no post-office, no hotel worthy of the name. There may have been one or two little country stores and there was a single district school. On the east of the river, there were a few more farm houses and another little school.

The next seven years, were destined to be a period of remarkable growth, changing the straggling village into a thriving town with a population of as many thousands as it then had hundreds. We have already traced the development of the Clinton Company's mills and that of the Quilt Mill during this period, under the fostering care of the Bigelows, and now come to consider a far more important element of the town's growth in the building of the Lancaster Mills, under the same management.

An act of incorporation, passed by the House of Representatives January 31, 1844, marks the beginning of the Lancaster Mills.*

*COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the year one thousand eight hundred and forty-four. An Act to incorporate the Lancaster Mills :

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by authority of the same, as follows :—

SECTION 1. E. B. Bigelow, Stephen Fairbanks, Henry Timmins, **their** associates and successors, are hereby made a Manufacturing Corporation, by the name of "Lancaster Mills," for the purpose of manufacturing cotton and other goods, in the Town of Lancaster, in the County of Worcester ; and for this purpose shall have all the powers and priv-

In addition to E. B. Bigelow, Stephen Fairbanks and Henry Timmins, who are mentioned in this act, some of the most prominent among the original stockholders of the company were N. W. Appleton, Wm. C. Appleton, H. N. Bigelow, George Cummings, A. E. Hildreth, Ignatius Sargent, Amos Lawrence and George W. Lyman. Several of these names we have seen before in the records of the Clinton Company, and it may be presumed that there was for years a close connection between the two corporations. The Appletons were interested in the mills as selling agents. The first officers of the company were: Stephen Fairbanks, president; Wm. C. Appleton, treasurer. These two, with E. B. Bigelow, Henry Timmins and Robert Appleton, were the directors. The capital stock of the company was made five hundred thousand dollars, divided into one thousand shares at five hundred dollars each.

On the 28th of May, 1844, the company received of E. B. Bigelow its deed of two hundred and thirteen acres of real estate, which, with the buildings thereon and sixty-eight acres soon after purchased, cost sixteen thousand eight hundred and ninety-two dollars and sixteen cents. About eighty acres, with the water power, the mills and the homestead

ileges, and be subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities set forth in the thirty-eighth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes.

SECT. 2. Said Corporation may hold for the purpose aforesaid, real estate to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and personal estate to the amount of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and the whole Capital Stock of said Corporation shall not exceed five hundred thousand dollars.

House of Representatives, Jan. 31, 1844.

Passed to be enacted.

THOMAS KINNICUT, *Speaker*.

In the Senate, Feb. 2, 1844.

Passed to be enacted.

JOSIAH QUINCY, JR., *President*.

Feb. 5, 1844. Approved.

GEO. N. BRIGGS.

came from the Pitts brothers, James, William, H. W. and S. G., the rest of the first lot from R. J. Cleveland, Sidney Harris, William Lintell, Winsor Barnard, Mary Butler, heirs of Emory Harris, Phinehas Moore, Horace Jewett, Dolly Churchill. The later lots came from the heirs of Moses Sawyer, from John Burdett, a house and land from Eliza Sargent, wife of Stephen Sargent, lots from Sidney Harris, Alanson Chace and Franklin Wilder. This real estate was bounded much the same as that of the Lancaster Mills to-day, except that many house lots have been sold, especially on the Acre, and the flowage rights have been increased.

After the company was organized, the stock taken and the real estate purchased, the next step was construction. It was decided to build a comparatively small mill at first, but upon such a plan as to admit readily of subsequent enlargement. Since land was so cheap and plentiful, the plan of a mill of one story was adopted. The Lancaster Mills were among the first of this form, which has since proved so well adapted to profitable manufacture, and to safety of property and life. The original mill* was six hundred and fourteen feet long by forty-six feet wide, running parallel with what is now Green Street, but nearer the river. In this low, long, narrow mill, it was intended that all the processes should follow one another in order, from the carding room to the cloth room.

Among those who took contracts for the construction of this and subsequent buildings of an early date were William T. Merrifield of Worcester, wood work; Ezra Sawyer of Clintonville, brick work; Oliver Stone and Haskell & Cowdrey built some of the tenement houses.

The dam was among the first things to be constructed, and remains in 1895 substantially as it was built, except that it was repaired and the wooden cap was replaced by one of

*None of the walls of the original mill are now left except a portion of the engine and wheel house.

stone, in 1867. The total length of this dam is three hundred and twenty-one and seven-eighths feet. It is twelve and one-half feet thick. It has a rollway and wings of stone. The original cost was twelve thousand six hundred dollars. This dam held the water back nearly as far as Sawyers Mills in Boylston and caused the overflow of several hundred acres of woodland. The power was applied by means of three breast wheels, twenty-six feet in diameter, having seventy-five horse-power each, making a total of two hundred and twenty-five horse-power. Additional power and security in times of drought were secured by the immediate purchase of a steam engine of two hundred and fifty horse-power.

H. N. Bigelow, as agent, oversaw, with even more than his accustomed energy, these building operations, and E. B. Bigelow paid especial attention to the machinery. Speaking of the work he had undertaken, he said, after the works were finished: "It required much to be created; while all the parts were to be adjusted on new principles or in new connections. The immense amount of minute and complicated detail thus involved, the countless arrangements and perplexing combinations which must all contribute to one result, and make up one systematic whole, cannot easily be appreciated by persons unacquainted with machinery. * * * At the commencement of an undertaking, so novel as well as so extensive and complete as this was, no man could do more than grasp the general plan." While Mr. Bigelow was thus planning to bring all the inventions of others which could profitably be used in the manufacture they had undertaken into such harmonious relations as to insure the best results, he was also devising new looms of his own which should enable the company to make gingham of more complex patterns as well as simple cotton checks. Up to this time, gingham had been for the most part made on hand looms in the homes of the weavers, who having received a certain number of pounds of yarn from the manufacturers, returned a proportional number of yards of cloth. On the 10th of

April, 1845, Mr. Bigelow received letters patent for an invention which was to revolutionize the making of gingham almost as much as his previous inventions, which were power looms for figured fabrics, had that of coachlace, counterpanes, and ingrain carpets.*

This was Mr. Bigelow's main invention bearing on the

*The following are the specifications of his patent for weaving plaids, etc.:—

1. What I claim for my invention and desire to secure by letters patent, is regulating the delivery of the unwoven warps, as required for the weaving of the cloth by the tension of the said warps in combination with a brake or stop motion to prevent the tension given to the warps by the beat of the lay from affecting the delivery motion.

2. I also claim, in combination with the method of regulating the delivery of the warps by their tension and controlled by a brake, the taking up of the woven cloth by a regular and positive motion, that the figure produced thereon may be regular and well matched, the irregularities of the weft threads being in this manner taken up in the thickness instead of the length of the cloth.

3. I also claim in combination with the roller of a positive and regular take up motion of a weaving room, the measuring wheel and hand or pointer, whereby the quantity of cloth woven is at all times indicated.

4. I also claim communicating the shifting motion for shifting the shuttle boxes up and down when a change of color is required in the weft by the gravitating force of a weight or the equivalent thereof whereby all injury to the mechanism is avoided should anything be interposed to arrest the motion of the moving parts.

5. I also claim arresting the motion of the shuttle and relieving the picker from the end thereof preparatory to the shifting of the shuttle boxes by combining with the lay and picker a spring lever, one arm of which moves in a slot or the equivalent thereof to give it the required motion.

6. And, lastly, I claim stopping the loom and arresting the momentum of the moving parts, at a given and determined point, by means of the lever which, when the weft thread is not carried through, is brought into contact with a spur on the crank shaft, or the equivalent thereof, which forces it back to shift the belt, when this is combined with the fingers, which enter into the recesses of the lay and which, when the weft threads are carried through, are pushed forward to prevent the lever from stopping the loom.

manufacture of gingham, but we must not forget that the whole process from beginning to end was thoroughly overhauled by him, and many minor patents were taken out for improvements in various details. Indeed, this collateral work must be taken into consideration in all Mr. Bigelow's inventions, if we would rightly understand the service he did to the world. As he himself has stated; "It is a well-known fact that complex inventions have not, as a general thing, come at once into use. In many cases, this has been because they were not immediately brought into harmony with other things. In a state of natural progress, things move on together and become naturally adjusted. An important invention often disturbs these adjustments, and cannot be made to work efficiently until other inventions and new arrangements have brought all the processes into accordance with it. This arduous duty I have endeavored to perform for all my looms.

"Lee's hand stocking-loom was invented several years before it was reduced to practice, and even this was not effected by the inventor. The comparatively simple power loom for weaving plain cloth was of very slow growth. A long time elapsed before its organization was so harmonized as to work at all, and for several years afterward, successive improvements only gave it a more moderate speed. Its capacity, in this respect, has actually been doubled within the last fifteen years. If my own more complex machines for the production of figured fabrics have attained at once to so high a state of perfection, I attribute it, in part, to the fact that my attention has also been given to those processes which are subordinate, preparatory, and collateral, and that these have been made to accord with the main invention. That this claim of success is not extravagant will appear, I think, when it is considered that the cost of weaving coach-lace was at one stride reduced from twenty-two cents to three cents a yard."

The first loom of Mr. Bigelow's ran about one hundred

picks per minute, while those of the present reach one hundred and sixty picks. The value of these early looms is shown by the fact that, notwithstanding the vast improvement in every kind of machinery since the time of their construction, all of the original looms remained in service until 1887.

Before the mill already described had been completed, the company, encouraged by the readiness with which their first stock had been taken, the high manufacturing profits which prevailed at this time and the invention of the new gingham loom, decided to carry out the entire plan of the mills at once and to devote them especially to the manufacture of gingham. This new arrangement meant the building of mills with five times the floor room of the original structure or one hundred and thirty-six thousand and thirteen feet. Between the first mill and Green Street, a mill of one story, three hundred and fifty-six feet eight inches long, by one hundred and seventy-four feet four inches wide, was built. This was all in one room, lighted by skylights. It, with a portion of the first mill, was to be used for carding, spinning and weaving. When completely finished it contained twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-four spindles and five hundred and fifty looms. Southeast of the main mill there was a "packing house" one hundred and eighty-one feet by seventy-two feet eight inches, three stories in height. There was also a dye house one hundred and eighty-two feet eight inches long, by ninety-six feet eight inches wide, and one story in height. All the wooden tenement and boarding-houses now belonging to the Lancaster Mills, with the exception of one upon Cross Street, and one on Green Street, belong to this period. There were also several others on Green Street which have since given way to brick buildings. The number of these tenements was necessarily large as the operatives with few exceptions must come from outside of the village and could not therefore have

homes of their own at first. It was the object of the Bigelows to make these tenements as attractive as possible in order that the workmen might find in them "the pleasures of home," and, thus becoming attached to their surroundings, remain free from the desire of change so common among mill operatives. How well they succeeded has been evidenced by the permanency of workmen in the mills and the universal agreement that few factory towns are as attractive as Clinton. In 1848, H. N. Bigelow sold land to Lancaster Mills for the reservoirs which are near the southern end of Cedar Street. The accounts rendered August 20, 1849, showed the total cost of the mills when completed to have been, including real estate, water power, and tenements, but not including interest, eight hundred and two thousand two hundred and eighty-four dollars and sixteen cents, or thirty-eight dollars and sixty cents per spindle.

The money to carry out this new building was obtained through an act to increase the capital stock of the Lancaster Mills, enacted March 15, 1847. By this act, the stock might be increased five hundred thousand dollars. It was increased November, 1847, by the addition of a thousand shares of four hundred dollars each. The old shares were equalized in value with the new, making a total of two thousand shares at four hundred and fifty dollars each.

Mr. E. B. Bigelow's health at this time gave out from pressure of work, for he was not only planning for these mills and inventing machinery for them, but was also working on his ingrain carpet looms and planning a huge carpet mill at Lowell, which was a marvel of mill construction, the very walls being part of one great machine. Having completed all his plans for these mills and having made the contracts for the machinery, he went in the autumn of 1847 to Europe, to recruit his health. H. N. Bigelow, who from the first had controlled the business management of building the mills, pressed on the work to completion. He, too, had a vast amount of other work on his hands at this time, super-

intending the great additions already described, to the mills of the Clinton Company and the Quilt Mill, and, as we shall hereafter see, fostering with almost paternal care every enterprise which promised to benefit the community which was growing so wonderfully under the impulse which these industries had given to it. It seems impossible that any one man should have done all that he did in these seven years, for he even attempted to attend with the same closeness to every detail as when he was managing the little concerns of former years.

Early in 1848, a great change came over the money market of the country; stocks in general fell and manufacturing profits declined, and the stock of the Lancaster Mills depreciated, with that of other corporations, so that shares, with a par value of four hundred and fifty dollars, sold for three hundred and fifty. In 1849 and '50, the market value varied from three to four hundred dollars. Another act was secured to increase the capital stock, May 2, 1849, this time by three hundred thousand. The cost of the mills, as is usual, had exceeded the expectations of the stockholders. In explaining this extra cost of the mills, E. B. Bigelow said among other things: "Not only is a high standard of mechanical construction required to successfully manufacture figured goods such as are made at Clinton, but also, much skill and experience on the part of the operatives. In this country, it is not easy to get that skill. It was, therefore, deemed to be sound policy in building the works to make them as attractive as was consistent with the nature of the case, so that those who had acquired a knowledge of the business would have a motive to continue in it at reasonable wages. In the plan and construction of the whole establishment, every attention has been paid to the convenience and comfort of those by whom its work is to be done. No mill can be made more easy of access, better lighted or better ventilated." The mills, and therefore the town, owe much to James S. Amory, who was made treasurer of the mills in October,

1847, and who in this financial crisis raised the requisite funds to place the mill upon firm footing.

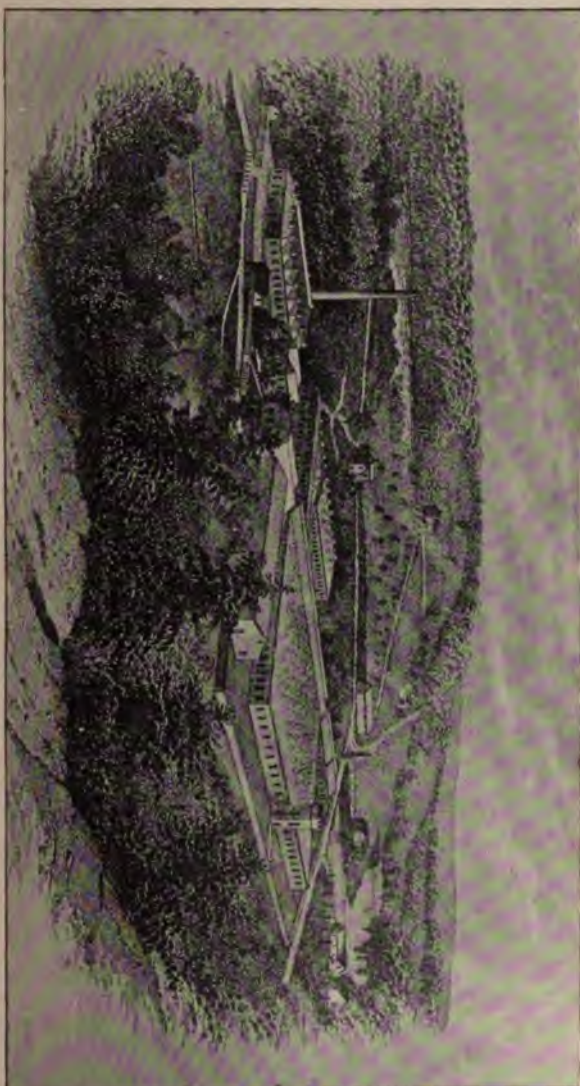
Turning to the manufacturing accounts, we find the first record of cloth, made by the Lancaster Mills, is for the week ending December 5, 1846, seven thousand and seventy-two yards; for the six months, ending January 31, 1848, three hundred and ninety-two thousand five hundred and fifty-one yards; for the year, ending January 31, 1849, one million four hundred and ninety-one thousand seven hundred and sixty yards; for the year, ending January 31, 1850, over four million yards.

The mills were not, then, under full headway in manufacturing until 1850. This was the first year in which any dividend was paid, the amount then being three per cent. Between 1844 and 1848, gingham had fallen from eighteen to eleven cents per yard, so that profits were less than had been anticipated.

From the pay-roll we find that, in 1849, there were at work three hundred and seventy-seven females and one hundred and seventy males; the average earnings of the former for a week of seventy-four and a half hours, were three dollars and ninety-six cents; of the latter, five dollars and seventy-eight cents. Most of the operatives were Yankees, and lived in the tenement and boarding-houses.

In 1849, after the Lancaster Mills had been practically finished, H. N. Bigelow, who had become interested in the establishment of the Bigelow Carpet Mills, resigned his position as agent here, as he had the year before dissolved his connection with the management of the Clinton Company's mill and the Quilt Mill, and he was succeeded by Franklin Forbes.

E. B. Bigelow in speaking of his brother's connection with the Lancaster Mills, said: "No one, I am sure, who has not tried or at least witnessed the experiment, can appreciate the vast amount of toil and care which devolves upon him who attempts to build up and carry into successful oper-



LANCASTER MILLS, 1849.

The first plan included only the long, narrow building passing through the centre of the structure; then came the great square weaving room in front. The buildings in the rear and the cotton house were added later, and the bell-tower, which originally stood near the northeastern corner of the mills, was moved to the front.

ation a large establishment on the basis of a new invention. It is no small matter to accumulate, foster and apply the requisite skill to meet the new exigencies of constantly recurring cases, and to make all those practical applications which, however minute, are yet essential to success. This task, my brother was called upon to perform, and he has performed for all the establishments in Clinton. The great and increasing value of the industrial establishments which he has successively constructed, with the thriving and beautiful village which has sprung up so rapidly around him, are the fruits in no small measure of his exertions."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE BRUSSELS CARPET LOOM, AND THE LATER LIFE OF E. B. BIGELOW.

AFTER a period of rest spent in European travel, E. B. Bigelow returned to America and devoted himself to the development of the Brussels carpet loom, the crowning work of his life. The germ of the invention already existed in the coachlace loom, and the Clinton Company held certain patent rights which they considered as applicable to the manufacture of Brussels carpeting. Indeed, Mr. Bigelow states in regard to the coachlace loom patented in April, 1837: "This loom was in all respects self-acting and embraced the main features of the carpet loom." Also: "I made my first application of this invention to the weaving of Jacquard Brussels carpets at Lowell, in 1845." The patent was taken out in England in March, 1846, but not in the United States until later. A committee, appointed November 24, 1846, to consider the disposal of the rights of the Clinton Company in this loom, reported: These rights had best be sold "to a company to be formed for the purpose of making carpets," the value to be taken in the stock of the company. It was not until 1848, however, that Mr. Bigelow found himself ready to attend to the matter. In July of that year, we find a record that he brought in a proposition to perfect and introduce the invention, and that the company made a contract with him having this object in view.

During the next three years he took out patent after

patent bearing upon the details of this invention. He once told a friend that the main outline occurred to him while riding in the cars in Europe. Sated with sight-seeing, "an irresistible fit of invention came over him, and withdrawing himself from the outer world, the machine soon assumed form before his mind's eye. The details, however, as we learn from those who worked with him, were laboriously wrought out in the machine shop and mill, and he apparently received many minor suggestions from the experiments there tried.

In 1851, the loom had been brought to such a high pitch of perfection that we find the jury of the Great Exhibition of that year in London, making the following statement in the supplement to its report: "The specimens of Brussels carpeting exhibited by Mr. Bigelow are woven by a power loom invented and patented by him, and are better and more perfectly woven than any hand-loom goods that have come under the notice of the jury. This, however, is a small part of their merit, or rather that of Mr. Bigelow, who has completely triumphed over the numerous obstacles that presented themselves, and succeeded in substituting steam power for manual labor in the manufacture of five-frame Brussels carpet. Several patents have been taken out by different inventors in this country for effecting the same object; but as yet none of them have been brought into successful or extensive operation, and the honor of this achievement, one of great practical difficulty as well as of great commercial value, must be awarded to a native of the United States."

The London Morning Chronicle says: "At the eleventh hour, power loom manufactured Brussels was deposited in the American division, the merit of the invention and application of this important discovery being due to Mr. E. B. Bigelow of the United States. The evidence of the successful application of a much-wished-for invention is all that could be desired. Although various attempts have been made to adapt the power loom to carpet weaving in this

country, there is not, we believe, at this moment, any machinery perfected for that object. Our American brethren have, therefore, gained another step ahead of us and have won another laurel on this well contested field of the industrial arts."

The report of the exhibition published by the United States government, states: "Toward the close of the exhibition, Mr. Bigelow of Boston exhibited several specimens of Brussels carpetings made by the power loom, which excited much attention. The process, invented and patented by Mr. Bigelow, and now in general use in the United States, is altogether unknown here. * * * It is, perhaps, one of the greatest improvements yet made in weaving, and accomplishes what has hitherto been deemed an impossibility, viz: the use of all varieties of color in the power loom."

The great carpet manufacturers, Crossley & Sons, of Halifax, England, appreciating the value of the invention, purchased of Mr. Bigelow the patent rights for the United Kingdom. J. B. Parker and James Otterson took over to England a loom from the mill here, and from this as a model the castings were taken and the looms for the mills there were constructed.

As the Brussels carpet loom was only the coachlace loom "full grown," there is no one patent outside of this, which has already been given, that would demand the attention of the general reader. In an invention so complex as this, only the practical machinist can grasp it in all its details. Who has not wondered, in examining a piece of the carpet, how such intricate designs of many colored worsteds could be woven so perfectly into the linen web by automatic machinery? Even with human judgment constantly ready to correct the weaving of the pattern formed by the Jacquard, the work was marvellous, but when we see lifeless iron doing it all alone, we are lost in wonder. The central features of the loom are: the insertion and withdrawal of the wires which form the loops, and the bringing to the surface at the right moment of the particular colors of worsted, required to form

the pattern. In Mr. Bigelow's original loom the wires, about thirty-two inches in length, were managed somewhat as follows: A knife separates from the group of wires the one next to be taken and directs the pusher which moves it toward the pincers: these move forward, grasp the wire, and draw it out; meanwhile a double pair of fingers are moving forward and, as soon as the wires are dropped by the pincers, they take it and carry it to a small trough which has come up, ready to receive it; the trough having returned with the wire, a pusher, moving through it, sends the wire into the open shed through a set of guides, which come up between the warp. Three fingered claws plait the selvage and at the same time stop the loom if the thread breaks. It will be seen that this arrangement and action of the wires is only a slight modification of that employed in the coachlace loom.

It is more difficult to explain clearly the arrangement of the yarns without going into a description of the Jacquard, which was not an invention of Mr. Bigelow. A few points may, however, be given. The yarns are wound separately upon bobbins and these are arranged on frames back of the loom, tension being given to the thread of each bobbin by a leaden weight. There are two hundred and sixty bobbins to a frame, and five frames to a loom. The warp worsted from each bobbin is carried through a little brass eye. A weight is attached to this eye to pull it down by the force of gravity. The eye is raised by a cord which goes to the Jacquard above. This Jacquard, operating in connection with a trap-board brings to the surface at the right moment the set of worsteds needed for one loop of the pattern. When these worsteds have been raised, the wire is inserted, and, then, the worsted goes down and the linen warp comes up. The shuttle carries the linen weft through the warps; the warps are now crossed, lock the weft, and the batten beats it up, another linen thread is thrown, and, then, the whole is again driven against the web by the batten. In the Wilton carpet loom, these wires have knives on the top, which cut the worsteds of the loops.

When we consider that each of these thousands of parts must not only be perfect in its own function, but must also work in harmony with every other part to bring about a pre-determined end, we feel that inventive genius can go no further, but has reached here a final triumph.

Leaving for subsequent consideration the development of the Bigelow Carpet Company, and the later life of H. N. Bigelow, let us follow to the end the story of E. B. Bigelow, since it is fitting that we should gain a comprehensive idea of the man, whose influence on the town has been so great. Outside of the invention of the loom for weaving wire cloth, which led to the establishment of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company, the later work of E. B. Bigelow started no new industries in Clinton, although he maintained his interest in the mills and the town until his death. His name frequently appears in the reports of the Patent Office from 1850 to 1860. The looms for tapestry carpets, although they differed somewhat from those for Brussels, were closely associated with them, in the mind of the inventor. Those for silk brocatel, first put in operation at Humphreysville, Connecticut, in 1851, belonged to the same series of power looms for weaving figured fabrics.

In addition to the various inventions of which we have treated, viz: power looms for weaving coachlace, counterpanes, ingrain carpeting, gingham and other plaids, Brussels and Wilton carpeting, tapestry carpeting, silk brocatel, and wire cloth, he made many subordinate and auxiliary inventions, so that the total number of the patents taken out by him was in the aggregate over fifty.

In an article on "The Relations of Capital and Labor" in the Atlantic Monthly of October, 1878, Mr. Bigelow states: "One woman can weave as much Brussels carpeting by the carpet power loom as ten men assisted by ten boys can weave by the hand loom. To weave by the hand loom the carpeting that is now woven by the carpet power loom in its vari-

ous applications would require the labor of fourteen thousand more persons than are now employed." It is surely no exaggeration to say that Mr. Bigelow, through his mechanical genius, has already accomplished in the industrial world more work than twenty thousand ordinary laborers do by brain and muscle in their lifetimes, and these ideas of his will still keep working on through an indefinite future.

Some one has said of Mr. Bigelow that "as an inventor he was phenomenal, as an organizer and economical writer he was exceptional." We have already considered him as an organizer of the industries at Clintonville and Lowell, let us glance at his work in this direction in the National Association of Wool Manufacturers. This body was founded November 30, 1864, as a result of a convention held by representative wool manufacturers from twelve states. Mr. Bigelow was made the first president, and it devolved upon him to prepare a statement of the objects of the association. This was no easy task, for there had always been bitter antagonism between the various branches of the wool industry. Mr. Bigelow, feeling that all had common interests, boldly declared in spite of lack of sympathy in the society and out of it, that the object of the association was "coöperation among the different classes of producers." Through "the rare executive ability" of the president, the wool growers and manufacturers were brought into harmonious relations, and through their joint efforts, under his leadership, such information was laid before Congress as led to the adoption of the wool tariff of 1867. In 1869, still acting as president of the association, he organized the first great exhibit of the characteristic productions of a single industry. This exhibition was held in New York, and it was, we are told, "the most important precursor of the Centennial, and was not surpassed by the latter in its effect to popularize American fabrics."

We have already noted the publication in 1832 of a little work of twenty-five pages on short-hand, entitled "The Self-

taught Stenographer." This work, though prepared by a boy of eighteen, was of considerable value for a time. In later years, Theodore Parker presented his much-used copy of the work to the Public Library in Boston.

Mr. Bigelow's writings of more mature years are of two classes. They deal with mechanical and economical subjects. The remarkable clearness of the former is seen in his specifications of patents, which, in themselves alone would, if accompanied by the drawings prepared under his direction, make a bulky volume. His statements in the application for the extension of his patent on the ingrain carpet loom in 1860, and the correspondence with Wm. Wood of England, relating to the invention of the Jacquard Brussels power loom, printed in 1868, complete this class of his publications.

Of his writings on economics, those upon the tariff are of most consequence. The first of these is a letter to Thaddeus Stevens, published as a pamphlet of six pages. "The Tariff Question considered in regard to the policy of England and the interests of the United States," is Mr. Bigelow's most important contribution to literature. It is a large quarto abounding in carefully prepared tables of statistics, and has been called by able judges the best presentation of arguments for the protective system yet published in America. It came from the press in 1862. A condensation of the same work, with various modifications, was published in 1877, entitled "The Tariff Policy of England and the United States contrasted." In the latter work, he claims that "there is no principle of universal application involved either in free trade or protection. They are questions of policy." "The conditions of production are so different in different countries that the customs tariff of every nation should be determined by its own interests and needs." After giving the history of the Tariff in England and dwelling upon the grand possibilities of our own country, he declares "The aim should be to establish a national tariff policy, which

shall be regarded as permanent, and so to frame its provisions as to promote the use and development of our vast national resources." "Not until the cost of labor, taxation and capital, through a gradual approximation, or by some great alteration here or there, shall have become nearly the same in Europe and America, will it be safe to abandon our present tariff policy. So long as local taxation shall depend on the will and action of the several states, so long as the rate of wages and of interest in our country are kept up by the abundance of land and the demand of labor, neither skill nor assiduity on the part of our producers can remove the causes of the disparity which places them at so great disadvantage." He argues that protection helps the farmer, for without it the consumers of agricultural products must become producers and thus diminish agricultural profits without lowering the price of foreign goods, since these could demand their own prices when freed from home competition. "The nation," he says, "which produces the most in proportion to its numbers will be the most prosperous and powerful nation. * * * To that end it is necessary that we should diversify industry and thereby give employment to all the people according to their various tastes and capacities." Enough has been given to show the general line of thought pursued by the author, but his power of argument and depth of research can only be appreciated by the careful student of his larger volume.

Among his other writings bearing on economical subjects are: "Remarks on the depressed condition of manufactures in Massachusetts with suggestions as to its cause and remedy;" (1858.) [Translated soon after into the Russian language.] "Objects and plans of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers;" (1866.) "Address on the wool industry of the United States at the exhibition of the American Institute in New York;" (Oct. 5, 1869.) An article entitled "The Relations of Labor and Capital," in the *Atlantic Monthly*. (Oct., 1878.) His "Statement of facts in regard to Lancas-

ter Mills," (1851) is more personal in its nature, but belongs to the same class of works. All of these pamphlets and articles are full of nuggets of wisdom. "Capital," he says, "is the laborer's best friend; excessive credit his worst enemy." "To labor energetically the laborer must be sure of receiving the fruits of his industry in a form which he can appropriate as his own. * * * Communism has no root in the nature of things." "As a means of high productive efficiency it should be made possible for every individual to acquire a good general education, directed with a view to invigorate the body, elevate the moral faculties and strengthen the intellectual powers, or, in other words, to fit the individual for the general duties of life."

Among other intellectual qualities displayed in these works and in his general conversation is his hatred of side issues. He held his mind without the slightest turning to the right or left upon the matter in hand. "It is a great thing to know what not to do," was one of his favorite phrases. He took great pride in thorough work and would not tolerate shoddy in anything for which he was responsible. He was thus able to fix the standard in every variety of goods made on his looms. The same spirit is seen in the immense labor that he put into his collection of statistics for his work on the tariff. There is little of imagination, humor or sentiment in his writings, but they are all clear, terse and as convincing as business statements, and by their arrangement display, like his inventions, that faculty of mind which he was wont to insist upon as his chief intellectual characteristic, that is, the power of seeing the relation of things.

While Mr. Bigelow inspired wonder by his inventive genius, and awakened admiration by his ability as a writer, he won esteem and affection by his character as a man. As a citizen he was a patriot, but not a partisan. The only time in which he appeared prominently in the field of politics was in 1860, when he was nominated for Congress on the Conservative and Democratic ticket of the Fourth Massachusetts



ERASTUS BRIGHAM BIGELOW.

District. He failed of election by a few votes, being defeated by Alexander H. Rice. Although he was desirous, for the sake of saving the Union, to try every compromise, yet, when the war was once begun, he was very earnest in his desire for its prosecution, and had unbounded faith in the final triumph of the North. In the most despondent period of the war, he said: "We shall pass through this trial as many other nations have passed through theirs, and we shall come out of it with spirit unbroken and with augmented energies. The insurrection quelled, the Union re-established, the innate strength of our free institutions demonstrated, the military power of the republic developed and universally respected, we shall have the best, if not, indeed, the only ground a nation can have for expecting a peace which will remain long unbroken." In the latter part of his life, he was a Republican, and, as we have seen, was especially interested in the question of custom duties, and he did much to forward such a system of protection, as he believed would serve the best interests of the country by tending toward maximum production.

He did much to build up and foster educational institutions. The Bigelow Free Public Library of Clinton is fitly named for him, since he was most liberal in his donations in the establishment of the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute, from which it sprang. He was one of the founders of the School of Technology in Boston, and was, until his death, one of its most devoted friends. As a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, he participated with delight in conferring honors on his brother inventors. He was one of the three trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts. The Massachusetts Historical Society has a fund contributed in his name by his surviving daughter, and also many valuable gifts made by him personally, while he remained a member. He was, too, a member and regular attendant of the Thursday Evening Club of Boston. A friend who met him often in these societies speaks of the deep interest he

took in them as a means of promoting the welfare of the community. Many scholastic institutions freely conferred upon him the degrees that he had so longed to win by other methods in his youth. From Harvard, Yale, Williams and Dartmouth, he received the degree of M. A., and from Amherst that of LL. D.

Of Mr. Bigelow as a gentleman in society, a most intimate friend says: "Genial and communicative, and occasionally playful in conversation, he was most interested in earnest discussion and grave topics. * * * He was so organized that each day's work to be done was set down upon a memorandum, and his passages for Europe were engaged several months before sailing. Of rare courtesy in his personal manners, he restrained a natural irritability, and successfully struggled against his impulses of impatience with those executing his plans who could not conform to his own high and, perhaps, exacting standard. His courtesy resulted from the kindness of his nature. His refinement in deportment, language and in all his personal habits and surroundings proceeded from his high artistic sense." His friends are especially enthusiastic about his geniality as a host, as he never seemed so happy as when he had guests at his table.

The maiden name of Mr. Bigelow's first wife was Sarah W. King. She died in 1841. Their only child, a boy, was to be six years old. His second wife, Eliza Frances Means, was a daughter of Col. David Means of Amherst, New York. She was teaching school in Lowell when he first met her. Their only child, a daughter, born in Boston in 1844, is the wife of Rev. Daniel Merriman, D. D., of the Central Congregational Church, Worcester. Mr. Bigelow never lived in Lancaster or Clinton for any long consecutive period. Before the Clinton House was built he used to spend several months at a time when business called him here, with his brother and mother at what is now known as the Peabody homestead on Main Street. Later, he stopped several seasons

at the Clinton House. He had a house in Boston on Commonwealth Avenue; this was built and arranged according to his own plans, and combined convenience and luxury. About ten years before his death, he bought an estate at North Conway, N. H., to which he gave the name of Stonehurst. This estate was beautifully located, for it had a charming view of the valley of the Saco in the foreground, while beyond, in the near distance, lay Mount Washington, in all its sublime majesty. He found much enjoyment in the construction of his barn and farm buildings, according to his own original plans, but took the greatest delight in his complete system of irrigation, whereby the waters of the Saco were raised to the estate by the power furnished by their own descent, through a mechanical contrivance of his own. Soon after his house had been built with great labor and expense, it was destroyed by fire in his absence, and had to be rebuilt. Here he was accustomed to entertain his friends in that hospitable fashion of his which made every one feel so perfectly at home.

Our picture would not be complete without stealing one glance into the privacy of his domestic life. We learn that he was "a most devoted husband and father," that the entrance of the children "into the room where he was at work, was always greeted with a smile, although it was evident from the expression of his face that he was not intellectually conscious of their presence, and that the recognition came purely from the sensibilities, for he did not remember afterwards that they had been there." These smiles were called "heat lightning smiles." He was a most indulgent parent, and never refused anything to his children which could be given to them.

In religion, Mr. Bigelow was a Congregationalist, although he was far from being an ardent sectarian. He was "one of the forty original members of the Orthodox Congregational Society in Lancaster, which was organized in 1839. He afterwards attended the Central Church in Boston.

He visited Clinton November 26, 1879, to look after his affairs in the mills here, as it was his custom to do at frequent intervals. On the 6th of December, he was at the office of the Carpet Company, of which he was president, in Boston. He met there C. F. Fairbanks, the treasurer, and C. H. Waters, agent of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company. A little later, while talking in his office with Mr. Fay of the Lowell Carpet Company, at 11.30 o'clock, raising his hand to his face he said, "I think I am becoming paralyzed." Consciousness was soon lost, and he died at his home at about six in the evening. Funeral services were held in Boston, and then the remains were brought to Clinton and buried here. The Carpet and Wire Cloth Mills were closed for the day. Business in the stores was suspended during burial rites, and a large concourse of citizens went in procession to the grave. Thus the mortal remains of E. B. Bigelow were consigned to their final resting place in the midst of the town which, in its most vital part—the mills—is but the material expression of his genius, which still lives and acts in its throbbing looms.





HORATIO NELSON BIGELOW.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BIGELOW CARPET COMPANY AND LATER LIFE OF H. N. BIGELOW.

IN 1849, the Bigelow brothers took possession of the building on the present site of the Bigelow Carpet Mills, which had been constructed by H. N. Bigelow in 1847 for a stock company, and had previously been used for minor industries, subsidiary to the work of the great corporations. In this building, the manufacturing of Brussels carpets began in the autumn of 1849. In 1850, Henry P. Fairbanks became a partner of the Bigelows. The old building was raised and a lower story of brick was constructed beneath. The mill, when completed, was two stories in height with an attic. It was two hundred feet long and forty-two wide. The machinery was run by an engine of thirty horse power. In this year, the real estate was assessed at eighteen thousand two hundred dollars; the personal property at twelve thousand five hundred dollars. In the summer of 1851, the twenty-eight looms produced a daily average of five hundred yards of Brussels carpet. About fifty males and fifty females were employed in this manufacture. Only the dyeing, weaving and finishing were done in this building. The spinning and other preliminary processes were carried on elsewhere. A royalty of one cent per yard was paid to the Clinton Company in consideration of its rights in the patents. It was in this little mill that the inventions bearing on the manufacture of Brussels carpeting were "naturalized," and E. B. Bigelow has given the credit to his brother for their

great success in this undertaking. To produce this marvellous result H. N. Bigelow gave to this new industry his undivided attention for several years. In 1852, an addition fifty feet in length was made to the eastern end of the building.

February 14, 1854, Henry P. Fairbanks died. He was a son of Stephen Fairbanks and at that time a man of forty-five. He was not only the partner and business agent of the Bigelows in carpet manufacture, but he was also the business agent of the Clinton Company. He had shown his interest in the community, apart from his business relations, by giving to the Unitarian Society its building lot. At the time of his death, he was president of the common council of Charlestown and chairman of the Whig county committee for Middlesex. He was considered one of the most substantial business men of Boston. We are told: "He was a manly man, honoring his name and kind by an independent yet ever courteous bearing; stooping to no intrigue and abhorring all meanness and subterfuge."

The Bigelow Carpet Company was incorporated March 16, 1854,* with the privilege of issuing capital stock to the

*"AN ACT TO INCORPORATE THE BIGELOW CARPET COMPANY."

"Be it enacted, as follows:

"SECTION 1. Horatio N. Bigelow, Erastus B. Bigelow and Stephen Fairbanks, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation by the name of the Bigelow Carpet Company; for the purpose of manufacturing woolen, linen and woolen, and cotton and woolen fabrics, and machinery and other articles necessary or convenient to be used therefor, and in carrying on the business thereof, in the town of Clinton, in the county of Worcester: and for these purposes shall have all the powers and privileges, and be subject to all the duties, restrictions and liabilities set forth in the thirty-eighth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes.

"SECTION 2. The said corporation may hold, for the purposes aforesaid, real estate not exceeding the value of two hundred thousand dollars. They may hold not exceeding one-half the stock of the Clinton Gas Light Company, and their whole capital stock shall not exceed five hundred thousand."

amount of five hundred thousand dollars. The actual capital stock in 1854 was one hundred and sixty thousand; in 1855, two hundred thousand; in 1860, three hundred thousand; in 1861, four hundred thousand; in 1864, five hundred thousand; in 1866, eight hundred thousand; in 1875, it reached its maximum of one million and it remains the same today. The organization was effected July 6, 1854. Stephen Fairbanks was made the first president and retained the office until June 2, 1866. He was succeeded by E. B. Bigelow, who died in office in December, 1879. H. N. Bigelow was treasurer from the date of organization until April, 1861. He was followed by Charles A. Whiting, who served until November, 1874. Charles F. Fairbanks, the present incumbent, was his successor. Henry M. Simpson was the first clerk. August 1, 1858, C. L. Swan followed him and he was followed by Samuel T. Bigelow, July 12, 1861. June 24, 1868, Charles F. Fairbanks, who still holds the office, was elected. In addition to the two Bigelows and Stephen Fairbanks, the name of Henry Kellogg appears on the list of directors in 1856, and those of Charles A. Whiting, Charles L. Swan and William B. Kendall in 1864.

The new corporation immediately began to enlarge the plant. By the beginning of 1855, a new mill had been completed further to the east. This was a brick structure one hundred and forty-five feet in length by fifty-three feet in width. More attention was paid to beauty of architecture than in the previous corporation buildings in town. At this time, the company contemplated constructing four wings like this to stand two on each side of a main building two hun-

The two remaining sections state that no stock shall be issued under par, and that the act shall take effect on its passage.

By an act of the General Court approved February 6, 1866, the Bigelow Carpet Company was allowed "to increase its capital stock five hundred thousand dollars, the same to be divided into shares of one thousand dollars each, and to hold real estate * * * not to exceed three hundred and fifty thousand."

dred and forty feet by fifty, and two stories in height. On the thirteenth of January, 1855, a grand levee was held in the newly completed, but as yet unoccupied building, for the benefit of the Bigelow Library Association. The decoration of the great room with Brussels and Wilton carpeting was especially effective.

According to a report made by the assessors of the town to the Secretary of the state in June, 1855, two hundred and seventy thousand three hundred and twenty-nine pounds of wool were bought during the preceding year; two hundred and seven thousand four hundred and sixty-two yards of carpeting were manufactured, valued at two hundred thousand dollars; fifty males and one hundred females were employed.

Early in 1857, another addition was completed, and, in March, two similar levees were held in the main room of the new structure, which was sixty-six by fifty feet.

Meanwhile, the affairs of the Clinton Company had not been moving so prosperously. After the resignation of H. N. Bigelow, May 30, 1848, C. W. Blanchard, formerly the agent of the "Old Mill" of the Amoskeag Company, became agent here. Mr. Blanchard was an influential and public spirited citizen. He was chairman of the school committee for the year 1850-1, and prepared the first school report of the new town. In the same year, he wrote the report of the committee which founded the pauper establishment and that of the cemetery committee. He also acted as auditor. In 1851, on account of ill health, he could not attend to his work as agent for some months and Franklin Forbes acted as his substitute. July 3, 1852, he resigned his position and went to Chicopee. He soon moved to Holyoke. According to the assessor's list of 1850, the mill was valued at one hundred and fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-eight dollars, the machinery at sixty thousand six hundred and seventy-two dollars. In 1851, the company was employing about two hundred operatives and

manufacturing one million two hundred thousand yards of coachlace and eight hundred thousand yards of tweeds, cassimeres and pantaloon stuffs annually. H. N. Bigelow again became agent of the company August 14, 1852, at a salary of fifteen hundred dollars.

From May 7, 1849, the machine shop was no longer fully united with the Clinton Company, but it had, in a measure at least, an independent existence. A charter was obtained for the Clintonville Machine Shop, and it was proposed that the proprietors of the Clinton Company adopt it and form a separate organization. Fifteen thousand dollars were paid for the machinery and tools. The establishment of the machine shop by Palmer and Parker in 1852, led to the dissolution of this company. The old building and tenements were leased.

D. M. Ayer, who had been superintendent of the Clinton Company previous to March, 1854, resigned his position at that time and went to Maine. He was succeeded by A. S. Carleton. The report of a committee of investigation, made October 23, 1854, showed that the company had produced pantaloon stuffs during the previous five years to the amount of seven hundred and twenty thousand nine hundred and sixty-three dollars, with a net loss of thirteen thousand dollars. In the same period there had been three hundred and ninety-one thousand eight hundred and ninety-four dollars' worth of coachlace manufactured, with a nominal profit of one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and twenty-four dollars. But interest, office expenses and so on had eaten up all this and left a net deficit for the mill of eight thousand two hundred and thirty-one dollars, in addition to depreciation in the value of machinery.

As the Lancaster Mills paid a dividend from the manufacture of gingham, this business was introduced by the Clinton Company, and, in time, a large portion of the mill was devoted to it. Edwin Andrews, a native of Boylston, the son of Dr. Andrews, was the overseer of the gingham

mill of the Clinton Company for several years. He was afterwards in charge of rubber works at Easthampton and Chelsea and of cotton mills at Harrisburg, Charleston and Baltimore. He died at the latter place July 21, 1888, at the age of sixty-seven. The whole of the coachlace machinery and the patent rights connected therewith were transferred to William H. Horstman & Sons of Philadelphia, January 1, 1857 for thirty thousand and five hundred dollars. Eighteen days later, the machine shop and some real estate south of Union Street was sold to the Bigelow Carpet Company for thirteen thousand six hundred and fifty-five dollars. Notwithstanding these sales, the company was assessed in 1857 for one hundred and twelve thousand five hundred dollars, real estate, and eighty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, personal. September 27, 1858, E. B. Bigelow bought out all claims that the company had on the Brussels carpet looms for sixteen thousand one hundred and ninety-eight dollars and sixty-one cents. J. H. Vose followed A. S. Carleton as superintendent. The paymasters from the beginning, were A. S. Carleton, A. E. Bigelow, J. H. Vose, John G. Wright, Henry N. Bigelow, Walter M. Cameron.

The war gave the death blow to the unprofitable company, and July 10, 1862, the business was finally suspended. The great rise in the price of the goods on hand and the ready disposal of the machinery and real estate enabled the stockholders to get out of it with less serious loss than was expected. The Sawyer's Mills property and the gingham looms were sold to the Lancaster Mills for fifty-five thousand dollars, and the tools, real estate and water privilege were sold to the Bigelow Carpet Company for forty-five thousand dollars. The sale was confirmed December 11, 1863, and action was taken to dissolve the company.

The property of the Bigelow Carpet Company had grown by building and purchase so that in 1857 it was assessed for one hundred thousand dollars, real estate, and one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars, personal. The brick coal shed

three hundred feet in length was built by the three corporations combined, in 1859. H. N. Bigelow erected the building now used as a court house for his personal office in 1859. The construction of the dye house and reservoir of the Carpet Mill belongs to the year 1860. Soon after the purchase of the real estate of the Clinton Company in 1863, steps were taken for great additions. Although the work was begun in March, 1864, it was two years before it was completed. The principal building was one hundred and eighty-seven feet in length, with a width of seventy-six feet at the south part and fifty at the north. It was three stories in height. This building was used mainly for making carpet worsted and blankets. The blankets were such as are now in common use, and they were made to use up the short wool unfit for Brussels carpeting. A tower was made at the northeast corner of the mill which contained a bell weighing two thousand and seventy-six pounds and costing sixteen hundred dollars. In addition to the main building, there were: a wool sorting house, forty-two by seventy-five feet; a wool washing room, fifty-eight by forty-two feet; a blanket finishing building, seventy-five by forty-nine feet. The old spinning mill at this time was two hundred and eighty by forty-two feet, and had an engine of one hundred and twenty horse power. A new engine of one hundred and fifty horse power was obtained for the new part.

Although this work was begun under the direction of Horatio N. Bigelow, it was not completed by him. The task was too great for energies that were already exhausted by so many years of almost superhuman toil. In 1864, his brain gave way. The next year, he went to Europe in company with his physician. His mental powers were never recovered, however, and January 2, 1868, at the age of fifty-six, he died of softening of the brain, ending in paralysis.

We have already noted that H. N. Bigelow had been married four years when he came to Factory Village, and that the family first lived in the Plant house, now known as

the Parker house on Main Street. A few years later we find them living in a house built by Mr. Bigelow on High Street, now known as the Tyler house. The southern end of the Emory Harris farm had come into his possession and one lot after another was sold to the new settlers. The family lived for a short time in a corporation house on the corner of Union and Nelson Streets. After the success of the various corporations had become assured, he built the mansion on Chestnut Street in 1851-2, where he spent his last years. A daughter of the family died in 1864, just as she was entering womanhood. The two sons, Henry N. Bigelow, born October 6, 1839, and Charles B. Bigelow, born May 5, 1849, after receiving their elementary education at home and studying in our High School, spent some time at the academy at Easthampton. Each of them had the tastes and aptitudes of their father and followed in his steps. As agents of the Carpet Mill, they have developed the work their father began and various other industrial, as well as municipal and religious institutions, have thriven under their fostering care. The wife and mother, Mrs. Emily W. Bigelow, survived her husband many years. It was through her devotion to her home that the work of her husband and children was made possible. In the early days of the Congregational Society and the various organizations connected therewith, no one was more earnest or efficient than she. In her later years, she was an invalid. She died January 16, 1892.

Let us look back and see what the mechanical genius of E. B. Bigelow, coöperating with the executive talents of H. N. Bigelow, had done for the little village of three hundred inhabitants to which the brothers had come some thirty years before. The Clinton Company, originating in E. B. Bigelow's patent for weaving coachlace, after being developed in the forties, through the labors of H. N. Bigelow, into one of the largest manufacturing concerns at that time in the state, had in the sixties been absorbed into the still larger corporations which owed their establishment to



RESIDENCE OF HORATIO NELSON HIGGINS

the same men ; the Quilt Mill, founded on the basis of the counterpane patent, still retained somewhat of the prosperity it had had twenty years before, when under the management of the Bigelows ; the Lancaster Mills, operating E. B. Bigelow's looms for weaving plaids, under a worthy successor to H. N. Bigelow, who had organized the plant, had become one of the strongest corporations in the country ; the Bigelow Carpet Company, to which H. N. Bigelow had given the best energies of the last eighteen years of his life, had grown to vast dimensions ; the Clinton Wire Cloth Company, the last creation with which the Bigelows had blessed our town, was fast becoming the worthy companion of our earlier industries ; the machine shop, the foundry, the loom harness business, the gas works, all growing out of the enterprise of the same leaders, added their mite to the great total ; meanwhile, the town, owing its existence to the corporations, had reached such fair proportions that it had few rivals among the manufacturing towns of the world.

The influence of H. N. Bigelow for good upon the community was not confined to the mills. Although he acted as a director of the City Bank of Worcester, afterwards the City National Bank, from 1855, and as director of the Worcester Manufacturing Mutual Insurance Company from 1857, and did his part as a citizen of the state and nation, yet this community was the center of all his labors and interests. He was far more directly associated with the life of the town than his brother. He served for six years on the school committee ; he was the representative in the General Court during the first two years after the incorporation of the town ; he gave the town the land for its common and fixed the conditions under which it grew into its present beauty ; the whole system of streets in the business and residential center was laid out under his supervision ; he was a most earnest supporter of the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute and the Bigelow Library Association ; the post-office was established through his agency and for the first years, it was under his charge ;

many of our best citizens located here at his suggestion; he was the president of the Clinton Savings Bank from its organization to his death: he was a director and vice president of the First National Bank of Clinton from the time it was incorporated to 1868: he was the chief agent in the establishment of the Clinton House, our first hotel worthy of the name: it was largely through his efforts that the Worcester and Nashua Railroad, of which he became a director, passed through the town: he presented a building lot to the Baptist Society and offered one to the Methodists, while he gave without stint of his energies and his means to the Congregational Society to which he belonged, finding time amidst all his other cares to act on building committees and serve for years as superintendent of the Sunday school. There was no department of life in the community in which his influence was not felt for good, and, during the formative period of the town, he was the acknowledged leader in every enterprise for its advancement. It is needless to attempt to make any statement concerning his ability, his untiring industry, his noble character, for the mills and the town are a visible proof that he possessed them all in the highest degree.

Although we have justly given to the Bigelows full credit for founding the leading industries of Clinton, yet they had many co-workers, who ably seconded their efforts. Like all great organizers, they had the faculty of choosing suitable agents for executing that which they planned. Having made this choice, they had the further power of securing from each man the most efficient labor of which he was capable. Our history would be incomplete without some account of these co-workers. Many of them in later times conducted independent enterprises and must therefore be considered elsewhere. Foremost among these was J. B. Parker, who not only gave material expression to the ideas of E. B. Bigelow, but also furnished many valuable sugges-

tions of his own. Under him in the machine shop, as we have already noted, there were many young men such as A. C. Dakin, D. B. Ingalls and John J. Boynton, who afterwards became prominent citizens. In the office work, and in the management of the mills, men like A. S. Carleton and C. L. Swan, by their integrity, their painstaking accuracy, their clearness of statement and general business ability, did much to make financial success possible. All these and many others, scattered through the manufacturing departments, must receive attention elsewhere. Then there are many of their assistants who have been closely identified with the history of Lancaster Mills, who must be grouped under the agency of Franklin Forbes. Leaving all these aside, there are still a larger number who deserve extended notice, than our limits will allow us to consider.

At the Carpet Mill, C. S. Patten was the first bookkeeper. He was a native of Maine, but came here from Hopedale. He was in the Lancaster Mills office before he went to the Carpet Mill. He was town clerk and also clerk of the Unitarian Society. He left Clinton before 1855. George Delano also worked in the office for a short time. He went to New Bedford. Henry M. Simpson, the clerk of the corporation, and private secretary of H. N. Bigelow, had a desk here from 1854 to 1858. Henry Kellogg, a director of the company, was for a time a "subordinate manager." He built the house now occupied by A. A. Burditt.

William T. Merrifield, who took the contract for building the mills and tenement houses of the Lancaster Mills Corporation, was born April 10, 1807. It is said that this contract was larger than any he had before taken. Mr. Merrifield resided in Worcester, and on the day when he was to meet the directors of the corporation to consider the contract for building, drove to Clintonville through a blinding snow-storm and almost impassible drifts to meet his engagement. The directors had not expected him in such a storm, and were strongly influenced by the force of character he

displayed in overcoming such obstacles to conclude their bargain with him. The price received for all his contracts here was over three hundred thousand dollars, and he spent several years in completing them. During a part of the time he was employed here, he drove back and forth between Clintonville and Worcester. He occupied the Parker house for a short time. He owned a large tract of woodland in Princeton and brought his building materials from thence, using over fifty teams for the purpose.

After finishing his work here in 1848, he constructed the Merrifield buildings in Worcester, and thus became one of the largest real estate owners of that city. He was extensively engaged in cattle breeding, and was chiefly instrumental in importing and breeding Jerseys. He served in both branches of the Worcester city government and in the legislature. He was president of the Worcester Horticultural Society, of the Worcester Agricultural Society, and of the Worcester County Mechanics Association, and held numerous other positions of trust and honor. His family mansion with its extensive grounds was among the finest in the city. He died December 27, 1895. Three children survived him.

The brick work of these mills as well as that of the Clinton Company's and Bigelow Carpet Company's mills was done by Ezra Sawyer and his brother, Luke. Their brick kiln was near Mine Swamp Brook. These brothers had extensive contracts outside of Clinton, among which was one for the state asylum at Utica, N. Y. Ezra Sawyer was for years a leading citizen of this community, and will be noticed elsewhere.

Horace, Theodore and Milton Jewett were all sons of Benjamin Jewett of Bolton. The father was a carpenter. He moved to Sterling about 1824. All the sons received the training of the district schools and learned their father's trade. Horace, who was some eleven years older than Theodore, came to Factory Village soon after the Bigelows, and worked for them as a wood machinist. He had a house on

Mechanic Street. His wife inherited from her mother, Mrs. Churchill, the brick house, known as Jewett's Block, at the corner of Church and School Streets. Here, Mr. Jewett passed the better part of his life. Theodore Jewett, who was born July 26, 1820, married Esther L. Eaton, a sister of William Eaton, October 4, 1843. They had one son and two daughters. He came to Clintonville in the year of his marriage, to work as a wood machinist. He was in the employ of the Clinton Company until 1863, and then became a pattern maker for the Bigelow Carpet Company. He continued in their service until 1884. His family has always attended the Congregational Church. We shall have occasion to speak of his brother, Milton Jewett, in connection with the gas works.

Horace Whitney and Robert S. Freeman were among the early workers in the machine shop. After a while, they left Clintonville and bought a farm on the edge of Sterling. Freeman sold out his share of the farm to Whitney and returned to this section. He owned a house on the southwest corner of Prospect and Walnut Streets. David Smith was another of these early workers. He helped make the looms of the Lancaster Mills, and when the looms were set up had charge of the weaving room for a short time. He afterwards went to Hampton, N. H., where he became a wheelwright.

It would be impossible even to enumerate all the overseers of the various mills, but there are some whom from prominence and length of service should receive brief mention. William Eaton worked in Shirley with H. N. Bigelow and followed him to Clintonville. After working for the Clinton Company for some years, he became the overseer of a weaving room at the Carpet Mill. He held this position for fifteen years, resigning in 1865. He afterwards lived in South Lancaster and then in Worcester, where he died January 3, 1881, at the age of sixty-six years.

Stillman Houghton was born in Harvard. He came to Clintonville from Shirley in 1839. He worked at the Coun-

terpane and Coachlace Mills and was an overseer of the weave room under William Eaton, his brother-in-law. He went to Philadelphia when the coachlace looms were sold. He afterwards returned here and was an overseer in the Wire Mill. Later, he went into business in Worcester. He died April 26, 1889.

John P. Buzzell was a native of Brome, Canada. He was born August 1, 1828. He spent his youth on his father's farm in Canada. He attended the town schools. While still a youth he went to Lowell to work in the mills. He married Maria Morton of Lowell. He came to Clinton in 1850 to work as a second-hand for Stillman Houghton at the Coachlace Mill. In 1855, he went to Lewiston, Maine. He returned two years later to become overseer in a weaving room at the Carpet Mill. His first wife having died, he married Mary A. Freeman in 1862. He had two daughters by this marriage. He made valuable improvements in the Bigelow Carpet Loom, and in time became superintendent of the Carpet Mill. He died May 29, 1881.

Allan Carswell, a Scotchman, was for many years from the time that the mills began, in charge of the winding room. John Neil, also Scotch, was the first designer. Freeman M. Gordon was for thirty-six years the engineer. He resigned in 1887. Henry Eddy, who was the first overseer of the cloth room, after some years moved to the West, where he became a prominent hotel keeper. Frank P. Holder, who followed John J. Boynton as overseer of the old weaving room, was a young man of remarkable ability. He afterwards went to Yonkers, N. Y., and is now agent of the large carpet mill there. John G. Heighway, a native of Kidderminster, England, came to America in 1844, to Clinton in 1850. He was in the employ of the Bigelow Carpet Company for thirty-three years as a repairer of looms. He was a deacon in the Baptist Church and a member of the school committee of the town. He died February 21, 1884.

Ebenezer W. Howe was born in Holden in 1817. He



THE BIGELOW CARPET MILLS.

came to Clinton in 1844. He was overseer of the spinning room of Lancaster Quilt Mill. Later, he was a baker in the brick building now owned by Dr. P. T. O'Brien. He was the "leading musician in town," and for some years chorister at the Congregational Church. He went to Worcester. He died September 9, 1885.

Caleb Sawyer was born in Boylston, March 21, 1810. He had charge of the spinning room of the old Quilt Mill in its early days. Later, he was in control of the blanket weaving department of the Bigelow Carpet Company and still later was over the fence department at the Wire Cloth Mill. He was a deacon of the Congregational Church.

Peter Sawyer, a grandson of Moses Sawyer and a son of Peter Sawyer, was born in 1811. He worked as a carpenter for the mills for some years, and afterward he worked independently. He died April 22, 1885.

Charles F. Greene, a son of Levi Greene, born in Lancaster, was the overseer of wood repairs at the Carpet Mills. He worked at the mills from the beginning until his death, March 29, 1871. He was at the time of his death the Worshipful Master of Trinity Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons.

John T. Wright, a native of Paisley, Scotland, came to America and to Clinton in 1850. He worked at the Lancaster Mills for a short time, but spent most of his life here in the employ of the Carpet Company, as a loom repairer. He died April 24, 1885. His son, Daniel, became agent of the Appleton Mills of Lowell. James Wright, a brother of John T., was overseer of the new weaving room at the Carpet Mill. Both of these brothers were Baptists. Another John Wright was a dyer for the Clinton Company, and later in charge of the bleachery at the Quilt Mill. He died at Jamaica Plain, October 19, 1873, at the age of seventy-one.

Samuel Osgood was a native of Milford, N. H. He came to Clintonville before 1845. He was for many years in the employ of the Clinton Company as a machinist. He died April 6, 1874. Edward C. Osgood is his son.

Jonas Hunt was born in Boylston, Mass., April 29, 1810. He passed his childhood on his father's farm. He learned the trade of a machinist and worked in West Boylston and Providence. He married Eliza Parker in October, 1840. They had one son and three daughters. He came to Clintonville in 1842. He worked in the old machine shop of the Clinton Company. He helped to build the first looms for the Bigelow Carpet Company and was in its employ for many years. In 1847, he built a house, now 92 Main Street, where he lived until his death, August 25, 1892. He was an original member of the Congregational Church.

William T. Freeman was born in Provincetown, Mass. He was educated in the schools of Worcester, where he passed his childhood. He learned the trade of his father, that of a carpenter. He was drawn to Clintonville in 1847 by the abundance of work offered to carpenters. For twenty-eight years he was in the employ of the Carpet Corporation. He has also had the oversight of many pieces of work in various places, where special skill was required. He married Martha A. Hastings in July, 1849. After her death, he married Ellen E. Stone in March, 1858. The family have been earnest workers in the Unitarian Society. We shall have occasion hereafter to notice his work as a soldier.

Peter Stevenson was born at Bannockburn, Scotland, July 8, 1821. His father was a miner. He passed his childhood in his native country. He learned the trade of a dyer, and having come to America was employed at Troy, N. Y. He married Christine Elliot, June 5, 1846. They had ten children, six of whom are living. He came to Clinton, September, 1852, and became the overseer of the dyeing department of the Bigelow Carpet Company. Several of his sons have served the same company. He owns the estate on Pleasant Street which he now occupies. He is a Congregationalist.

CHAPTER XVI.

SCHOOLS IN DISTRICT NO. 10.

1838-1850.

It will be remembered that the School District No. 10 of Lancaster, covering most of the territory now the more thickly settled part of Clinton, began building its first known school-house on what is now the south corner of Main and Sterling Streets, in 1800. In 1824, a larger house was built to accommodate the increased population, near the spot where Parson's blacksmith shop now stands. This building was still in use in 1838, and was considered a remarkably fine school-house for its day. Many of our older citizens recall this low brick structure on the eastern slope of the grove-covered hill and, as they read these lines, may imagine themselves again waiting as scholars at the door upon the north of the house, or seated on their high benches with their "well-hacked writing desks" before them, longing to be out under the trees which came closely up to the western windows.

A few are still living who, as citizens, attended the meetings of the district, and took part in the discussions there. It is evident from the reports of these meetings, that citizens of those days understood clearly the business they had in hand and were capable of attending to it with great directness and dispatch.*

*The following record, unaltered in spelling and punctuation, is a fair sample of those kept by the successive clerks:—

Jan 1, 1838, the inhabitants of school district No. 10 in Lancaster, held their annual meeting and voted as follows;

The following is a list of those who served as "prudential agents" from 1838 to 1847:

Williams Green, January 1, 1838, to April 21, 1838; James Stone, withdrawal of Williams Green, to January 7, 1839; William Burditt, January 8, 1839, to September 7, 1840; Williams Green, September 7, 1840, to January 3, 1842; James Pitts, January 3, 1842, to January 2, 1843; Levi Greene, January 2, 1843, to January 1, 1844; Haskell McCollum, January 1, 1844, to January 6, 1845; Joseph B. Parker, January 6, 1845, to January 4, 1847; Laban Bennett, January 4, 1847, to union with District No. 11, August 10, 1847.

The following names, in addition to those of the prudential agents, occur prominently in the records from 1838 to 1847. They are given in the order of their appearance on the records: Jonas B. White, H. N. Bigelow, Henry Lewis, John Burditt, Nathaniel Rice, Lorenzo Whittemore, Samuel Dorrisson, Joseph Rice, Jr., Nathan Burditt, John Burditt, Jr., William Taylor, Eben Pratt, Horace Jewett, H. W. Pitts, John Cunningham, E. K. Gibbs, Levi Houghton, J. P. Houghton, A. S. Carleton, Ezra Sawyer, C. G. Stevens, Alfred Knight, R. W. Holbrook, J. D. Otterson and G. H. Kendall.

1st Chose James Stone Moderator.

2d " Jonas B. White Clerck.

3 " Williams Green Agent.

4th Voted to have three months winter school.

5 " to have six months summer school if there be money enough.

6 " to have winter school begin 1st monday Dec.

7 " " summer " " 3d " in April.

8 " " a vacation of two weeks when the school is half done.

9 Voted to buy five cords of hard wood fitted for the stove and put into the school house before the first of Sept.—what is necessary for this winter's use to be delivered and fitted for the stove immediately. Nathan Burditt Jr. has engaged to furnish the wood at \$3.65 per cord.

10 Voted to dissolve this meeting.

JONAS B. WHITE, Clerck.

In 1839, the crowded condition of the winter school forced the district to vote compliance with the law of the state requiring each school having over fifty scholars to have an assistant.* It was also voted during this year that the school-house might be used, under certain restrictions, for any meetings for moral, religious and intellectual improvement. In October, 1842, it was voted to enlarge and repair the school-house, and that the money should be raised by subscription. It was also voted to dispense with the services of an assistant during the ensuing winter term. In 1844, a new school-house for the use of the youngest scholars, was erected a little north of the old one at the cost of two hundred and twenty-five dollars and fifteen cents. The library provided for the district at an expense of thirty dollars by the town and state, received considerable attention during this year. Many of the books then obtained are still kept at the High School building. A. S. Carleton was the first librarian.

The school committee's report of Lancaster, 1842-1843, the first published, was written by Rev. E. H. Sears. Commenting on school affairs in District No. 10, it states: that the school of G. W. Burdett "consisted of eighty-eight differ-

* The teachers from 1839 to 1847 are as follows:—

Asa Wellington, 1839 and 1840, (Salome Pratt, assistant), eight weeks; Salome Pratt, summer of 1840, twenty-three weeks; Nathan Tirrell, 1840 and 1841, (Salome Pratt, assistant), about twelve weeks; H. Stratton, summer of 1841, twenty weeks; George W. Pierce, 1841 and 1842, twelve weeks; Mary Ann Burditt, summer of 1842, twenty weeks; George W. Burdett, 1842 and 1843, (Nancy Bacon, assistant, three weeks), about sixteen weeks; Nancy Bacon, summer of 1843, sixteen weeks; George W. Burdett, 1843 and 1844, twelve weeks; Emily M. Faulkner and Lydia Farnsworth, summer of 1844, ten weeks each; John Low, Jr., 1844 and 1845, twelve weeks; Caroline M. Whitney, 1845 and 1846, primary school, two terms, eight weeks each; Sabra Tolman, 1845 and 1846, higher school, two terms, summer and winter; Harriet Whitcomb, 1846 and 1847, primary school; Lucy D. Lunt, 1846, higher school, summer term; George W. Warren, 1846 and 1847; higher school, winter term.

ent scholars, many of them small;" that, in consequence of these numbers and the varying ages of the pupils, the teacher "had a severe labor,—which was faithfully performed." An old register for the winter of 1843 and 1844, preserved by Dr. Burdett, enables us to look more closely into the nature of the school. The whole number of names of scholars entered, is ninety-five, but a considerable part of them attended only a short time. The average age of these scholars was about ten years. The oldest was nineteen, the youngest three. There were six only four years of age, eight more only five. The attendance was necessarily very irregular as so many of the children were so young and lived at such a distance from the school, to which they were obliged to walk over roads which were imperfectly cared for according to modern standards. The average attendance was fifty-nine and five tenths. Half of these scholars brought their dinners, and after hastily devouring the contents of their pails, they spent the hour coasting down the hill through the pasture, from where Walnut Street now runs, to the lower factory pond. If the skating was good, this occupied their attention. If the weather was bad, they stayed in the school-house, and jolly times they had of it. Of course, the school was ungraded, and there was the greatest possible diversity of attainment, so that the number of classes was legion, and the time of recitation for each necessarily short. Fortunately the variety of subjects taught was small. Eighty-two studied reading and spelling; sixty-four, arithmetic; thirty-five, grammar; twenty-nine, geography; twenty-seven, writing; eleven, natural philosophy; three, book-keeping. The children of the old families, the Sawyers, Rices, Lows, Burditts, Harrises, Stones, Dorrisons, Pratts, and Lewises, with the Greenes, Houghtons and Jewetts, made up the greater part of the scholars. Among those who have since been prominent in the life of the community, we notice the names of A. A. Burditt, C. C. Stone, James N. Johnson, Emory Harris, Albion Gibbs, E. N. Rice, Augustus Lowe, and C. F. Greene.

Our Clinton High School was "a plant of slow growth," it had its roots in a small private school which was kept in a building erected for the purpose by Horatio N. Bigelow. This building was situated on Walnut Street, southwest of its corner with Church Street. It was a little wooden structure, one story high. It was afterwards moved to where No. 4 now stands, thence to High Street, where it was raised and another story, and used for business purposes. It is the building now next south of the Clinton House Block. Mr. Bigelow started the school in order that his own children and those of other prominent families in the village might continue their studies under favorable influences. It was placed in charge of trustees, among whom were Rev. Charles Packard, Dr. G. M. Morse, Rev. J. M. R. Eaton, and Wm. T. Merrifield. This was in 1846. The school was first taught by Miss Adolphia Rugg. It naturally drew its pupils in a large measure from the schools of the neighboring districts, but this was an advantage, as these were overcrowded, and of course, the establishment of a High School tended to raise the standard of education.

In 1847, an arrangement was made whereby District No. 11 was united with District No. 10. At a meeting of the legal voters of this new District No. 10, held August 10, 1847, a set of rules and regulations was adopted; these provided that a prudential committee to consist of three persons, and a board of overseers of not less than seven members, should be chosen to carry into effect the school system which had been agreed upon. The prudential committee was to select and hire instructors, see that the school-houses were kept in repair, and have general supervision of financial matters. The board of overseers was to make all necessary rules for the government of the schools, determine the course of instruction and the grading of the scholars. The scholars of the district were divided into three grades, called the First, Second, and Third. It is a noteworthy fact that graded schools were at that time unknown in the state except in a few of the larger cities.

To accommodate the rapidly increasing number of scholars, the "Brick House" on Main Street was repaired and altered. The primary school house was moved to the north part of the district, and a new school-house was built on "Harris Hill" (Berlin Road), and another near Lancaster Mills (Oak Street). In order to prepare these accommodations, the district was assessed a tax of five hundred dollars, and secured a loan of thirty-five hundred.

The course of studies seems not to have been fully settled upon until the following year. In the report of 1848 and 1849, the following books are assigned for study in the respective grades:

Primary School—Leavitt's First and Second Readers, North American Spelling-Book, Colburn's Mental Arithmetic, Emerson's First Part, Smith's Introduction.

Second School—Leavitt's Third Reader, North American Spelling-Book, Greenleaf's Introduction, Colburn's Mental, Morse's Geography, Wells' Grammar.

Third, or High School—American School Reader, Greenleaf's National Arithmetic, Colburn's Mental, Morse's Geography, Wells' Grammar, Algebra, Geometry, Greek, Latin, French.

There was considerable difficulty in getting the scholars thoroughly graded, but the result in the end was so satisfactory that, while there had at first been in the High School thirty classes or recitations for thirty-six pupils, there were in 1849, but thirteen classes for forty-three pupils.

The Board of Overseers selected George Norman Bigelow to take charge of the Third School. During the five years which Mr. Bigelow taught in the village, he exerted a most important influence on the educational history of the community. He was born in Paxton in this county January 14, 1823. He was the son of Silas and Sophia Bigelow and was only distantly related to the family of H. N. and E. B. Bigelow. At an early age, he was left an orphan and was placed in the charge of an uncle in Holden. Here, he worked on

the farm and attended the district school in the winter season until his eighteenth year. After leaving Holden, he first attended the school taught by Josiah Bride in Berlin. He next entered the academy at Southbridge, then under the charge of A. P. Stone, late superintendent of schools in Springfield. Subsequently he fitted for college at the Manual Labor High School in Worcester, now the Worcester Academy. Nelson Wheeler was the principal. He never entered college on account of the lack of means, but devoted himself to teaching.

He came to Clintonville in 1847 through the influence of a friend residing here. An arrangement was made with the committee whereby he was to be employed to teach the Third, or High School, of the district during the winter term, and during the remainder of the year, was to have the use of the school-house on the corner of Walnut and Church Streets, free of charge, for a private school. He began the school in May and during the first term received such slight encouragement that he found by actual reckoning at the end of the first month that, under existing conditions, when he had paid his board bill, his net receipts for the term of eleven weeks would amount to seventy-five cents. He was not daunted, however, and in his own opinion he never was more interested in his work or taught more faithfully. His work was so appreciated that, during the next term, the school-room was crowded and he was obliged to find a place for the overflow in the vestry of the Congregational Church. The average attendance of the school kept during the winter was forty-two and the work of Mr. Bigelow received the most hearty endorsement from the committee in charge. Mr. Bigelow's advertisements for scholars frequently appeared in the *Courant*. His rates were three dollars a term for English branches and four dollars per term for languages.

By a vote passed January 8, 1849, the building known as the Chapel, at the corner of Main and Water Streets, was leased by the district for the use of the Third School, while

the building on Walnut Street was devoted to the Second School. We learn from the report of this year that Mr. Bigelow's salary was fifty dollars per month, while that of the lady teachers in the lower schools was eighteen dollars per month. At a town meeting held April 3, 1848, the matter of establishing two high schools, one for Clintonville and one for the central village, was discussed, but no action was taken, on account of the opposition of those living in the outlying districts. But on April 2, 1849, it was voted to establish two high schools. At a meeting held June 11th, the location of these schools was warmly discussed, and it was voted by a strong majority, that one of them should be located in Clintonville, and by a majority of only four, that another should be located at the center of the town.

In his "Reminiscences of School Days" delivered before the Alumni of the Clinton High School, June 29, 1883, Mr. Bigelow related many incidents which occurred while he was the teacher in charge. Through these, we may catch a glimpse of the inner life of the school. During one of the winter terms, when several tall young men were attending, who, although their early education had been somewhat neglected, were tolerably well grounded in their respective denominational views, the lesson touched upon our ministers abroad. The question was "What kind of a minister was Franklin?" The text-book answer was "A minister at a foreign court, or a minister plenipotentiary." The young man, after deliberating a moment, looked up to the ceiling and replied, "I am not quite sure, but I think he was a Baptist."

It was customary to have compositions and declamations on alternate weeks. As is usual, some of the pupils had a great aversion to declaiming before visitors. One day, during the period which was given to this exercise, some strangers entered the room. Now, if any one had a reasonable excuse and presented it in season, he might be released from speaking. Accordingly, the teacher was somewhat surprised

when one young man responded, "Not prepared," when called upon to declaim. He seemed to have no suitable excuse, and when asked to repeat the piece he had declaimed a few weeks previously, he said that he had forgotten too much of it. Of course this was quite probable. When questioned further he said that he would be willing to speak if he could remember anything. Then the teacher told him that, if he would recite the alphabet, he would not require anything more of him. The young man hesitated, but finally decided that it was best to comply, and performed his part in a very dignified manner.

Mr. Bigelow's management of the school was characterized by amiability, united with firmness; his teaching, by his fidelity to his work, his thoroughness, and the ease with which he communicated knowledge. Many of our prominent citizens of to-day recall with a deep feeling of gratitude the influence he exerted upon them.

On resigning his position in Clinton in the summer of 1853, he went to Europe, where he studied two years at the University of Berlin and in Paris. He was pre-eminently successful in mastering the languages. In Greece, he traveled in company with his friend, Albert Harkness. On his return to America, he received the degree of Master of Arts from Brown University. In 1855, he became principal of the State Normal School at Framingham, where he remained eleven years. He then taught two years in Newburyport. He founded the Athenaeum Seminary, for young ladies, in Brooklyn, N. Y., in 1868. Here, he remained until his death, a period of nineteen years. He was twice married, to Frances Louise Babcock of Thetfort, Vt., November 25, 1856, and to Miss Fanny Whitcomb of Keene, N. H., December 6, 1866. He died on the 28th of August, 1887, at the age of sixty-four.

In the four schools of the two lower grades, we find the following teachers in 1847 and 1848: Dorcas E. Farnsworth, Sophia B. Green, Caroline S. Burdett, Frances R. Hoadley, Mary A. Fisher, Mary A. Willard, Mary A. Tolman and Har-

siderable local irritation. Before 1838, the road from the "Old Common" to Boylston, the roads which are now Main and Water Streets, "the winding cart path" called Rigby Road, and the road to Boylston by the way of Deer's Horns had been the main public highways lying in the territory which is now Clinton. In 1838, the road had been built from what is now the Worsted Mill of the Bigelow Carpet Company to Pitts Mills, and, in 1844 and 1845, the location of this road had been altered after some discussion in town meeting, to the present course of Union, Mechanic, and Chestnut Streets. The bridge at the dam had been begun at the same time, by the town working in coöperation with the Lancaster Mills, but there had been none of that generous spirit shown by the town, which had characterized its dealings, when grants were made to John Prescott for establishing his corn and saw mills. The corporations were forced to do many things with private capital that might justly be expected from the town, or be at the expense of waiting for its slow movements. The articles to build a road from Lancaster Mills to Harris Mills, repeatedly appeared in the warrants for town meetings, and were either passed over, indefinitely postponed, or voted upon favorably and then reconsidered, and even after the road had been finally voted on, the 7th of September, 1848, there was a lawsuit between the town and Sidney Harris upon the question of damages. The body of streets in what is now the center of Clinton, having been built by the citizens of the district, at their own expense, according to plans made by John C. Hoadley, at the instigation of H. N. Bigelow, were accepted July 29, 1848. This vote covered the acceptance of Prospect, Church, Union, Nelson, School, High, Walnut and Chestnut Streets. The road from Horace Jewett's to Bolton was voted December 23, 1844. That from Harris Bridge to Berlin and Boylston was accepted April 7, 1845. June 27, 1845, it was voted to lay out a road by Sandy Pond to Boylston. November 8, 1847, it was voted to build a road from the East Village to

CHAPTER XVII.

THE INCORPORATION OF CLINTON.

FOR half a century, District No. 10 had acted in school matters as a political unit, but, before the coming of the Bigelows, the village had been so slow in its development, and withal so poor and small, that no one among its citizens even anticipated that it would ever seek entire independence as a town. With the starting of the new industries, however, such a flood of young life was poured into the community, that higher ambitions were awakened and old restraints became irksome. Although there was not much bitterness of feeling between Clintonville and the rest of the town, yet there was that constant irritation that always accompanies enforced union in matters of appropriations, between a rapidly developing village and one that is comparatively stationary. The people of Clintonville wanted improvements, of which the conservative farmers of other parts of the town did not realize the need, and for which they were therefore slow in appropriating money.

We have seen how, in school affairs, District No. 10 having absorbed District No. 11, established a graded system of schools and had an organization differing from that of the other districts. We have seen, too, how, from 1846, the citizens supported a "High School" by private tuition during the greater portion of the year, until, in 1849, two high schools were voted by the town, after an exciting contest.

In the matter of building roads, although there was no fierce antagonism between the sections, yet there was con-

siderable local irritation. Before 1838, the road from the "Old Common" to Boylston, the roads which are now Main and Water Streets, "the winding cart path" called Rigby Road, and the road to Boylston by the way of Deer's Horns had been the main public highways lying in the territory which is now Clinton. In 1838, the road had been built from what is now the Worsted Mill of the Bigelow Carpet Company to Pitts Mills, and, in 1844 and 1845, the location of this road had been altered after some discussion in town meeting, to the present course of Union, Mechanic, and Chestnut Streets. The bridge at the dam had been begun at the same time, by the town working in coöperation with the Lancaster Mills, but there had been none of that generous spirit shown by the town, which had characterized its dealings, when grants were made to John Prescott for establishing his corn and saw mills. The corporations were forced to do many things with private capital that might justly be expected from the town, or be at the expense of waiting for its slow movements. The articles to build a road from Lancaster Mills to Harris Mills, repeatedly appeared in the warrants for town meetings, and were either passed over, indefinitely postponed, or voted upon favorably and then reconsidered, and even after the road had been finally voted on, the 7th of September, 1848, there was a lawsuit between the town and Sidney Harris upon the question of damages. The body of streets in what is now the center of Clinton, having been built by the citizens of the district, at their own expense, according to plans made by John C. Hoadley, at the instigation of H. N. Bigelow, were accepted July 29, 1848. This vote covered the acceptance of Prospect, Church, Union, Nelson, School, High, Walnut and Chestnut Streets. The road from Horace Jewett's to Bolton was voted December 23, 1844. That from Harris Bridge to Berlin and Boylston was accepted April 7, 1845. June 27, 1845, it was voted to lay out a road by Sandy Pond to Boylston. November 8, 1847, it was voted to build a road from the East Village to

Boylston. In the spring of 1848 there was much discussion in regard to a road from Clintonville to Sterling, to take the place of the old Rigby Road, but the people had to be satisfied for the time being with the repair of the old road. November 7, 1848, it was voted to build a road from Lancaster Mills Bridge to Boylston. With so many roads built in so short a time, it is no wonder that the people of the town should have felt that they were going too fast, and that they feared Clintonville would prove a mushroom growth, and that it might decline as rapidly as it had risen.

The old town house of Lancaster was all too small for the large numbers who were accustomed to attend town meetings, and in April, 1849, a vote was passed, especially through the influence of Clintonville, that a new one should be built. The expense of building was seven thousand and twenty-three dollars, and the debt incurred looked large to the more conservative part of the people of Lancaster.

Then there was the matter of a cemetery in Clintonville, which had been considerably agitated in the district, and in reference to which private enterprise had already taken the preliminary steps. There was also some discussion in regard to a fire company, although nothing of note had been done in this direction.

As regards town officers, we have seen that Clintonville had been fairly represented on the school committee. Sidney Harris was one of the selectmen in 1838, Nathan Burditt from 1842 to 1845, Ezra Sawyer from 1846 to 1847, Levi Greene in 1848. Ezra Sawyer had also been sent to the General Court as the Whig candidate, in 1847 and 1848. In 1849, the election turned on the antagonism of the two sections. Neither candidate having received enough votes to secure an election, it was voted, after several balloting, to send no representative from the town for that year.

Enough has been said to show the relation existing between Clintonville and the town as a whole, and it is easy to realize the feeling of impatience which a young and enthusi-

astic community must have had, when held back and thwarted in its plans by its union with a naturally conservative people.

Moreover, those who considered the question of finances, believed that Clintonville would pay to the town in taxes in the coming years far more than it would receive back in appropriations, for it had only one-fifth of the area of the town, and a compact population can support its roads and schools much more cheaply than a scattered one. Besides, it had only two out of the ten bridges, which had always cost so much for repairs for damages from spring freshets, and only a small percentage of the paupers.

At a town meeting, November 7, 1848, the subject of dividing the town so that Clintonville should form a separate township was considered and referred to a committee to report at a future meeting. This committee consisted of Elias M. Stillwell, James G. Carter, John H. Shaw, Jacob Fisher, Horatio N. Bigelow, Ezra Sawyer, Sidney Harris, Charles G. Stevens and Jotham D. Otterson.

October 29, 1849, a meeting of the citizens of No. 10 School District was held in the vestry of the Congregational Church, for the purpose of considering the subject of a division of the town. H. N. Bigelow was made chairman, and G. M. Morse secretary. C. G. Stevens gave some of the reasons why Clintonville should become a town. The vote on the question, "Shall the town be divided?" was then called for. With the exception of one, all voted in the affirmative. The following committee, C. G. Stevens, Sidney Harris, J. B. Parker, H. N. Bigelow, and Alanson Chace were chosen to do all the business in connection with the division, the terms and line of separation being left to their discretion.

At a meeting of the citizens of Lancaster, held November 12, 1849, a majority and a minority report from the committee appointed in November of the previous year, were presented; both of these reports were "laid on the table." The majority report, favored by all the Clintonville members,

C. G. Stevens, Sidney Harris, Ezra Sawyer, H. N. Bigelow and J. D. Otterson, was read by their chairman, C. G. Stevens. In as far as it contains the only official statement of the reasons for division, it is given in full in the main body of this text.

REPORT.

"After much time spent in discussion, the committee were of the opinion that the result of their deliberations should mainly depend upon the facts which they might find relating to the three questions, or propositions, to wit:

"First. How many citizens of Lancaster desire a division of the town?

"Second. What division line is desired? And

"Third. What terms of separation are proposed?

"In answer to these questions, your committee find, first, that the citizens of School District No. 10, or Clintonville,—a school district numbering within its limits more than twenty-seven hundred inhabitants, or, at least, one-third more than the whole of the remaining portion of the town; a village containing taxable property to an amount nearly one-half larger than is to be found in the rest of the town,—a district numbering in May last, sixty-nine more ratable polls than were returned from the whole remaining part of the town,—are nearly unanimous in their desire for a division.

"Second. While those who desire a division do not insist upon any particular line of separation, they prefer one which shall commence on the westerly line of the town, at a town bound between Lancaster and Sterling on the Red Stone Road and near Eliphas Ballard's, and run from thence South 75 deg. 42 min. East to the easterly line of the town, striking the Bolton line at a point two hundred eighty-nine 56-100th rods from the town bound which is a corner of Bolton, Berlin, and Lancaster.

"While your committee could not but consider this a most natural line of division, separating the town, as it does,

just at the point where the long, narrow tongue of land, which marks the southern portion of Lancaster, terminates; and from whence, proceeding northerly, the territory rapidly widens; they also believe this to be a favorable division line for other reasons.

"First; because the line itself running mostly through uncultivated and wooded lands, does not seriously injure any of the farms which it divides. Next; because it divides the town at such points as to leave to the south of it very few of the citizens save those dwelling within the limits of School District No. 10; and of those few, several desire to be associated with School District No. 10; and all are so situated that their business communication with Clintonville is more easy and natural than with Lancaster proper. And, because, while a more southerly line would sever District No. 10, and leave to the north of it citizens of Clintonville, and those whose associations must naturally be with that village; a more northerly line would not only divide farms badly, but would leave to the south of it many citizens whose business and other associations are, and must naturally be, with the old town.

"Your committee, therefore, are of the opinion that no line could be drawn from east to west across the town of Lancaster which would better favor the wishes of the citizens living in its vicinity, or would leave the portions of the town either side of it better fitted for separate townships, than the one proposed.

"In answer to the last question, your committee find that the citizens of Clintonville desire a division upon any equitable terms, and are ready, and earnestly wish to cooperate with the citizens of the old town in a submission to referees, or in any other measures that may be deemed best, to ascertain and arrange suitable terms upon which the separation shall be consummated. Your committee are of opinion that the foregoing facts and statements, when considered in connection with the local position of Clintonville, constitute

reasons fully sufficient in themselves to justify a report in favor of a division of the town; but they feel that they shall not have performed the duty assigned them to the acceptance of their fellow townsmen unless they present to the town, or at least allude in their report to the reasons or causes which move the citizens of Clintonville, and with whom in these views your committee heartily coincide, to desire a separation at any place or upon any terms.

"The committee do not propose, however, to do more than barely allude to these reasons, because, first, they have already been widely disseminated by individual discussion, and, also, because they will probably be presented to the town in another form, better and more fully than could be done in any report of any reasonable length. They are, in brief, as follows:

"Clintonville is a manufacturing village. Lancaster proper is an agricultural town, with only such branches of the mechanic arts as are ordinarily to be found in country towns.

"From this difference in occupation arise different views and feelings,—distinct, separate, individual wants, and interests entirely diverse. On this account, alone, the inhabitants of Lancaster and Clintonville have little or nothing in common. They cannot think alike, and they have no natural sympathy with and for each other. And this difference of thought and feeling and consequent interest ever has and ever must exist between agricultural and manufacturing towns. The population of Lancaster is comparatively scattered; that of Clintonville, nine-tenths of her population living within the limits of one mile square. This difference again creates different wants and separate interests, among which the regulation and management of the public schools stand conspicuous.

"Clintonville, could she, as a separate town, impose taxes upon her own citizens and property, for educational purposes, could receive and fully enjoy the benefits of a school system

believed to be the best ever devised, but which owing to the widely scattered population, would be at least of doubtful utility to the rest of the town.

"The subject of our public schools has already been productive of much contention and excited feeling among the citizens of different parts of the town, and this, your committee believe, will only cease when a separation shall have been made. The location of the public buildings, and the holding of meetings for the transaction of town business at Lancaster Center are reasons of importance which favor a division.

"Because, first, Clintonville from the density of its population is peculiarly adapted to receive benefit from public lectures, and meetings upon matters of common interest. They have no public hall, and probably never can have one until they shall be able to tax themselves and their property for its cost. The location of the Town Hall at a distance of three miles from the village, completely deprives them of the privilege of its daily use, and of all real enjoyment of it. And, because, from the nature of their occupation, attendance upon town meetings held at Lancaster Center, subjects the voters from Clintonville to an actual monied tax, in addition to the loss of time.

"Comparatively few of the voters living in Lancaster proper at a distance from the Town Hall, but have their horses and carriages or other means of conveyance, and can attend town meetings without expense, save loss of time, while voters living in Clintonville, almost to a man, must pay money for the means of getting to town meetings or must remain at home. And this monied tax, coming upon a class of our fellow citizens who must labor constantly for their bread, and whose earnings will not suffice for more than the necessities and comforts of life, is in itself a heavy burden and one only to be removed by a division of the town, or a removal of the public buildings and town meetings to Clintonville.

"There are now in School District No. 10 over three hun-

dred voters. The expense to each attendance upon a single town meeting cannot be estimated at less than twenty-five cents, and the number of town meetings, judging from the last two years, not less than six during the year, thereby showing an annual tax upon the voters of Clintonville, provided they attend the meetings, of over four hundred and fifty dollars, all which would be saved to them by a division of the town, such as they desire. But the committee will not add to the length of this report by alluding to other causes which actuate those who desire the town to be divided. And, in conclusion, they can only say that they have endeavored to give to the whole subject such careful and candid consideration as its importance, and their duty to their fellow townsmen demanded, and that they are decidedly of the opinion that for the good and permanent interests of the whole of the inhabitants of Lancaster and Clintonville, this town should be divided.

C. G. STEVENS.

EZRA SAWYER.

J. D. OTTERSON.

SIDNEY HARRIS.

H. N. BIGELOW.

"Lancaster, Nov. 12, 1849."

The "Minority Report" stated that the town of Lancaster had just built a new town house, which would be comparatively useless in case of division; that the regular number of town meetings was three; that, although Clintonville urges that it wishes to take charge of its schools, it has had as much charge of them as it would have if it were a town by itself. The interests of the two villages, although they differ in occupation, are common, as both need roads, bridges, schools, and town officers. This report complains that some on the western division line do not wish to be cut off from their old associations, and it therefore advises another division line if a separation is to take place.

There was much private discussion concerning a division

of the town. In the Courant of January, 1850, a paper by Rev. W. H. Corning was published. He stated: first, that it had never happened that a manufacturing village having the largest number of voters, was willing to remain subordinate, and if Clintonville remained united to Lancaster, the town business must, in time, come to this section; that Clintonville should have a name and a "local habitation, and not be hidden in Lancaster and unknown;" that we ought to part with the kindest of feelings, yet already there is some bitterness of feeling, and this will be apt to increase in the future; public improvements which come now from private subscriptions, could, after division, be raised by tax.

This paper was answered in the Courant of February 8, 1850. The answer declared that Lancaster had almost universally granted the privileges that Clintonville had asked of her; that the corporations and many of the richest land owners were not in favor of a division; that it was mostly urged by those who were dependent on the corporations for their employment; that the population of Clintonville was constantly changing, and in a few years there might be only a few who would desire a division.

These reports and papers will sufficiently indicate the nature of the discussions heard everywhere on the streets and in the stores. These ideas were briefly embodied in a petition to the General Court.*

* *To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled:*

The undersigned, citizens of Lancaster, in the County of Worcester, legal voters, respectfully represent that a manufacturing village called Clintonville, has recently sprung up in the south part of said town, containing already a population of nearly three thousand persons, whilst its favorable location with the amount of capital invested in manufactures, give assurance of large increase; that the inhabitants of Lancaster proper and of Clintonville have separate and distinct interests and wholly different business associations; that the distance from the center of the town renders it expensive, while their occupation makes it highly inconvenient for citizens of Clintonville to meet with the other citizens of

At a meeting of the citizens of Clintonville, held February 9th, a new line of division was submitted, discussed, and approved. This change was made because the citizens of the Deer's-Horns district preferred to remain with the old town. It left a long, narrow, strip of land between Clintonville and Sterling, in the possession of Lancaster.

The final decision of the question as to whether Lancaster should oppose the division or not came on the 15th of February, 1850. Some expected bitter opposition and an exciting discussion, but better counsel prevailed, and a committee of the citizens of the older part of the town, consisting of John G. Thurston, Jacob Fisher, Silas Thurston, Henry Lincoln and Nathaniel Wilder was appointed to decide with the Clintonville committee before mentioned, what terms of division ought to satisfy the town of Lancaster to consent not to oppose the division of the town. This committee unanimously reported in substance, as follows: That the old town of Lancaster should have all the property of the town within its limits, after the division; that Clintonville should maintain and support, forever, all paupers now supported by the town who may have gained a legal claim upon the town by reason of birth or residence within the limits of Clintonville, or who may, in like manner, hereafter make good such claim; that the inhabitants of Clintonville shall pay to the town of Lancaster the sum of ten thousand dollars, in yearly installments of one thousand dollars each, with interest thereon,—the interest to be paid semi-annually,—which sum shall be in full for their proportion of the present town debt; that the line of division be as proposed by C. G. Stevens; that the substance of the articles shall be stated in the act of incorporation. These terms of agreement were then submitted to the meeting for approval or rejection, and were

Lancaster, as they are now required to do, to hold elections and for other municipal purposes. * * *

CHAS. G. STEVENS, and others.

accepted by nearly, if not quite, a unanimous vote. A committee was then chosen to carry into effect the terms of the report. This committee consisted of Henry Wilder, Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, and John G. Thurston.

The giving of ten thousand dollars to Lancaster seemed an unnecessary piece of extravagance, but it is doubtful if Clinton could have been set off at this time if Lancaster had opposed it. The annual interest of this sum was much less than the excess of the amount of taxes collected from Clintonville over the amount laid out in that section. Henry Wilder, indeed, feeling that Lancaster had made a poor bargain, opposed the division before the legislature, but as the town had voted not to oppose the division, his opposition had little influence.

The following is the act of incorporation:—

“COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

“IN THE YEAR ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND FIFTY.

“An Act to Incorporate the Town of Clinton.

“Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:

“*Section 1.* All that part of Lancaster, in the county of Worcester, which lies southerly of the following described line, viz: Beginning at a monument on the east line of the town bound which is a corner of Bolton, Berlin and Lancaster, and running thence North 65 deg. 30 min. West 518.11 rods to a bound near the railroad bridge at Goodrich's Hill; and thence South 48 deg. 30 min. West 783 rods to a town bound on the westerly line of said town near the Elder farm, is hereby incorporated into a separate town by the name of Clinton,—and the said town of Clinton is hereby vested with all the powers, privileges, rights and immunities, and subject to all the duties and requisitions to which other towns are entitled and subjected by the Constitution and Laws of this Commonwealth.

"*Sec. 2.* The inhabitants of the town of Clinton shall be holden to pay all State, County, and Town taxes legally assessed on them before the passage of this act, and also shall be holden to pay their proportion of State and County taxes that may be assessed on them previously to the taking of the next state valuation; said proportion to be ascertained and determined by the town valuation of the town of Lancaster next preceding the passage of this act, to the treasurer or collector of the town of Lancaster; and all moneys now in the treasury of said town, or that may hereafter be received from taxes now assessed, shall be applied to the purpose for which they were raised and assessed, the same as if this act had not passed.

"*Sec. 3.* Said towns of Lancaster and Clinton shall be respectively liable for the support of all persons who now do, or shall hereafter, stand in need of relief as paupers, whose settlement was gained by, or derived from, a settlement gained or derived within their respective limits.

"*Sec. 4.* All the corporate property now owned by the town of Lancaster shall remain the property of said town; and the town Clinton shall pay to the treasurer of the said town of Lancaster the sum of ten thousand dollars by ten equal annual payments, with semi-annual interest, the first payment to be made one year after the passage of this act, which sum shall fully discharge the town of Clinton of and from all debts and charges now due and owing from said town of Lancaster, or which hereafter may be found due and owing, by reason of any contracts, engagements, judgment of court or any matter or thing whatsoever now or heretofore entered into or existing.

"*Sec. 5.* Any justice of the peace within and for the county of Worcester may issue his warrant, directed to any principal inhabitant of the town of Clinton, requiring him to notify and warn the inhabitants thereof, qualified to vote in town affairs, to meet at the time and place therein appointed, for the purpose of choosing all such town officers as towns

are by law authorized and required to choose at their annual meeting. And said warrant shall be served by publishing a copy thereof in some newspaper printed in said Clinton, and by posting up copies thereof, all attested by the person to whom the same is directed, in two public places in said town, seven days, at least, before such time of meeting. Such justice, or in his absence, such principal inhabitant shall preside, until the choice of moderator in said meeting.

"The Selectmen of Lancaster shall, before said meeting, prepare a list of voters in said town of Clinton, qualified to vote at said meeting, and shall deliver the same to the person presiding at such meeting, before the choice of moderator thereof.

"*Sec. 6.* This act shall take effect from and after its passage.

"HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, March 14, 1850.

"Passed to be enacted.

"ENSIGN H. KELLOGG, *Speaker.*

"IN SENATE, March 14, 1850.

"Passed to be enacted.

"MARSHALL P. WILDER, *President.*

"March 14, 1850.

"Approved.

"GEO. N. BRIGGS.

"SECRETARY'S OFFICE, March 14, 1850.

"I hereby certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original act.

"W. B. CALHOUN.

The boundary lines of Clinton on the east, south and southwest are the same as those of Lancaster were. These lines had been determined by acts: incorporating Bolton, June 27, 1738; annexing six square miles of Lancaster to Shrewsbury, February 18, 1781; incorporating Sterling, April 25, 1781; setting off the estate of Peter Larkin to Berlin, then part of Bolton, February 8, 1791. The latter act caused

the irregularity in the southeastern portion of the town boundary.

Thus, one hundred and ninety-seven years after the first enterprise was started within its borders, and seven years after the period of the rapid development of its industries began, Clinton became a town. The ease with which the separation was effected arose from the skillful management of those who had charge of the business, and to these gentlemen great credit is due. The citizens of both Lancaster and Clinton were satisfied with the conditions of division, and from the first, the most cordial relations existed between the two towns.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF MUNICIPAL LIFE.

THE town of Clinton at the time of its incorporation had according to the report made by the assessors a population of two thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight. The United States census, taken the same year, gives an enrollment of three thousand one hundred and eighteen. On account of the employment of so many females in the mills the number of males in town was small as compared with the population. As there were many immigrants who had not been naturalized, the number of voters was small compared with the number of males. This ratio would have been still smaller if there had been the usual proportion of children in town. The youth of so many of the inhabitants and the consequent fact that most of them had not as yet acquired homes, made the number of property holders small as compared with the number of voters. This was more than balanced as regards the rate of taxation by the fact that a large proportion of the money raised from property came from the corporations.

Not only the community as a whole, but also the individuals of which it was composed and the business interests upon which it depended, were as yet in their untried youth. It was a time of beginnings with them all. Economy in the present for the sake of a competence in the future was the motto of private life, but, at the same time, there was the spirit of enterprise and the full recognition of the fact that any false economy in laying the foundations of municipal

institutions meant a great increase of expense in the future. Therefore a far-seeing liberality prevailed. The new town had some school property, roads and bridges, with a consequent debt of fourteen thousand five hundred and twenty-five dollars. Provision for the needs of the poor, a place of burial and protection against fire were lacking and demanded immediate attention. Such other needs as a town hall, town water and sewerage were of necessity postponed to a distant future.

The first town meeting was held April 1st in the vestry of the Congregational Church. C. G. Stevens was chosen moderator, an office to which he was elected for forty-three successive annual meetings. The object of this meeting was "To choose all necessary officers for the ensuing year." A caucus had been held on the 28th of March to nominate a list of officers, but the voters broke away from the list prepared in several cases. The list of those chosen is as follows: Clerk, A. S. Carleton; Selectmen, Ezra Sawyer, Samuel Belyea and Edmund Harris; Treasurer and Collector, Sidney Harris; Assessors, Alfred Knight, Joseph B. Parker and Ira Coolidge; Overseers of the Poor, James Ingalls, Alanson Chace, Nathan Burdett; Constables, Ira Coolidge and William Fleming. April 15th, E. K. Gibbs was added to the list of constables.*

*LIST OF TOWN OFFICERS TO 1865.

Clerks.

A. S. Carleton, 1850-53.	Artemas E. Bigelow, 1854-60.
Charles S. Patten, 1853-54.	H. C. Greeley, 1860-65.

Treasurers.

Sidney Harris, 1850-51, 55-56.	Alfred Knight, 1851-55, 56-65.
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Selectmen.

Ezra Sawyer, 1850-52.	Nelson Whitcomb, 1852-53, 55-56.
Samuel Belyea, 1850-51, 56-57.	Alanson Chace, 1852-53.
Edmund Harris, 1850-51.	Jonas E. Howe, 1853-55, 58-60.
Calvin Stanley, 1851-52.	Abel Rice, 1853-56.
Gilman M. Palmer, 1851-55, 56-57.	Josiah Alexander, 1855-56.

A meeting was held April 15th, at which preliminary steps were taken to provide for the most pressing needs of the new town. A committee was appointed to prepare a set of by-laws, rules and regulations. This committee consisted of C. G. Stevens, C. W. Blanchard, H. N. Bigelow, J. T. Dame, William Stearns, Ezra Sawyer, Sidney Harris, J. B. Parker and Haskell McCollum. The report as presented by this committee was adopted by the town August 5th, and the by-laws were but slightly modified for many years.

The selectmen asked for and received an appropriation of eight thousand two hundred dollars for expenditures for the current year.† When we consider the needs of the new community, this appropriation seems small, yet at the close of the year there was a net balance in favor of the town of three hundred and seventy-one dollars and eleven cents.

Horace Faulkner, 1856-57, 58-59.
David Wallace, 1857-58.
Joshua Thissell, 1857-61.
Gilbert Greene, 1857-58, 60-61.
James F. Maynard, 1859-63.

Charles W. Worcester, 1861-64.
P. L. Morgan, 1861-63.
Elisha Brimhall, 1863-65.
A. A. Burditt, 1863-65.
B. R. Smith, 1864-65.

	Valuation.	Amount Raised by Taxation.	Rate.	Polls.	Debt.
†1850	\$1,262,803	\$9,059 33	7.	575	\$14,525 00
1851	1,184,931	16,660 88	8.	593	13,900 00
1852	1,312,460	11,307 50	8.50	577	16,900 00
1853	1,254,700	22,320 94	17.00	643	16,800 00
1854	1,558,840	11,929 90	7.	674	14,500 00
1855	1,607,991	13,428 06	7.70	712	14,500 00
1856	1,736,823	18,765 41	9.70	788	14,500 00
1857	1,766,181	16,661 39	8.80	745	14,500 00
1858	1,655,723	14,988 67	8.20	782	14,500 00
1859	1,610,051	14,886 25	8.50	781	14,500 00
1860	1,690,692	14,851 92	8.	879	14,500 00
1861	1,722,532	15,969 54	8.50	885	19,500 00
1862	1,686,242	16,868 18	9.	846	26,064 71
1863	1,715,653	20,320 19	11.	724	29,022 18
1864	1,871,000	22,115 00	11.	767	34,190 82
1865	1,860,763	27,776 68	14.	863	39,484 20

Expenses connected with the separation from Lancaster and the town debt consumed one thousand five hundred and fifty-three dollars and eighty-six cents, leaving six thousand two hundred and seventy-five dollars and three cents, of which three thousand two hundred and forty-nine dollars and seven cents went to permanent investments, and three thousand and twenty-five dollars and ninety-six cents to current expenses. A tax rate of seven dollars per thousand, or about an average of one dollar per individual for permanent investments and another for current expenses does not seem very alarming, especially, when the indebtedness was less at the end of the year than at the beginning.

The cemetery question also received consideration at this meeting of April 15th. A "Cemetery Corporation" had before existed, but little action of permanent importance had been taken. A committee of five was chosen by the town to procure a lot of land for a cemetery, after conferring with the "Cemetery Corporation." This committee was also given the power to sell the choice of lots at auction. August 5th, this committee was instructed to purchase more land if suitable terms could be obtained. After various additions had been made and some of the land had been given up to the poor farm, the cemetery contained in 1853 some over thirteen acres, which cost nine hundred and eighty-four dollars and three cents. This cemetery was called Woodlaw. The grounds were fenced in in 1853. A receiving tomb was completed in 1854. From year to year, public as well as private improvements were made in the grounds until the western hillslope was covered with verdant lots and shady walks. The Catholics have a burial ground of their own near Sandy Pond where their dead are laid.

At the town meeting of April 15, 1850, five hundred dollars were appropriated for the organization of the fire department. Before this, the mills had done something in their private capacity for self-protection. Even as far back as the time of Poignand & Plant there had been a fire com-

pany connected with their factory. There had been considerable discussion concerning a public company in Clintonville during the months preceding the separation, but nothing definite had been accomplished. So the real origin of the fire department of the town is found in this appropriation. On August 5th there was another appropriation of one thousand dollars for a fire engine. There was great enthusiasm in the organization of the fire company, which was named "Torrent Engine Company No. 1," and many of the most prominent citizens became members. Henry Butterfield was made foreman. This organization was completed September 18th. An engine house was built on the school-house lot on Church Street at a first cost of six hundred and seventy-five dollars and sixty cents. The fire engine, which was a "Hunneman," arrived on the 10th of December. The cost was one thousand and thirty dollars and seventy-six cents. Through an act of the legislature, a fire department was established in March, 1851. Franklin Forbes was made chief engineer. He wrote all reports made until 1859.

The company was not called out to any considerable fire until a year after the engine came, and then it was found that the box was half full of ice so that nothing could be done. On May 5, 1852, the company voted to dissolve. Some had enrolled their names as members of the company who were unwilling to drill. May 15th, the company was re-organized with only working members. A committee appointed to consider the question of a supply of water for fires reported May 7, 1853: "After careful investigation with the assistance of an engineer in making surveys and estimates, they find themselves unable to report to the town any plan for supply of water that seems to them practicable." In accordance with their recommendation, it was decided to purchase another engine and a hose carriage.

On June 17, 1853, a second company was organized called Cataract, No. 2, with Henry Bowman as foreman. The

engine, also bought of Hunneman & Co., came to town June 21st, and there was a great celebration in which the Cataract and Torrent Companies both participated. Franklin Forbes' first printed report appeared this year.*

It was not until 1854 and '55, that the members of the engine companies received pay for their services. B. R. Cotton was for some years the foreman of the Torrent Company, while Gilman M. Palmer was foreman of the Cataract.

July 7, 1858, the Franklin Hook and Ladder Company was formed and apparatus purchased. The old brick school-house of No. 4 was fitted up for this company. There was much rivalry between the Torrent and Cataract Companies. After the flag staff was erected on the Common, there were repeated contests as to which could throw the highest vertical stream. The companies also took part in various contests abroad. There were few serious fires from 1850 to 1865. Only five worthy of special notice are on record. In January, 1853, there was a loss of five thousand dollars at the comb shops of Sidney Harris. December 20, 1856, Alanson Chace's tenement building on Oak Street was burned, and February 17, 1857, the planing mill of Fuller & Rice near the railway station, February 5, 1858, the O'Malley house in California was destroyed and three persons burned to death. January 4, 1859, the Union building on Pleasant Street was burned. The total pecuniary loss during all these years could hardly have averaged one thousand dollars per annum. This fact was largely due to the efficiency of the department. In 1859, Samuel Belyea became

*He stated the expenses of the Fire Department as follows:

Cataract Engine House.....	\$715 34
Cataract Engine.....	725 00
600 feet Hose.....	360 00
Hose Carriage.....	50 00
Pipes, Buckets, etc.....	403 69

\$2,254 03

chief engineer, in 1861, '63 and '64, Charles Bowman, in 1862, Elisha Brimhall, in 1865, Franklin Forbes.

In this first year, 1850-51, the only other item of expense for permanent investment, except for the cemetery and fire department, was the pound. This cost about fifty-four dollars.

Preliminary steps were entered upon in regard to the purchase of an alms-house and poor farm, August 5, 1850, but no definite action was taken until the next year. C. W. Blanchard, in a report made for the committee on a pauper establishment, states: "The committee purchased the place of Sumner Thomson, near the Cemetery, consisting of a small house and barn, with about nine acres of land, for one thousand dollars. They afterwards purchased of Mr. Joseph Rice about three acres more for two hundred and fifty dollars. * * * They have erected upon this land a dwelling-house thirty-six feet by thirty feet, containing eleven rooms." The cost of the building was two thousand and seventy-three dollars and seventy cents. The pauper establishment also received some over an acre of land from the cemetery, making thirteen acres in all.

March 1, 1858, thirty-eight people were supported by the town. All but two of these were "foreigners." After the completion of the pauper establishment, the number diminished so that at the end of the year only seven remained. In August 1852, there was not a single pauper at the house. Jeremiah Barnard was the first superintendent, and he remained until 1858, when Joseph Cole took the position, staying until after 1865. Mr. Cole came from Littleton.

In the spring of 1852, H. N. Bigelow presented to the town a lot containing about four acres with the conditions: that it should always be used as a Common; that no permanent structure should ever be placed upon it; that it should be laid out according to the plans of J. C. Hoadley, and that it should be cared for and beautified at public expense. At a meeting held April 5, 1852, it was voted to accept from



THE CEMETERY FROM THE CORNER OF CHURCH AND CHRISTY STREETS.

H. N. Bigelow this gift, and to appropriate one thousand dollars for the improvement thereof according to the conditions imposed.

The workmen were soon busy in transforming the "unsightly bog-hole" into a beautiful park. The springs were utilized in filling a pond which was to serve not only for adornment but also for utility inasmuch as it was proposed to use it as a reservoir to be drawn from in case of fire. This pond was in the southeasterly portion. In an editorial in the *Courant*, May 15, 1852, Edwin Bynner, in his gushing style said: "The site is a splendid one, commanding an excellent view, and when the grounds shall have been laid out, trees planted and the whole neatly fenced, imagination will readily hear the plaudits of the youth of the twentieth century, who, as they promenade in loving couples the smooth, umbrageous walks around it, looking up admiringly through the wide spread branches of the saplings you now encircle with your hand, will hold in pleasing memory, not only the public-spirited donor, but the wise ancestors who thus timely accepted and improved the gift."

The various kinds of maples predominated among the trees set out inside the Common, but the elm, the ash, the linden and the beech also found a place. On the outside, Chestnut, Church, Walnut and Union Streets were bordered with elms alone. The regular price of labor upon the Common was ninety-two cents per day. The work was done under the superintendence of Jeremiah Barnard. It was three years before the work was finished with an average net expenditure of a little over eleven hundred dollars per year. In June, 1858, a flag-staff was raised in the northeasterly portion.

There was a constant demand made upon the taxpayers during the first years of the existence of the town for new roads. Only three of these, however, were of any great length. Of these, the Berlin Road was built for the most part in 1852. The Sterling Road in 1853 and '54; the Boyl-

ston Road in 1860 and '61. The building of short roads like Grove Street, "California Road," "Wilson Hill Road," the construction of culverts and sewers and sidewalks, together with the repairs of roads and bridges used up the rest of the appropriation.* Of course there was no sewer system, and Counterpane Pond and the river received the surface drainage and whatever else private parties chose to empty there. Frequent complaint was made in the paper about the condition of the sidewalks. Concrete was unknown. There were a few rods of brick sidewalk on High Street, but elsewhere, even if there was any pretention to sidewalks, they were apt to be very muddy in wet weather.

William Stearns was appointed in 1852 the first agent for selling liquors under the "new law." He said that he would never have taken the agency, if he had realized how much sickness there was in town. During most of the time for the next thirteen years, A. A. Burditt was the agent. The story of municipal action in behalf of the nation must be considered elsewhere under the general story of the Civil War.

Few permanent investments were made between 1860 and 1865, and the schedule† of town property, which amounted to

* EXPENDITURES FOR ROADS AND BRIDGES.

1850-51.....	\$603 87	1855-56...\$2,175 00	1860-61....\$2,959 14
1851-52.....	1,416 40	1856-57... 1,979 86	1861-62..... 850 81
1852-53.....	2,947 63	1857-58... 1,961 03	1862-63..... 3,727 84
1853-54.....	1,909 61	1858-59... 3,370 90	1863-64..... 1,773 11
1854-55.....	2,539 65	1859-60... 6,318 37	1864-65..... 3,146 88

†Cemetery.....	\$3,551 3
Hearse and harness.....	163
Town property.....	472 7
Pound.....	66 4
Engine House No. 1.....	737 8
Engine House No. 2.....	732 6
Torrent Engine No. 1.....	995 00
Cataract Engine No. 2.....	1,259 00
Hook and Ladder House.....	54 46
Hook and Ladder Wagon.....	85 00

about thirty-four thousand dollars, not including roads and bridges, at the end of the former year will represent that of the latter year, as well as show how much the town had done in those ten years.

Hose Carriage.....	\$131 80
Pauper Establishment.....	5,006 64
Primary School House No. 1.....	3,489 82
" " " " 3.....	888 81
" " " " 4.....	4,062 35
" " " " 5.....	2,270 06
Grammar School House.....	6,250 44
Common.....	3,369 93
Flag-staff.....	387 94
	<hr/>
	\$33,975 08

CHAPTER XIX.

CLINTON SCHOOLS.

WE have seen how the town had its origin from the school district and, ever since its incorporation, the maintenance and development of the school system has been recognized as its chief municipal function. Even in the midst of the greatest business depression, the school interests have never been allowed to suffer. Over one-third of all the taxes raised by the town during the first fifteen years of its existence was devoted to school purposes. The quality of the schools proved that these large appropriations were well spent.

The town has been peculiarly fortunate in the men* who

*LIST OF SCHOOL COMMITTEE WITH PERIODS OF SERVICE FROM 1850
TO MARCH, 1866.

Rev. Wm. H. Corning, 1850-52.	A. S. Carleton, 1851-52, 54-55, 56-57.
C. W. Blanchard, 1850-51.	Rev. Wm. D. Hitchcock, 1852-54.
Dr. G. W. Burdett, 1850-53.	Rev. George Bowler, 1852-53.
Rev. C. M. Bowers, 1850-51, 52-56, 58-66.	James Ingalls, 1852-53.
C. L. Swan, 1850-51.	Dr. P. Chamberlain, 1852-53.
Wm. W. Parker, 1850-51, 52-54.	Rev. L. J. Livermore, 1853-56, 57-58.
A. J. Sawyer, 1850-52.	Rev. T. W. Lewis, 1853-54.
Franklin Forbes, 1851-52, 54-55, 56-61.	A. E. Bigelow, 1854-60.
J. T. Dame, 1851-52, 53-54, 56-57, 62-66.	Dr. George M. Morse, 1854-55, 56-57.
H. N. Bigelow, 1851-52, 53-55, 56-58, 59-60.	Rev. W. W. Winchester, 1855-56.
	Rev. A. F. Bailey, 1855-56.
	C. F. W. Parkhurst, 1855-56, 62-66.

have had direction of its school affairs. Foremost among these may be mentioned Franklin Forbes who served for about half of the first twenty-five years as chairman of the board. His wide culture, his practical experience as a teacher in the best schools of the state, his business ability, his liberal and far-seeing policy which came from dealing with large affairs and his freedom from bigotry, combined to make him the ideal man to control the school interests of a new town.

John T. Dame even exceeded Mr. Forbes in the length of his service as a member and chairman of the school board. His administration was characterized by thorough scholarship and scorn of all pretense. Teachers and scholars were spurred on to do their best by the assurance that all school affairs were managed by him without the slightest partiality, and that merit would surely secure recognition.

During all the first fifteen years of the history of the town, Rev. C. M. Bowers served on the board with the exception of four years. He, as well as Mr. Forbes and Mr. Dame, was capable of examining any scholar or any teacher on the most advanced work required in the schools of those days. He added to the most conscientious discharge of his official duties, warm sympathies, enthusiasm and a progressive spirit.

The work of these men was ably supplemented by that of H. N. Bigelow, C. G. Stevens, Rev. L. J. Livermore, A. E. Bigelow, C. F. W. Parkhurst, Joshua Thissell and many others who recognized that the greatest service they could do for the community was in forwarding the education of the children, and who felt that no personal labors were too great which tended in this direction.

C. G. Stevens, 1856-62.
 Josiah H. Vose, 1857-62.
 Henry C. Greeley, 1857-59.
 Daniel W. Kilburn, 1859-60.
 Eneas Morgan, 1860-65.

Dr. George W. Symonds, 1860-63.
 Joshua Thissell, 1861-66.
 Rev. Wm. Cushing, 1863-66.
 Eneas Morgan, 1865-66.

Some account of the lives of each of these men may be found by aid of the index.

As the schools were already organized and equipped when the town was incorporated, it was not necessary to build up a new system, and the committee of 1850-51 did not see fit to make any radical reforms in the old. The six school-houses, with a seating capacity of three hundred and fourteen, gave, however, a sadly deficient accommodation for an attendance of four hundred and thirty-seven, and we find the committee at once asking for a new building in the center to be used for the High and Second Schools. It was three years before the more pressing needs of the new town allowed this building to be constructed. In 1851-2, Mr. Forbes was chairman of the committee, and his influence was seen in the more liberal expenditures for school purposes. The salaries of the teachers were raised and the principle established "that the teachers must perform their duties faithfully; and that for such performance they are entitled to a liberal compensation." A new school-house on Burditt Hill was built during the year, and District No. 5 was established. Another house was built at McCollumville. The amount paid for new school-houses this year was two thousand five hundred and eighty dollars and twenty-nine cents. New and better text-books were introduced. Terms and vacations were arranged on a new basis. Beginning the school year with the first Wednesday in March, there was a term of twenty-two weeks, with a recess of one week between the two equal divisions. Then came a vacation of three weeks, another term of twenty-two weeks, with a week's vacation in the middle and a vacation of three weeks at the end. There were thus forty-four weeks in all. In 1853, the primary school was shortened to forty weeks, with a six weeks' vacation in the summer.

There was a great excitement during this year over the question of the reading of the Bible in the schools. "A child of Catholic parents declined reading the Scriptures at the customary religious exercises of the morning. * * * The teacher did not insist but quietly read such portions of the

Scriptures herself as she thought proper. She continued to do this subsequently. Dr. G. W. Burdett and Franklin Forbes, who were on the sub-committee for the school, sustained her in this action and the full School Board voted: that the committee construe the phrase 'reading the Scriptures' in the School Regulations, to mean the reading of the Scriptures by the teachers." Strange as it may seem to us to-day, this action of the committee awakened the most bitter opposition, and only one member of the old board was reelected for the following year, and this one declined to serve. The reading of the Scriptures by the scholars was resumed, but it was voted that those having religious scruples should be excused from taking part if they requested, so that the action of this board cannot be any more condemned for sectarian feeling than that of the previous one.

The union of the Second and Third or High Schools under one principal was recommended. This wise recommendation was adopted at the close of the following year, and the school year was again arranged so that now there were three terms of fourteen weeks each in all the schools. We have noted the work of George N. Bigelow in the High School. His brother, Artemas E. Bigelow, was master of the Second School for nearly three years. He acquired here that reputation for thoroughness of work which he afterwards so well maintained in his connection with the various industries of the town. The proportion of male to female teachers is noticeable as there were two of the former to four of the latter. Geo. N. Bigelow having resigned in the summer of 1852, S. W. Boardman, a graduate of Middlebury College, was elected principal of the High School. The committee saw fit to retain his services but a single term. C. W. Walker of Southboro, a teacher of "established reputation," was elected to fill the position. He remained until the end of the following year.

It was during the year 1853-54 that the High School building on the corner of Walnut and Church Streets was

built. The building previously used there was moved between the churches. There was some opposition to this building on account of the expense, since it cost more than all the other school buildings together; but after the plans had once been voted down it was at last decided at a subsequent meeting to go ahead. The house, which was completed in the spring of 1854, cost about six thousand dollars. Dr. Geo. M. Morse had special oversight of the building, and the contract was let out to Edward E. Harlow.

The Second and Third Schools having been united under the title of Grammar School were put into this building and under the charge of Josiah S. Phillips, who had two assistants for the lower departments. Mr. Phillips had formerly been the teacher of the Leominster High School. The organization of this Grammar School under the system which it retained for over thirty years was largely due to him. He is spoken of as "laborious, faithful and zealous." "In a situation that requires much more than the mere power of imparting knowledge, he has displayed in a large degree the abilities that insure success." He was especially successful as a teacher of science and much of the physical apparatus now used in the school was bought of and through him. He remained with the school about four years and a half. He afterwards became a civil engineer in Lowell, and was then for ten years or more in the employ of Dr. J. C. Ayer. He died April 17, 1879, at the age of sixty-five.

After the resignation of Mr. Phillips in the winter of 1858-9, Henry S. Nourse of Lancaster was secured as principal to complete the unfinished term. The new year of 1859 began with Rev. Frederic A. Fiske in charge of the Grammar School. Mr. Fiske was a native of Wrentham and was born April 15, 1816. He graduated at Amherst College in 1836. He had taught in New York City, Norwalk, Ct., and had been principal of the famous Monson Academy and a teacher in Fall River. He had graduated from the Yale Theological School in 1850. He had been ordained and had



THE OLD HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING.

preached as a Congregationalist clergyman in Ashburnham, Mass. He had also preached in East Marshfield. "Mr. Fiske's connection with the school here soon became distasteful to him," since he found that he could not govern the school by "a course of gentle remonstrance," and he resigned after two terms. After leaving Clinton, he was principal of a boys' boarding-school in Newton. He was superintendent of education for North Carolina under the Freedmen's Bureau, 1865-8. Soon after, he entered the Episcopal ministry. He preached in various places from 1870 to 1878, when he died December 15. Elizabeth S. Owens was next made principal, but she too found the school somewhat unmanageable and taught only one term. During this year, the "Senior Department of the Grammar School," which corresponds to the present High School, for the first time had an assistant. Martha A. Stearns filled this position.

In the spring of 1860, Dana I. Jocelyn became the principal of the Grammar School, with Lucinda Foster as his assistant in the senior department. He was born in Georgia, Vt., December 6, 1830. He graduated at Amherst College in 1855. He had taught in Grafton and Stoneham. There was a most earnest effort during his principalship and that of his successor to establish a regular High School course of study. Up to this time, the work seems to have been left at the option of the scholars and the teachers. As a result of this effort in the summer of 1864, three scholars, Helen F. Morgan, Harriet C. Morse and Isadore Parker, received diplomas and thus became the first regular graduates of the school. The course taken by these scholars compares favorably with that of later years. Mr. Jocelyn remained with the school two years. He taught in Malden from 1862 to 1865. He then became a dentist and went to St. Louis, where he lived for many years.

He was followed in 1862 by Rev. Milan C. Stebbins, who was born in Granby, May 16, 1828. He studied at Easthampton. He graduated at Amherst College in 1851. He taught at

Elmonton Academy, N. H., was principal of Hopkinton Academy, N. H., principal of Nashua High School 1853-58, and established the "Mansion School" at Lancaster, Mass. Under his control, our school reached a much higher level of scholarship than it had ever before attained. The work in English and the classics seemed to the committee especially worthy of commendation. Miss Foster remained with him as an assistant during the first two terms, and then it was decided for economy's sake to have only one teacher in the department. It was found that this was a mistake, however, and at the beginning of the next year Harriet A. Rice was employed. At the end of the first term of his third year, that is, in July, 1864, Rev. M. C. Stebbins resigned his position. He was principal of the Springfield High School from 1865 to 1874, and from 1874 to 1881 principal of the Springfield Collegiate Institute. He then went into business as a book-seller in the same city.

Josiah H. Hunt was his successor. He was born in Hawley, December 26, 1835. He fitted for college at Kimball Union Academy, Meriden, N. H. He graduated at Amherst in 1861, and had taught three years before he came to Clinton. The story of his nine years of work in our High School belongs for the most part to later history. He was a strict disciplinarian and a most thorough teacher. As an instructor in Latin, he was especially excellent. He became principal of the High School in Gloucester in the spring of 1873. In the eighties, he went to Topeka, Kansas, where he still resides. He is a real estate agent and a dealer in Kansas mortgages. At the end of the first year of his teaching in Clinton, a class of four graduated. These were Cornelia V. Bowers, Henrietta E. Parker, Helen M. Stearns and Abbie E. Dame. It will be noticed that all of the graduates of the first two years are females. Arthur F. Bowers, who received a diploma in 1866, was the first male graduate.

During these first fifteen years of Clinton's history, while

the number of children in town within school age had increased only about fifty per cent, the average attendance at school had increased some ninety per cent.*

In 1855 and 1856, the school-house on Burditt Hill was moved from its former location on Beacon Street to Main Street. In the following year, the two-roomed brick school-house of No. 4 was built between the Baptist and Orthodox Churches at a cost of four thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars and thirty-five cents. In 1857-58, the two-roomed school-house for No. 1 was built near the Lancaster Mills Bridge at a cost of three thousand four hundred and eighty-nine dollars and eighty-two cents, and there the children of Grove and lower Chestnut Streets as well as those from Wilson Hill and the Acre were accommodated.

During these fifteen years the number of teachers had increased from six to eleven. All of the increase in teachers was made before the war, and shortly after another great advance was made in this direction. There was only one year out of the first eight in which the town did not tax

* SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.

	No. of Children in Town between 5 and 15.	Total average attendance.	Average attendance at High School or Senior Grammar.
1850-51.....	429	257	46
1851-52.....	495	261	50
1852-53.....	526	284	46
1853-54.....	555	294	41
1854-55.....	580	322	36
1855-56.....	565	342	..
1856-57.....	..	322	31
1857-58.....	517	428	31
1858-59.....	610	435	36
1859-60.....	620	408	30
1860-61.....	675	444	31
1861-62.....	756	504	46
1862-63.....	736	498	43
1863-64.....	674	473	46
1864-65.....	643	490	38
1865-66.....	897	521	40

itself for new school property. From 1858 to the close of the war there was no building. The general expenses became greater year by year and the salaries paid, more and more liberal.* This was true even when the burdens of war times were pressing upon the people most heavily and forcing them to the utmost economy in every other direction.

Little need be said of the work of the lower grades of schools. As it was laid out in the course of study, it seems very meager compared with the work done in the same grades to-day. There was no "nature work" and no drawing prescribed in the course of those days. Little or no writing was done during the first four years of school life, the word method was unheard of, the reading in the school-room was generally confined to a single series of readers. In the grammar schools there has been less change, and no

*TAXATION FOR SCHOOLS.

Total Expense.	New School Property.	General Expense.
1850-51.... \$5,619 10.	Bought District No. 10... \$4,525 43	\$1,093 67
1851-52.... 5,879 09.	No. 3 and No. 5..... 2,580 29	3,298 80
1852-53.... 2,761 38.		2,761 38
1853-54.... 5,958 68.	Old High..... { 3,162 93	2,795 75
1854-55.... 5,463 52.	Moving No. 5..... { 3,054 33	2,409 19
1855-56.... 3,521 49.	No. 4..... { 384 43	3,137 06
1856-57.... 7,157 73.	No. 1..... { 3,506 71	3,651 02
1857-58.... 8,297 72.		4,189 26
1858-59.... 4,391 49.		4,391 49
1859-60.... 4,584 95.		4,584 95
1860-61.... 4,564 31.		
1861-62.... 4,846 50.		
1862-63.... 4,555 27.	No building.	
1863-64.... 4,895 81.		
1864-65.... 5,431 50.		
1865-66.... 6,204 64.		

The general expense account of the second year evidently overlaps that of the first year. These accounts do not include some small receipts from property sold or those from the state, neither on the other hand is insurance or interest generally included. These would perhaps nearly balance each other.

study now required for admission to the High School was then omitted. It is probable that the keener scholars of fifteen at that earlier time would equal in knowledge and mental discipline similar scholars of the same age to-day. There has, however, been a decided advance in the case of the average scholar in breadth of knowledge and some forms of mental power.

The school reports must have proved an ordeal to some of the teachers, for the merits and demerits of each were treated without reserve in public print. What indignation, what tears must have followed the reading of these most unmerciful documents! Yet, harsh as they were, it is possible that they served their purpose and spurred the teachers to more earnest effort than could otherwise have been aroused.

The names of these early teachers* would awaken in

*TEACHERS OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

1850-1865.

The names are put in order of service.

The names of those teaching two years or more before 1866 are italicized.

M. A. Price.	Ellen A. Wright.
<i>Jane A. Daniels.</i>	Celinda P. Gates.
R. F. Priest.	Elizabeth L. Gibbs.
Sarah A. Colburn.	Louisa M. Swain.
M. A. Boynton.	Sarah W. Baker.
<i>E. M. Lovering.</i>	<i>Maria F. Hills.</i>
<i>Harriet F. Whitcomb.</i>	Frances A. Lovell.
Eliza Crane.	Beulah A. Park.
<i>Emma L. Reeves.</i>	Martha E. Hale.
<i>Urania E. Ingalls.</i>	<i>Lucretia S. Morgan.</i>
Lucy M. Holman.	<i>Mira J. Sawyer.</i>
Sarah C. Miner.	<i>Victoria E. Gates.</i>
Sarah A. Nichols.	<i>Mary F. Stearns.</i>
Mary F. McCollum.	P. A. Barnes.
Ellen F. Colburn.	Martha A. Wallace.
Julia J. Haven.	Abbie H. Stowe.
<i>S. Angenette King.</i>	<i>Anna S. Harrington.</i>

the minds of those who were once their scholars varied memories of dull catechising and wise instruction, of stinging rebukes and cheering inspiration, of severe punishments and tender sympathy. As a whole, the work of these teachers was most efficient. Many who have done good service in the world have reason to thank them for their discipline, and to them more than any other agents is due the wonderful transformation that took place in our immigrant population in the second generation.

Besides raising the average intelligence of the community in a remarkable degree, our schools during these early years furnished valuable training to some who were to exert a powerful influence on our town and on the world at large. George W. Weeks, Eli Forbes, James A. Morgan and Charles H. Shedd, Henry N. Bigelow, Charles B. Bigelow and Edward W. Burdett, Herbert J. Brown and William H. Gibbs are representatives whom our schools of this period have

Marietta Jewett.
 Emma S. Whitcomb.
 Annie B. Cutter.
 M. T. Bush.
 Carrie A. Brigham.
 Mary E. Pease.
Lydia J. Derby.
Martha A. Stearns.
E. Frances Campbell.
Lydia S. Willard.
 Marietta Jewett.
 Sara C. Woodbury.

Mary A. E. Downes.
Frances E. Burdett.
Mary J. Abbott.
 Harriet M. Haskell.
 Carrie E. Goodale.
Susan Hartwell.
Lizzie C. Stearns.
 Sarah A. Fawcett.
 Celinda M. Copp.
 Mary H. Stone.
 Mary A. Cameron.
 Abbie E. Dame.

Grammar School.

Middle and Junior Departments.

Artemas E. Bigelow.
 J. L. Butler.
 Perley B. Davis.
 Levi S. Burbank.
 Rev. L. J. Livermore.
Mrs. C. M. S. Carpenter.

Sarah A. Cobb.
Ada M. Parkhurst.
 Mary F. Stearns.
 Elizabeth E. Tidd.
Maria F. Hills.
 Charlotte H. Munger.

furnished to our manufacturing interests. C. C. Stone, E. A. and G. S. Harris belong to the schools of an earlier date. If we add to these, the men who have taken a leading part in manufacturing elsewhere, we can affirm that our schools have helped to educate men enough of sufficient ability to conduct and thoroughly officer manufacturing interests much larger than our own. The same statement could be made in regard to commerce and the professions. Our educational product for these early years of our municipal life, was such that it may safely be said, that Clinton gave to the world without, more than it received from it. Many of these boys, who were scholars in the Clinton schools in the fifties fought valiantly for the salvation of their country in the early sixties. Some like Edwin Lassiter Bynner, the author of *Agnes Surriage*, have won laurels in literature. Some, like Arthur F. Bowers of the *New York Tribune*, have exerted a great influence through the press. Some, like John B. Cotton, assistant attorney general, U. S. A., and ex-mayor John A. Roche of Chicago, have received well-deserved honors from the hands of their fellow-citizens. No man is better known throughout the state as a jurist and political leader than our own townsman, John W. Corcoran. The greatest moral and social upheaval in America during the past quarter of a century was produced by Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst. This list might be much extended, but enough has been said to show that our schools of early years were not lacking in pupils destined to do good service both at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XX.

FRANKLIN FORBES AND THE LANCASTER MILLS.

WHEN Horatio N. Bigelow found it necessary for him to withdraw from his connection with the Lancaster Mills, every possible effort was made by the directors to find the most able man available to take charge of their important interests. They wanted a man who combined in himself all the elements which go to make the successful manufacturer; a capacity to acquire a thorough knowledge of the details of the business and to see these details in their proper relation to each other, so that all things should work together with the least loss of material or power; an ability to so select and direct subordinates and operatives that from qualifications, conditions and dispositions, they should produce the best results at the least expense; a spotless integrity, which would care for the interests of the corporation, as if they were his own. The directors, being broad-minded men, sought even more than this, they wanted a man of such a character that he would elevate the general tone of the community and make Clinton so desirable a dwelling place, that the best men would be glad to come here and make it their permanent home. They found just the man they were looking for in Franklin Forbes.

Mr. Forbes was a native of West Cambridge, now Arlington. He was born March 8, 1811. He was the son of Eliza and Clarissa (Nichols) Forbes. His father was a tallow-chandler. This is not the only point in which the biography of Franklin Forbes resembles that of Benjamin Franklin.

after whom he was named and in whose character he found his ideal. He seems to have inherited his energy from his mother. He was one of eight children. His two brothers, who were older than he, died while they were young men. All his sisters were women of excellent ability. His father moved to Boston while Franklin was yet an infant. His parents were Universalists, and hoping that their youngest son might become a minister of that denomination, they determined to give him the most liberal education that their means would allow. When the boy was twelve years old, his father died, leaving so little property that the members of the family were all obliged to become self-supporting. Franklin became a druggist's boy in the shop of Sampson, Lowe & Reed. The proprietors were Swedenborgians and tried to lead the lad into their way of thinking. It is possible that his natural tendency to place character above creed may have been fostered by their teachings.

Even thus early, he had determined to make the most of himself that he had the capacity for being, and he felt that such an education as he desired could be obtained to the best advantage through the schools. His brother, Luke, loaned him money to enable him to renew his interrupted studies. He received the thorough drill of the Boston Latin School, where Charles Sumner was his classmate. He also studied at Amherst Academy and under Rev. Nathan Perkins of East Amherst. So thoroughly was he fitted for college that he could repeat his entire Latin grammar verbatim, even in his later years. He was eighteen years old when he entered Amherst in 1829. This college had been established by the Congregationalists eight years before to counteract the Unitarian tendencies of Harvard. The expenses of the students were very small. It is probable that Mr. Forbes chose this institution on account of his lack of means. Thirty-eight men graduated in the same class with Mr. Forbes, twenty of whom became evangelical clergymen. Among the students in college with him were Henry Ward Beecher and Alexan-

der H. Bullock. His scholarship is attested by his membership in the Chi Delta Theta Society, which was a close aristocracy of learning, to which only students of especial ability were admitted after nomination by the faculty. The Franklin Medal, which he received in the Boston schools, and the pin of this society were always kept by him among the choicest mementos of his youth.

When Mr. Forbes graduated in 1833, he felt that his first duty was to repay his debts. Teaching offered a larger immediate income than any other congenial profession. He became an instructor in the Wells Grammar School in Boston, where he remained until 1835. The next year, he was principal of the High School in Lowell. From 1836 to 1842, he was in Boston, at first as principal of the Winthrop Grammar School on East Street, and later in a private school taught by him in connection with his brother-in-law, E. L. Cushing, who afterwards became chief justice of New Hampshire. Among the boys, who attended the school and afterwards attained distinction, was Horace Grey, so well known as a judge of the Superior Court of the United States. September 5, 1837, Mr. Forbes married Martha Ann Stearns, daughter of Hon. Edmund Cushing of Lunenburg. From 1842 to 1846, he was again principal of the Lowell High School. This was by no means the end of his work as an educator, for, although he at this time abandoned teaching as a profession, yet he continued throughout his life a teacher in the broadest sense of the word, and he was for many years the official director of teachers.

It may be well for us to pause here in the outline of his biography and consider his work as an educator and a citizen before we study his work as the agent of the Lancaster Mills.

One of the boys who attended the Winthrop School while Mr. Forbes was master has said of him: "He had the most perfect command, control, respect and, I may say, love of

his pupils. * * * His smile was ineffable sweetness and power and the quaint way in which he would ejaculate 'Oh, fudge !' when a boy made some improbable excuse or story, was something to be remembered. In fact, he was an expert at moral suasion; he was magnetic and he persuaded his pupils and fired them with a spirit of emulation."

In 1864, Mr. Forbes delivered an address before the Lowell High School Association, and the "warmth of affection" with which his former pupils greeted him showed how beneficent his influence had been. The heads of this discourse give the main points of his educational creed. "We must ascertain the characteristics which God, in his providence, has implanted in the child, and give those characteristics their appropriate culture and restraint." "A strong will forms a good substratum of character." "Educators often think it is a dreadful thing, that must be broken down, * * * while the true doctrine is to enlighten and direct it." "Two other faculties of man, implanted by God, the world teaches me are essential to man's success in life. * * * I mean tact and common sense." "I look upon the public school as the chief of republican institutions, * * * the great demolisher of caste and the founder of manly, sturdy self-reliance." "A good thing is always in demand and the world takes it when it finds it out."

For thirteen years, between 1852 and 1877, Mr. Forbes was a member of the school committee of Clinton, and with the exception of a portion of a single year acted as chairman. In 1852, there were in town four hundred and twenty-nine children between the ages of five and fifteen. In 1877, there were fourteen hundred and fifty-seven. It was largely due to his wisdom that ample provision was made for this increasing number of pupils. A study of the school reports, prepared by him, shows that his work as the executive head of the board was preëminently practical. There is little theorizing and little preaching. The needs of the schools and the best methods of satisfying these needs are stated in

the simplest and clearest language, and yet extracts be taken from these reports that would make an e monograph on education. A single passage must "The teacher's business contains no mystery, no c art to be imparted only to the initiated; and it req laying on of hands to give it sanctity, and no imposir to humbug the people. Its worthy basis is sound, t and abundant knowledge, such as is not exhausted first opening of the mouth, nor contained within th of common school text-books. This knowledge i vivified by a lively and suggestive imagination, that in discovering the various conditions of pupils' mi the appropriate means of illustration and example attract or enlighten them. It must be rendered effe methodical as well as industrious habits. The impa it must be recommended to the child by a chee agreeable manner, such only as a benevolent heart spire. The guaranty of its success is, after all, that able characteristic,—whose defect neither learning, imagination, industry, or benevolence can supply, tact; the want of which has been fatal to the su many a pains-taking person and proves that the teac the poet, must be born, not made."

The work of Mr. Forbes as chairman of the Library Association from the time of its organization until the library was given to the town in 1873, and man of the Board of Directors of the newly formed Free Public Library from 1873 until his death, over ter of a century of continuous service, belongs als educational department of his work. In connection Bigelow Library Association and in his private cap helped to originate and support various courses of by his purse, by labor in organization and by giv services as a speaker. His lecture on "Hydraul poem, his talk on Robert Burns, his readings from peare will be recalled by many of our older citizens.

Perhaps the deepest influence which he exerted in education was through his example, for it made intellectual culture fashionable to have a man of high position and large affairs work for it as one of the main ends of his own life and the hope of the future of the community.

In his final report as chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bigelow Free Public Library, he leaves as a rich legacy to the future a statement concerning the supreme value of education and a plea that Clinton continue to provide liberally for its maintenance.

"Let us never abandon to a niggardly support, these distinguished institutions of New England, the public schools, and free libraries; let us endow them well and keep them in charge of the best teachers and directors the town can find, commensurate with its ability and standing—for in the existing state of knowledge, art and skill, no boy or man can know too much; the less he knows the weaker he is. Ignorance is never bliss. It is never folly to be wise. To the man of sound mind and well digested learning, ignorance, bigotry and tyranny are powerless to constrain the freedom of his mind, or steal away his right of private judgment in matters of religion or politics or self-control."

With Mr. Forbes, religion and education were closely allied, and he considered the fundamental principle to be the same in each. "The chief end of man" is to harmoniously develop to the utmost, in himself and in others, the powers which God has given; thus, and thus only, he can "Glorify God and enjoy Him forever." As we have seen, education with him meant something more than mere intellectual development; it meant the development of the whole man. In his first school report, Mr. Forbes says: "the committee would rejoice to see the spirit of their Heavenly Father diffusing itself through every school-room," and he urges "the influence of the teacher's own piety, evident, predominating over all his other characteristics." Such piety

was his, a piety that grew out of the realization of "the boundless efficiency of love." Meanwhile a statement made by him in regard to Robert Burns applies equally well to himself: "He scorned hypocrisy and canting pretence; he resisted attempts to fetter his reason in the trammels of theological dogma." When the Town Hall was dedicated he gave as a motto to guide in its future use "*Magna est veritas et prevalebit*," "Truth is mighty and it will prevail." He was intolerant of intolerance. He believed that truth was the outcome of free discussion. He especially condemned every attempt "to establish an exclusive party," and claimed religious fellowship with all who loved God and their fellow-men.

As early as 1827, we find Mr. Forbes, then a youth of sixteen, deeply interested in charitable work. At that time, he was one of the organizers and original officers of the Young Men's Benevolent Society of Boston, which has since been so efficient in "alleviating suffering and poverty * * * and promoting the growth of benevolent principles and habits among young men."

In 1844-5, he was the first secretary of the "Lowell Missionary Society." Of his work in this connection, Rev. Horatio Wood has said: "As secretary of the missionary society, he gave full proof of his interest and his deep sense of its claims upon his position. He seemed to be always at the right hand of the elected minister, calling frequently to learn of his experience and doings in the new field and to see if there was anything that he could do to help him, with a thrill of feeling that always coursed through his words. He was at the Free Chapel every Sunday, played the organ some time and afterward took the lead of the choir. Not only this, he observed every person brought into the Chapel, and informed himself of the history and circumstances of the prominent cases of poverty and reform as no one has done since. This fitted him to write that excellent report of the missionary society published in June, 1845, giving a his-



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tory of the establishment of the Ministry-at-Large with an accuracy and glow, with a faith in its permanence and a God-speed, touching and very creditable to his soul. This, Mr. Forbes did while acting as principal of the High School and discharging his duties with eminent fidelity, and at the same time pursuing diligently classical and literary studies."

Immediately after he came to Clinton, he became interested in the organization of a Unitarian Church here. The story of his work is best told by his last pastor, Rev. Charles Noyes: "Not an original member of this religious society, he allied himself with it immediately after taking his residence here and has ever been its firm, steady, constant supporter, always ready with word of counsel when asked for it, and seconding every effort to strengthen it. In the building of this church edifice and in its restoration, he was the largest contributor, and, if the facts were but known to you, most of you would be surprised at the record of his bounty. However large the draught upon his time or means he made no complaints, ever ready to spend and be spent, in your, and in religious service; his life and example have been with us a pillar of strength. Constant in his attendance upon every service, for a long time he was your organist, and superintendent of the Sunday school, an example worthy of emulation by all, of strong faith that showed itself in deeds. What a debt we owe to him!"

His love for his fellowmen and the services he rendered them were not confined by the narrow limits of the religious society to which he belonged. He felt that all the employes under his charge had special claim upon him beyond the payment of wages. While he never interfered with their personal liberty, he strove to the utmost to relieve all suffering and to furnish every possible opportunity for improvement and enjoyment. Even this field was not large enough to give full play to his sympathies. A neighbor says: "Whoever had a meritorious claim on human charity was never turned empty away."

It was in his home that the personality of Mr. Forbes revealed itself with the greatest charm. Here, his keen wit, his sportive humor, and his tender sympathies found their fullest expression. Soon after he became agent of Lancaster Mills, the house on Chestnut Street, near the head of Union, was built, and here he resided until his death. Although the home was always the center of Mrs. Forbes' life, she ably seconded her husband's efforts in the Unitarian Society and in benevolent work of all kinds, especially that connected with the Civil War. Two sons and four daughters grew to maturity. Their history belongs to later times.

As a citizen of the town, in addition to his great work in educational lines, he performed numerous other services which made enormous demands on his time and energy. His services as chief engineer of the fire department deserve special mention. He was chairman of the building committee of the town hall, and the noble simplicity of that structure in its original state was largely due to him. The cemetery, too, owes much of its beauty to his taste and the work he did as chairman of the committee in charge. Much more than half the money raised by the town during the time that he was a citizen was expended by committees in which he acted as chairman. Every one had the most implicit trust in his honesty and judgment. Even while the shadow of death was already falling upon him, he wrote a most careful report on the best method of abating the "Counterpane Pond Nuisance." He was not only willing but eager "to spend and be spent in the cause" of his brother man which he recognized as the same as that "of his Maker."

In public enterprises not under municipal control he took no less interest. His name was first on the list in the legislative act by which the Clinton Savings Bank was incorporated in 1851. He was vice-president until the death of H. N. Bigelow in 1868, and president from that time until his death. He also served on the finance committee. The

office was for some years in the counting room of the Lancaster Mills. It would be interesting to know how far his influence led the workmen to make deposits of money. It is sure the prudential doctrines of Franklin met with full appreciation from Mr. Forbes. He was also a director of the First National Bank of Clinton from the beginning. He was a leading organizer of the Clinton Gas Light Company and was president from 1854 to his death. He was a director of the Gibbs Loom Harness and Reed Company.

In national politics, he was a Whig and a Republican. July 4, 1854, he acted as president in the great local celebration and made a stirring speech on national issues. June 14, 1856, he was president of "a large and enthusiastic meeting" held in Clinton Hall in behalf of the Free State settlers in Kansas. In a speech full of ringing eloquence, he said: "We see our fellow-citizens in Kansas * * * unjustly restrained from the peaceful pursuit of their business; their houses invaded; their property plundered; their liberties abridged; their lives endangered, because they are freemen and the advocates of freedom to others." He called in no uncertain tones for measures to rebuke the "encroachment of the slave-oligarchy." Resolutions glowing with righteous indignation and love of freedom were passed, and a committee was appointed to collect a relief fund for the Kansas emigrants. The story of the unbounded patriotism of Mr. Forbes during the Civil War, his burning words, his self-sacrificing deeds, will be told elsewhere, but the reader must recall that story here if he would appreciate the full nobility of his life.* What his fellow-citizens thought of him may be judged from the fact that, in the midst of the bitter feelings engendered by war, he was elected to the state legislature of 1864 with but one opposing vote.

It seems scarcely possible that all these phases of public activity should have been only the overflow of surplus

* See chapters on Civil War.

energy from the main work of his life. Yet the Lancaster Mills was always the center of his interests. The success of its business was his chief object. No personal labor or sacrifice was too great, which might tend to this result. He was the heart of the concern, and throbbing pulses of power were sent from him into every part. Great as were the results of his labors in other directions, the development of the Lancaster Mills was the most important work he did for Clinton and for the world.

When Mr. Forbes resigned his position as principal of the Lowell High School in 1846, he accepted an appointment as a civil engineer for the Locks and Canals Company. He was at this time thirty-five years of age. He had been destined by his parents for the ministry; he had been led by circumstances to follow the profession of the teacher and he had devoted himself for a while to the study of law. There can be no doubt that he would have succeeded in either of the other professions as well as in teaching, for he was a man of evenly balanced faculties, capable of special development in any direction, with the full force of a well rounded manhood behind. Great as were his literary talents, he did not find in any of the learned professions "the niche he wished to occupy for life."

James B. Francis had been appointed chief engineer of the Locks and Canal Company of Lowell the year before. It was his duty to manage the water power of the entire city. He was a man of great ability and is known as one of the world's foremost hydraulic engineers. During the four years while Mr. Forbes was with him, his two most famous works were constructed. The first of these was the Northern Canal. We are told: "It would be considered a stupendous task in these days of improved methods, and for that early time it was a work that challenged the admiration of the engineering world." The second was the "Grand Locks," a massive gateway, which in after years saved the city from destruction. Although Mr. Forbes worked in a

subordinate position on these great undertakings, yet he displayed such power of leadership that, in 1850, two important positions were offered him, the agency of the Lowell Bleachery and that of the Lancaster Mills. He accepted the latter.

We have already studied the condition of the Lancaster Mills at the time of his entry upon his work as agent. The construction and equipment had been completed under charge of H. N. Bigelow and work was fairly under way in all the departments, but no dividends had been paid. During the first year of Mr. Forbes' management, a dividend of three per cent was declared and from that time on until the time of his death there was never a year without some profit for division, and there was very little mill stock in the country that paid as well. The shares, which sold for between three hundred and four hundred dollars when he became agent, after many fluctuations brought eight hundred and fifty dollars in the market in 1875, on a par value of four hundred dollars. Notwithstanding the large and regular dividends, there was still enough undivided profit to greatly increase the plant. This increase was especially made between 1863-1877. The machinery of the Clinton Company was purchased in 1863. A deed of the Sawyers Mills property was received from this company in the summer of the same year for fifty-five thousand dollars. The carding and picker buildings were put up in 1868-9, the mule building in 1875-6. Without tracing the process of construction and addition step by step, we may say that from 1850 to 1877 the number of looms increased from five hundred and fifty to one thousand five hundred and twenty, with a proportionate increase in every other part of the mills.

Mr. Forbes' experience as a hydraulic engineer stood him in good stead as the agent of Lancaster Mills. From 1850 to 1857, several hundred acres of land, partly in Clinton and partly in Boylston, were purchased for flowage purposes, but a large portion of it was soon sold again after rights had been secured. In 1867, the dam was partially rebuilt, a stone

cap taking the place of the wooden one. This was done for safety rather than for increase of power, since the height was raised only about a foot. An immense gain in power was made, however, by substituting two Boyden turbine wheels for the three breast wheels previously in use. Seven hundred horse-power was secured instead of the two hundred and twenty-five. The guard gates were also built by Mr. Forbes. An additional engine was put up in 1871, and the old one replaced by another in 1875, giving a gain of three hundred and fifty horse-power.

The number of employes had not increased proportionally to the plant, however, as through improvement in processes, especially in carding and spinning, the operatives averaged much greater results than at first. In 1850, two hundred males and four hundred and eighty-eight females were employed. In 1877, there were six hundred and five males and five hundred and sixty females. It will be noticed that, while the number of males had grown threefold, the number of females was but little larger than at first. The product increased in a much greater ratio than the number of operatives, for the former gained seventy per cent and the latter nearly two hundred, that is, the product rose from five millions three hundred and sixty-eight thousand and fifty-two yards to fifteen millions one hundred and twenty-one thousand seven hundred and eight yards. Meanwhile the average wages of the females in all departments increased from three dollars and ninety-three cents per week of seventy-four and three-fourths hours to five dollars and eighty-nine cents per week of sixty hours. The increase in the wages of the males was in about the same ratio. All the operatives shared in profits arising from the gain in production in proportion to number of employes.

The changes which were taking place in the population of the manufacturing community at large made a corresponding change in the race of the mill operatives here. The Yankees decreased in numbers while those of Irish, German

or Scotch birth increased. Mr. Forbes encouraged all the workmen who were able to do so to build houses and establish homes of their own, for he believed that, in this way, they would become more thrifty and more inclined to make Clinton a permanent home. Thus hundreds of houses, many of them acquired through Mr. Forbes' assistance, were built upon the Acre and Wilson Hill on land sold to the workmen by the corporation at a nominal price. The German Village began to assume its present proportions during the latter part of Mr. Forbes' agency. As has already been noted, only two tenement houses, one on Cross Street and one on Green Street, were built after 1850.

Up to 1854, the time of work had averaged twelve and a half hours a day. From that time to 1875, it averaged eleven hours per day, and since 1875 ten hours constitute a day's work. The time-table which went into operation in 1854 required work from seven o'clock in the morning to seven at night, with forty-five minutes for dinner, the year round, except upon Saturdays when the work stopped at four. Although this table shortened the time about eight and a half hours per week, yet it required the men to light up in the evening a few weeks later in the spring. Previously there had been no work by lamp or gas light in the evening after March 20th, which was commonly known as the "Blowing out time." The interference with this old custom in the new adjustment caused a strike, the only serious affair of the kind with which Mr. Forbes ever had to deal. March 20th, about two hundred operatives left the mill at six o'clock as they had done in previous years. The agent felt that it was the right of the corporation to arrange its own hours of labor and, after a brief struggle, the operatives yielded. Some fifty were discharged for connection with this affair.

In September, 1857, the small demand for goods and the stringency of the money market compelled the directors of the Lancaster Mills to reduce the running to half time. Circumstances demanded that the mills should be closed alto-

gether, but the earnest entreaties of Mr. Forbes persuaded the directors to sacrifice their pecuniary advantage to the good of the employés. Mr. Forbes used every means to make the period of enforced idleness from manual labor a time of mental improvement. Immediately after half time was declared, a reading room was established at Lancaster Mills. A course of free lectures was organized by Mr. Forbes to be given by local talent on successive Wednesday evenings in Clinton Hall. The *Courant* of October 24th says: "We cannot forbear a personal reference to the agent of Lancaster Mills, who seems the very incarnation of efficiency in devising plans and pushing them through, in order to furnish employment and entertainment for the mind. Times like the present bring out the greatness of such men and show their value in a community." At the end of October, the Lancaster Mills still further reduced its time of running by closing up entirely Saturdays. In November, some forty Irish immigrants returned home. So great was the depression that the stock of Lancaster Mills sold at two hundred and twenty-five dollars per share for a short time. Work was resumed on full time in January, 1858.

During the times of idleness between 1857 and 1863, an afternoon and evening school was opened. The boys and men were taught by George W. Weeks in the basement of the A. P. Burdett building. Rev. William Cushing came over occasionally to give lessons in Latin. The girls met in the hall in the building where C. W. Field has his store. Daniel W. Kilburn was teacher. Mr. Forbes had a general oversight of the whole and did some teaching.

From 1861 to 1864 there was a long period of depression. Fortunately the mills owned a large quantity of cotton purchased at a low price. Out of this a considerable profit was made. The average amount of work in 1861, was one hundred and seventy-eight days; in 1862, one hundred and fifty and one-half days; in 1863, two hundred and forty-eight days; and in 1864, three hundred days.

In 1866, exhausted by his labors and anxieties during the Civil War and the pressure of the work that came from the rapid development of the mill after the war was over, Mr. Forbes found himself obliged to seek rest. George W. Weeks was made superintendent of the mill. For years, since Jotham D. Otterson had gone away, there had been no superintendent, but the agent had acted directly through the overseers. Mr. Forbes went to Europe. He returned refreshed after three months of travel and resumed his duties. To his work as agent and the public responsibilities which he accepted, he added a private business as a manufacturer at Fullerville. In the early seventies, his health began to give way under the strain. His nervous system received a severe shock from the sudden death of his daughter, Mrs. Henry N. Bigelow, November 1, 1876. One after another, he reluctantly gave up his duties, outside of the mill or left them more and more to his subordinates. Inside of the mill, the superintendent was given greater and greater responsibilities as Mr. Forbes felt his strength failing. December 24, 1877, after an illness of five weeks' duration he passed away.

If we seek to find the causes which underlie the success of Mr. Forbes as a mill agent we shall discover them in the same elements of mind and character which gave him so much power as a school-master and public servant. We might speak again of his integrity, his justice, his comprehensiveness, the breadth of his culture, his ability to trace the relation of cause and effect, the warmth of his heart, the strength of his will, the delicacy of his tact. He had all these and they all contributed to the crowning cause for his success. He was a natural leader of men. Others may have had more mechanical ability than he or have been more closely acquainted with the details of manufacturing, but there have been few who have had a keener perception of human character. He knew how to choose the best man

to accomplish his object and how to keep him working at his utmost until his task was done. Although, when occasion demanded, he let it be clearly seen that his will was law, and though he was the master of a merciless sarcasm with which he could goad the idle drone or wither the boasting pretender, yet he was usually the most affable of leaders. Every man in his employ felt that much was expected of him and was inspired with a desire not to be found lacking by one who required of himself more than he asked from others.

It was a source of great benefit to our town that its leading industry should be managed in its infancy by a man of such rare executive power, since the community has ever drawn its life from the mills and has grown only with their growth. For more than a score of years his public spirit, his ability as a man of affairs, his culture, his liberality of views and the all embracing nature of his sympathies made him our foremost citizen, constantly leading towards wise and noble ends and meanwhile he was nourishing the roots of our municipal life by his special work as the agent of the Lancaster Mills.

CHAPTER XXI.

EMPLOYEES OF LANCASTER MILLS.

WHEN Mr. Forbes entered upon his duties as agent of the Lancaster Mills he found Jotham D. Otterson acting as superintendent. He had been called hither by the Bigelows years before from the agency of the mill at Hookset, N. H. He was a practical mechanic, thoroughly acquainted with the details of cotton manufacturing. In such matters, both H. N. Bigelow and Franklin Forbes deferred to him. He bore for a time somewhat the same relation to these men that J. B. Parker bore to E. B. Bigelow. He was already a man of mature age and long experience in his business. He was a man of strict religious views and a member of the Orthodox Church. He lived on Mechanic Street. James Otterson, his son, was sent to England with J. B. Parker to set up the first carpet loom for E. B. Bigelow. When Jotham D. Otterson left Clinton, he went to Nashua, N. H., where he met with a large measure of success in the foundry business. He was, at one time, mayor of that city.

In addition to Mr. Forbes and Mr. Otterson, a notable body of men and boys worked in the Lancaster Mills office between 1850 and 1865. Charles L. Swan was paymaster from 1848. As treasurer of the Clinton Savings Bank he received deposits at the mill. As he held other positions of greater importance his life will be considered elsewhere, yet the seven years which he spent in this office, the methods of work which he established and the training he gave to those under his charge, left a permanent impress.

When he resigned in 1855, Henry Bowman was called from the Courant office to become his successor. As he was born September 9, 1834, he had not as yet reached his majority. Yet he was already known as one of the most promising young men in the community. He was especially prominent in the Rhetorical Society. Elsewhere we shall have occasion to note his services as an officer of the Light Guard. In 1861, he entered the army as captain of Company C, Fifteenth Massachusetts Regiment, and afterwards became Colonel of the Thirty-sixth. His war record belongs to another chapter of our history. He did not reside in Clinton after the war, but sought and gained success in business in the distant West.

James Monroe Ingalls was errand boy. His spare moments were spent in studying mathematics and laying the foundation of that knowledge which was in later times to make him an instructor in artillery practice at Fort Monroe, and one of the leading authorities of the world on ballistics.* Later, James A. Morgan, the present paymaster of the mills, was office boy.†

D. W. Kilburn was the first clerk or assistant to the paymaster in the office, but he soon withdrew to the cloth room. George W. Weeks,‡ who had entered the mill at the age of thirteen as an errand boy in 1851, was made his successor. Although at times he left the office to pursue his studies for a few months at the High School, yet he still kept up his connection with the mills, so that we may consider his forty-five years of service as continuous. So closely was he identified during these years with the Lancaster Mills, that the corporation seems to some of his co-workers as hardly more than the outer coating of his personality. No one has ever known the construction of the mills, the details of the

* See Philip L. Morgan, also War Record.

† See James Ingalls.

‡ See James A. Weeks.

machinery and all the varied processes of manufacture as thoroughly as he. Although he did not obtain patents for any great inventions, yet he made many minor improvements which in the aggregate increased the production of the plant in a remarkable degree. There were no loose ends in his work, no waste. The total amount of available forces used always balanced accurately with the total results secured. But his story belongs to later history. Yet even in his boyhood he displayed those qualities which were to make him the paymaster in 1861, the superintendent in 1866, the worthy successor of Franklin Forbes in 1877, and a recognized leader among the manufacturers of the country before he retired from the agency in 1896. Passing by his early connection with the Rhetorical Society, the Unitarian Society and the schools, we find that there is one department of the life of our community in which his work was such that it must receive mention. No one gave as much time or rendered such efficient service to the Bigelow Library Association as he. For years he acted as librarian and hundreds of pages of the records of the secretary and treasurer are in his hand-writing. Since the library has come under the control of the town, he has continued his fostering care, and to those who know his work in this direction he seems almost as closely identified with the library as with the Lancaster Mills.

James A. Weeks, the son of Jonathan Weeks and father of George W., was born in Alstead, N. H., in 1811, February 7th. He belonged to the well known Weeks family which lived in Marlboro. He worked on the farm of his uncle, Solomon Weeks of Marlboro, from early boyhood. From the age of fourteen to twenty he drew wood nearly every winter from Marlboro to Boston. He married Caroline Hall of Brewster, Mass., June 19, 1835. At twenty, he went to Waltham and began work in the picker room of a cotton mill. His son, George W. Weeks, was born in Waltham in 1838. James A. Weeks was soon promoted and had charge of various departments of the mill. His health being poor,

he gave up his position there and entered the provision business. He had a market at first in Waltham, then in Boston. In 1847, he came to Clintonville and took charge of the work done on a division of Bigelow's new looms at Lancaster Mills. In 1850, he went into the winding department, where he soon became overseer, and here he remained until 1865. He then served for ten years as superintendent of Sawyers Mills in Boylston, which had been purchased by Lancaster Mills. He was postmaster and selectman in Boylston. He was a great lover of music and was a chorister in the Baptist Society, and afterwards in the Unitarian. He died February 22, 1887.

Henry Shedd came to Clinton from Shirley Village in 1853 to work in the Coachlace Mill. In 1865, he followed James A. Weeks as overseer of the winding and quilling in the Lancaster Mills. He died in 1884 at the age of fifty-eight. His son, Charles H. Shedd, entered the Lancaster Mills office, where he has served for many years.

Donald Cameron, a native of Inverness in the Highlands of Scotland, died August 3, 1869, at the age of sixty-nine. He came to Clintonville in 1844. He at once took charge of the dye-house at Lancaster Mills. He lived in the corporation building known as the Cameron house, which was connected by a foot-bridge with the mills. Cameron Mill was named from him. He was fatally burned June 17, 1869, by an accident while at work in the mills. He had a large family. One of his sons, Angus Cameron, became prominent as a journalist and had a noble war record.* Another, James F., has been engaged in business in New York and Boston; Walter M. has filled most responsible positions in connection with the Metropolitan Steamship Company and other interests of Henry M. Whitney of Boston. Angus Walker, also of Scotch descent, was second-hand in the dye-house. He has since had charge of a dye-house in Holyoke.

*See War Record.

William Orr, another Scotchman, was a pattern weaver for many years. He was especially prominent for his connection with the Orthodox Church.

Absalom Lord was overseer of the carding. He was a native of Athol, and before he came here in 1849 had been a boss-carder in Barre and Winchendon. He was a man of property. He built the David Haskell house on Chestnut Street. He was a Democrat in politics, a Unitarian in religion. After living here for some years, he bought a farm in West Boylston and moved thither. James Needham followed him as overseer in this department. He was the son of Henry Needham and was born in Dedham August 17, 1816. He went to work in a mill in Dorchester at the age of eight. He was also employed as a stone-cutter in Quincy before he came to Clinton about 1847. He married Caroline B. Murphy, July 18, 1838, and they had nine children. He was very popular as an overseer. He died May 27, 1878. His son, James A., followed him as overseer of the carding.

The man who held the position in the mill next in importance to the superintendent was the overseer of the machine shop, Joseph C. Smith. He was a young man of versatile talents; a most excellent machinist, a musician and a man of considerable literary ability. He remained in this position twelve years, until his death, April 30, 1859. A friend says of him: "He was straightforward in the duties of his calling, scrupulous and exacting in the employment of his time, husbanding his means with a wise economy, yet always liberal in the demands of true benevolence; genial in his intercourse with men and warm-hearted in his friendships." He "found it easy to express himself with vigor and propriety." "Temperance and freedom had no firmer or more earnest friend than he."

George M. Lourie, a Scotchman, who died in West Boylston, June 25, 1895, where he was agent of the Clarendon Mills, succeeded Joseph C. Smith as head of the machine shop. Mr. Lourie was born at Bannockburn, Scotland,

March 11, 1830. His father was a carpet loom fixer, and is said to have woven the first Brussels carpet in the United States. The boy passed his childhood in Enfield, Ct.; here he learned the trade of the machinist. He married Alice Dickson in 1850. The following year he came to Clinton to work for J. B. Parker. He was a Congregationalist and prominent as a Free Mason and Odd Fellow. He went to West Boylston in the seventies. The record of his younger brother, William, belongs to more recent times.

Samuel Beaven came from England to America in 1843. He first went to Dudley, but came to Clintonville to work in the machine shop of the Clinton Company in the fall of the same year. He worked as a machinist, loom-fixer, engineer and general utility man at the Lancaster Mills for many years. He kept the "Big Boarding-House" for a time. He died July 4, 1877.

Calvin Stanley, who came here in 1847 from Winchendon, had charge of the weaving room. He was one of the selectmen of the town in 1851-52. In 1853, he went to Dixfield, Me., where he became a grocer. He remained there until his death. He, like the rest of the overseers of the various departments, received three dollars a day. In 1860, the wages were increased to three dollars and fifty cents. The work of the weavers was entirely piece work. Alvin Whiting, a native of Dedham, who had come to town in 1846, and who had been second-hand while Mr. Stanley was overseer, succeeded him in the charge of the room. He has held that position until the present day. In length of service and in the number of operatives who have been under his direct charge, he has exceeded any overseer who has ever been in Clinton.

Philip L. Morgan, a native of Palmer, born in 1813, was overseer of the winding, reeling and dressing, various departments being added or withdrawn from his work as circumstances demanded. He had previously worked in Barre and Winchendon. We have already spoken of his son,



James A. Morgan. Philip L. Morgan came to Clintonville in 1848 and remained in his position in the mill until his resignation in 1887. He was selectman of the town in 1861-3. He is still living among us, and it is to his memory that we are indebted for many of the facts which are here recorded in regard to his associates. Levi Carter, who came to Clintonville in 1846, is said to have run the first dresser in the mills.

Jacob Wilson was overseer of the mule room. He built a house on Wilson Hill, which thus obtained its name. He went to Hookset, N. H., to take charge of a mule room there. He afterwards became a farmer. After he went away, Eneas Morgan had charge of the mule room. At first, Frank, Cook was second-hand. Mr. Morgan came here from Lowell. He was a Unitarian. He was a member of the school committee from 1860 to '65. He went to Worcester, where he manufactured plate for tin-types and a variety of other things. He was followed by James Logan, who had been his second-hand.

James Logan was born in Glasgow, Scotland, in December, 1827. His father was a cotton spinner, and the boy having attended the schools of his native city learned his father's trade. He came to America while a youth and worked for a time in the mills at West Boylston. He came to Clintonville in 1847 to work for the Lancaster Mills. He was overseer of the mule spinning room for twenty-five years. He remained in the service of the Lancaster Mills over forty years. He married Ellen S. Felton in 1856. They attended the Unitarian Church. They lived in a house which they built on Walnut Street. Mr. Logan died December 29, 1891.

James Wrigley, an Englishman, had charge of the finishing. The work in this department was done by the job. He owned the house on High Street afterwards known as the Otterson place. He built a group of tenement houses on the Acre. Old inhabitants still speak of the section

which these occupied as Wrigley's Yard. Mr. Wrigley went from here to Lewiston, Me., and thence to Worcester, where he became the forwarding agent for Washburn & Moen. He died July 12, 1883, at the age of sixty-eight.

Roger Eccles, who afterwards gave his life for his country during the Civil War, had charge of the singeing of the gingham. When the process of singeing gave way to shearing, James Greenwood, who was born at Leeds, Yorkshire, England, September 29, 1810, took charge of it. The father of this James Greenwood was a school teacher, yet the circumstances of the family were such that the boy had to begin to earn his own living at eight years of age. He married Sarah Marlow in Leeds, England. They had three children, John W., Henry, and one daughter. He came to the United States in the winter of 1839, and after a voyage of thirteen weeks was shipwrecked on Long Island. He worked in a woolen mill in North Anson, Maine. This mill was closed and he wandered from place to place until he finally reached Worcester in June, 1851. He visited a machine shop and was told that the Lancaster Mills in Clinton were having trouble in introducing the new process of shearing. Although he had always worked on broadcloth he thought he would come to Clinton and see if there was any opening for him. Mr. Forbes eagerly seized the opportunity to engage the services of an expert, and Mr. Greenwood settled here at once. He invented a contraction and expansion roller by which the checks in the gingham were kept even. He obtained a patent, but sold his right to the Lancaster Mills. He soon became overseer of the finishing considered as a whole. He worked by contract and is said to have had a very large income. Mr. Greenwood was a large hearted man, full of charity. He married as a second wife Jane Lovelass, by whom he had one son, James, and a daughter. He owned the estate known as Wrigley's Yard. Two of his sons, John and Henry, are now overseers in the Lancaster Mills. James is a journalist. The father died November 26, 1894.

W. W. Parker had charge of the cloth room with Daniel W. Kilburn as his second-hand. We shall find both these men leaders in the affairs of the Congregational Church; both became ministers.

Thomas Haverty, an Irishman, looked after those who had charge of bundling the yarn. He was afterwards in charge of the post-office department of A. T. Stewart's store in New York.

Robert J. Finnie was the boss carpenter for thirty-five years. He is a Scotchman, and was born at Millport, February, 1822. His father, Robert, was a ship builder. He attended a High School. He did his first work in Clintonville on Mr. Forbes' house on Chestnut Street, under Jonas E. Howe as contractor, in 1851. He married a sister of Samuel Beaven. For some years he had charge of the "Big Boarding-House." He bought the Bailey estate on Chestnut Street in his later years, where he is still living. His son, James B., has been for some years boss of the yard.

James Ingalls worked as a carpenter for Lancaster Mills. He was born at Canterbury, N. H., January 24, 1791. His father, Samuel Ingalls, a farmer, moved to Ryegate, Vt., when James was four years old. The boy acquired such an education at the district school that he was capable of teaching. He also learned the trade of a carpenter. For thirty years, he alternated summer work at his trade with winter work as a teacher at Ryegate, Vt., and elsewhere. He married Mary Cass of Lyman, N. H. They had nine children. Mr. Ingalls came to Clintonville in the spring of 1848 at the suggestion of his son, Daniel B. Ingalls. One of his first jobs was tearing down the old Pitts mill. After working for some years for the corporation, he started in business on his own account as a carpentering jobber. He built a house for himself on the east side of Boylston Street. Two of his sons-in-law, Hiram Miner and Dwight Brown, built houses near by. He was a conservative Congregationalist. He was the local leader of the "American" or "Know Nothing" party and

served in the General Court in 1855. He was on the school committee in 1852-3. He moved from Clinton to Wisconsin about 1856. He died in Madison, in that state.

John A. Otterson succeeded Mr. Pollard as the overseer of the Lancaster Mills yard. Here he remained for some years. He came from Lowell to Clintonville in 1848. At a later time, he bought the Wrigley cottage on High Street. He died in 1868. Charles A. and Henry N. are his sons. The third overseer was Neil Carmichael. He remained here only one year, but went in 1854 to California. The fourth overseer was George S. Folsom, a native of Maine, born in 1826. He came to Clinton in the early fifties and was overseer of the yard for many years. He died January 19, 1884. Moses Greenough was the painter. He kept a boarding-house on Green Street. He died while in the employ of the mills.

In the earliest times the operatives in the mills were for the most part natives of this country, but as manufacturing rapidly developed in the middle of the present century, the supply of workmen became unequal to the demand. Meanwhile in Europe the relation of supply to demand was such that the condition of the laboring classes was far from satisfactory. Therefore a vast number of immigrants began to arrive on our shores. A few came from England and Scotland. A considerable portion of these had some acquaintance with the textile arts. As skilled workmen were rare, these men, if they possessed executive ability, were able to secure lucrative positions. We have found many of them becoming overseers and most substantial citizens. Although these English and Scotch retained to a considerable extent their race characteristics and symyathies, yet they became so united with the original citizens that their story is inseparable.

The number of Irish immigrants, who found a home in Clinton and employment in the mills, exceeded that of all

others combined. Few of them had had any opportunity to learn the textile arts before coming hither and were therefore obliged to begin at the bottom. It was not many years, however, before their thrift enabled them to acquire property and build houses for themselves, and their progressive spirit gave them a leading place in the affairs of the community. Their story calls for a separate chapter, and, if the later history of the town is ever written, it will be found that during the last quarter of the present century, every department of private and municipal life has been strongly influenced by them and their descendants.

Among the workers in the Lancaster Mills, there was a considerable body of Germans, even before the time of the Civil War. The work of these Germans was for the most part confined to these mills during the first years of their stay among us, and they have always occupied a prominent and well defined place among the operatives. Hence it seems desirable to consider them in this connection. Perhaps their early story can best be suggested by considering in detail the life of one of them.

William Gottlob Beck was the first German to settle in Clintonville, and his biography, with some variation of details, may be taken as a sample of that of his fellow countrymen who settled here. He was a native of Wurtemberg, while a considerable portion of his fellow immigrants came from Bavaria. He was born July 9, 1823. Like all German boys of his time, he attended school from the age of four until he was fourteen and obtained a good elementary education. According to the custom of his country in those days, after leaving school he was apprenticed to learn a trade. The trade in his case was that of a woolen weaver, and during the four years that he served, he learned all the various processes connected with the manufacture of woolen cloth, from the raw wool to the finished product. His weaving was of course done on a hand loom. After his apprenticeship was ended he traveled about for some years, practicing his art

and picking up new ideas. His father, who was a baker without any great amount of property, gave all his six sons an elementary education and a trade, but he could do no more for them. It required capital in those days for a man to carry on the weaver's trade, for no large factories had as yet been established and the business had not been centralized. It was necessary for each man to own his own machinery and to buy enough wool at the proper season to keep him in work until the season for shearing came round again. Now Mr. Beck did not have money enough to do this. He had heard of a country across the sea where a young man had a better chance to make his way in the world than in Germany, and in 1847, he resolved to emigrate. The chief point in which the story of some of our early German operatives differed from that of Mr. Beck previous to leaving the fatherland was in regard to military service. In those days, the standing army in Germany was smaller than now. The physical examination and the action of the lot relieved many from serving in time of peace. Mr. Beck escaped, but many of his fellow immigrants were obliged to serve their term in the army, some of them for six years.

Mr. Beck, after a short stay at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, where his brother had previously located, and a few weeks spent in Philadelphia, went to Mason Village (now Greenville), N. H., and from there to Lawrence, Mass. Hearing of an opportunity for work in Clintonville he came here in 1849, before the Lancaster Mills were fairly at work. It was very difficult at this time for the mill managers to get operatives who had been educated as weavers, and it was not long before Calvin Stanley, who was overseer of the weaving room, asked Mr. Beck if he could not get some of his countrymen who had learned their trade to come here. This request was reinforced by a personal appeal from H. N. Bigelow. By means of direct solicitation a considerable number of Germans were persuaded to come to the Lancaster Mills, some from Mason Village, N. H., some from Law-

rence, some from South Hadley Falls, some from Webster and some direct from the fatherland. Before the Civil War there were some sixty male citizens of German birth in Clinton. The skill of these Germans soon gave them a good position in the mills and some of them became section hands.

The noble records of the Germans during the Civil War will be given elsewhere. It is sufficient here to say, that forty-five of them, or about seventy-five per cent of the whole number of male citizens, enlisted. The names of thirteen are on our soldiers' monument. This is twenty-one per cent of the whole number of male citizens.

Although they were economical and laid up money, yet, at first, they were conservative in acquiring real estate, and did not care to build until they had money enough to fully pay for their houses. Thus none were assessed for real estate in the tax list of 1857, and very little was acquired until after the war. In the later sixties, the section north-east of the Lancaster Mills began to be known as the German Village, and one after another houses were erected until there were few of the Germans of middle age who were living in corporation houses. Most of them have married within their own race, although a few, like Mr. Beck, have found wives among those of Scotch, English or Irish descent. While they have been quick in acquiring the English language, yet the German has been chiefly used by the first generation of immigrants among themselves, and many of the second generation use the English and German equally well.

The German organizations have all begun their existence since the Civil War. The Harugari started in 1866. It is an insurance society which pays to each of its members four dollars a week in case of sickness and five hundred to the heirs in case of death. The Turnverein, which was organized in 1867, pays special attention to physical development and social enjoyment. The Schiller Club, which is literary

in its nature, was not organized until 1869. The histories of all these societies belongs to a period subsequent to that with which we are dealing.

In politics, the Germans have acted independently, sometimes with one party, sometimes with the other, sometimes as a unit and sometimes with great diversity. In recent years, they have held many local offices.

As children in Germany, most of them have received Lutheran training, but there are a few who were brought up as Catholics. Some have not allied themselves to any religious organizations in this country, while others have worshipped in various congregations, one here and another there. The organization of a German Church is of too recent origin to be dealt with in this work.



SIDNEY HARRIS.

CHAPTER XXII.

MINOR INDUSTRIES.

SIDNEY HARRIS, the youngest son of Daniel Harris,* was born October 8, 1804, in Boylston. He attended school in District No. 10. From boyhood, he was accustomed to work in the comb shops of his older brothers, Emory* and Asahel,* as well as upon the farm of his father. One from among his old account books has been preserved. It is called "Book I." In it, we find the record of his business development. Tradition has stated that he built the Harrisville dam in 1823, but it was seldom that the young men of the early part of this century were independent of paternal control before they reached their majority, and it is not likely that a boy of nineteen built such a dam as this. Moreover, this "Book I" gives ample evidence that he first began business for himself in a small way when he became twenty-one.

The first entries in 1825 show that he began by "cutting out combs" for his brothers, Asahel and Emory, and for various other men as well. He hired the machine with which he worked of Gardner Pollard. His business gradually increased. He began "to make combs" as a whole. He was apparently never the regular partner of either of his brothers. Sometimes, he made combs for each of them; sometimes, they made combs for him. Perhaps, they all worked together on any large order that either received. Before "Book I" was closed up in 1828, Sidney Harris had

* See pages 176-182.

evidently become, as a comb-maker, the business equal of his brothers.

Up to this time, he had lived at home, but, in this year, 1828, he bought of his brother, Asahel, and his father, the homestead east of the river. It is hardly probable that he had acquired in four years through his own labors sufficient capital to pay two thousand dollars for a piece of property like this, so it is likely that his father may have helped him. In a list which he kept of his long series of real estate transactions, this stands at the beginning. This property was the nucleus around which grew that great aggregation of lands and houses which made him the chief individual tax-payer of the new town. September 13, 1829, he married Sally Kilburn who had been born in Shirley, had lived in Lunenburg, and at this time, according to the records, had her residence in Lancaster.

His manufacturing business from 1828 to 1830 or later was done in a shop near his new house, and there is no reason to suppose that the water privilege had been improved up to this time. The value of this water privilege in those times may be judged from the story that is told of a possible purchaser. A stranger was riding by one day and in an off-hand way offered three hundred dollars for it. The owner, though eager to accept the offer, apparently hesitated in order to obtain more. The man who made the offer, seeing that there was a disposition to sell, drove away at the top of his speed before he could be bound to a bargain.

The first record we have of the dam was made in 1833, when Asahel and Sidney agreed to share equally the dam which they had jointly built. Asahel had the power on the western half, Sidney on the eastern. It was of the same height then, as it was in later times, that is, four and two-tenths feet. It was once swept away, but was rebuilt in its previous form. Once, flash-boards were so added that the dam was raised one foot, but the water flowed back on Lancaster Mills and there was some trouble which was settled by a sale

of one foot of the flow to that corporation. In later times, two water-wheels were used and an available force of some over fifty horse-power secured.

Sidney probably had a small shop here for the manufacture of combs soon after the dam was completed, but Asahel could not have had any very extensive works here, since all that he did have, together with his half right in the dam and water privilege, passed into the hands of Sidney in 1835 for only four hundred dollars. The buildings about the dam increased in number and size as the business developed. A picture has been preserved which was probably drawn before 1850. On the western side of the river, the only building is a saw and grist mill moved from the Pitts Mills in 1844, while on the eastern side there is one large comb shop with several smaller buildings clustered about. At a later time, Mr. Harris built another large shop on the western side of the river.* The road was changed from its location beside the river to the present location of Branch Street to accommodate the new shop on the west. Mr. Harris met with a loss by fire of five thousand dollars in January, 1853, at the comb shops, but rebuilding and repairs soon effaced all marks of the injury.

During his last years, Sidney Harris was an invalid and gave up to his sons, Edwin A. and George S., the management of the comb business. His shops then employed from twenty-five to thirty workmen and the sales amounted to more than twenty thousand dollars per year. In 1857, the low valuation of the assessors puts the shops of S. Harris & Sons at six thousand four hundred dollars, machinery twelve hundred dollars and stock three thousand dollars. In the early portion of his life, he was his own buying and selling agent and made frequent trips to New York for this purpose.

* These buildings, except the saw and grist mill, are for the most part standing with various changes of position and have recently been fitted up for tenements by the Lancaster Mills.

He kept himself thoroughly in touch with the condition of the market and seldom made a poor business venture. Of his credit, one who knew him well said: "His word was as good as his bond, and his bond was as good as gold."

Meanwhile he had invested extensively in real estate elsewhere. He had evidently let Lory F. Bancroft have money for the buildings at the corner of Union and High Streets, and they had fallen into his hands before 1850. He was also a large owner in the Worcester and Nashua Railroad, and was one of those who did most to secure for this community the advantages of this road.* In 1857, which we may reckon as the close of his active career, his real estate was assessed at thirty-three thousand six hundred and sixty-one dollars, and his personal at twelve thousand three hundred and seventy-five, while the comb stock and machinery in the hands of S. Harris & Sons was assessed at four thousand two hundred dollars, a total of fifty thousand two hundred and thirty-six dollars, or more than was held by any other two individual tax-payers of Clinton combined. It will be seen from this estimate that the value of the comb shop had doubled.

In 1838, Sidney Harris had become so prominent as a citizen that he was chosen one of the selectmen of Lancaster. The road from Harris bridge to Berlin and Boylston,

*The extent of his property can best be seen from the following assessors' valuation:—

SIDNEY HARRIS, 1850.

House, barn and shops, 77 acres	\$3,500
Wood lots, 123 acres	2,740
Water privilege, mills, etc.	3,000
Six houses.....	3,900
Bancroft estate, store, etc.	3,000
Lowe estate.....	2,000
	<hr/>
	\$18,140
Personal.....	9,000
	<hr/>
	\$27,140

constructed in part in 1845, must have added considerably to the value of his homestead. The road from Lancaster Mills to the Harris Comb Shops, which was built in 1848, originally followed the course of the river as far as Water Street. Sidney Harris was one of the leading men of School District No. 11, and, when it was united in 1847 with No. 10, he was one of the prudential committee of the united districts until Clinton was incorporated. By this committee, several new school-houses were built, among others, one on "Harris Hill." He was among the leaders in the movement for the division of Lancaster, and his name appears on every important committee which was chosen to forward that purpose. He was chosen the first treasurer of Clinton, and was again elected to the same office in 1855.

Mr. Harris was a most ardent temperance man. It was he who made a hall for the Sons of Temperance in the building on High Street now occupied by C. W. Field. When the famous Charles Jewett was about to give up his work in behalf of the cause for pecuniary reasons, Sidney Harris started a subscription paper which was circulated not only in Clinton, but in many other towns and, by this, he raised such a sum that Mr. Jewett's work was continued. These two examples are taken from many to illustrate the idea that he was the monied representative of temperance in this section.

In religion, he was a Unitarian. In early life, he attended church at Lancaster, and he was prominent among those who furnished means for building the Unitarian meeting-house in Clinton.

Next to the Bigelows, Sidney Harris is the most important figure in the industrial life of Clintonville. He won this position by his love of work, his integrity, his sound judgment in matters of business, his enterprise, his public spirit and his service in behalf of education, temperance and religion.

After the death of their father, which occurred Novem-

ber 21, 1861, the sons continued the business under the title of Sidney Harris & Sons, a title which was never changed as long as the shops remained under their control.

Edwin Algernon Harris was born May 31, 1837. George Sidney Harris, March 13, 1839. They were the only children who survived their father. They were both born at the Harris homestead and both attended the public schools. Edwin went for some time to Josiah Bride's famous school in Berlin and took a business course at a school in Worcester. The boys were employed about the shops from an early age, and on account of the ill health of their father were in active business before they had reached maturity. December 18, 1858, Edwin A. Harris married Adeline K. Damon of Fitchburg. They lived in his father's house.

While their father was yet living, in 1860, large additions were made to the works under the direction of the two brothers. After this, they employed fifty hands. By the conditions of the father's will, the mother had control of the homestead and shops, but she leased the latter to her sons. In May, 1862, the firm undertook the manufacture of paper bags on a large scale, but soon abandoned it and confined itself entirely to horn goods. The staple product was the common varieties of combs, but, at a later date, fancy combs were made. For a time, some horn buckles and horn chains were manufactured. Goods were sold through commission merchants.

George S. Harris bought of Absalom Lord the house more recently owned by Mrs. David Haskell. He was never very strong but was always inclined to work beyond his power. In 1865, he was one of the selectmen of Clinton. He took up his father's mantle in matters of temperance and was an active worker in the society of Good Templars. In his later life, he went to the Congregational Church. He died April 28, 1866, at the age of twenty-eight.

On account of his brother's weakness, the larger portion of the responsibilities connected with the business had fallen



THE HARRIS HOMESTEAD.

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upon Edwin A. Before the death of George S., extensive additions had been begun. These consisted of the brick mill and the boiler house on the west of the river and the brick press shop on the east. After these additions from fifty to seventy-five hands were employed and sometimes for short periods from ninety to one hundred. The annual product was worth from one hundred thousand dollars to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. In 1870, five thousand horns were used per day, and twelve thousand combs were made. These comb works were the largest in America.

The brothers had been especially interested in the Agricultural Railroad, since known as the Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg, then as the Northern Division of the Old Colony, and still later absorbed by the New York, New Haven and Hartford. It was due to Edwin A. Harris more than any one else that this road ran through Clinton. He was a director and large stock holder in the road. He was also a director of the First National Bank of Clinton.

When Mrs. Sidney Harris died March 9, 1872, he came into possession of the homestead and shops. Edwin A. Harris was a man of remarkable financial ability. He was even keener, perhaps, than his father and devoted himself to business with all the energy of his nature. He realized that the building up of a great industry would be the best service he could do the world, and those who knew him best do not doubt that had he lived through his maturity, his mills would have continued a most important factor in the development of the town. He was a man with high ideals of public morality, and gave liberally for the support of all reforms. He was one of the most prominent members of the Unitarian Society. At the age of thirty-eight, when his business was established and he might well expect many years of usefulness and prosperity, he died May 28, 1875.*

*A joint stock company, called the S. Harris Sons Manufacturing Company, was formed with a capital of sixty thousand dollars to continue

Among the men employed at the comb shop of S. Harris & Sons, Joel Sawtell was among the best known. He was born in Boylston in 1809. From the age of sixteen to that of nineteen, he worked for Nathaniel Lowe of Clinton, and it is supposed that he learned the comb trade of him. He worked for Emory Harris for several years. In 1829, he went into the comb business for himself. This he continued until 1837. He and Mr. Glines seem to have had some sort of a business partnership with Sidney Harris before his sons came into the business. He was afterwards for the greater part of his life employed at the Harris Comb Shops. He died July 18, 1888. Theodore McNeal, who died March 1, 1887, at the age of fifty-four, also worked in these shops for twenty-five years or more. He came to Clinton in 1852.

The Clinton Wire Cloth Company was incorporated June 23, 1856. The directors were E. B. Bigelow, H. N. Bigelow and J. C. Hoadley. E. B. Bigelow was made president, H. N. Bigelow, treasurer, and A. E. Bigelow, clerk. Charles H. Waters soon became general manager, and he was made treasurer in January, 1858. He was followed in January, 1865, by Charles A. Whiting. After A. E. Bigelow had served for one year, C. F. W. Parkhurst followed him as clerk. The original capital stock was only twenty thousand dollars. The land for the plant was bought of the Bigelow Carpet Company. The assessors list in 1857 shows that the real estate was valued at seven thousand dollars and the personal at three thousand dollars. There was at this time, one mill thirty-six feet by one hundred and seventy-five. The machine shop, fifty feet by eighty, was built in 1862. No. 2

the business. This company gave employment to about eighty hands, but, after six years of work without profit, they sold out to Mrs. Edwin A. Harris. She continued the business for a time under the corporate title in a smaller way, but finally sold out to the Lancaster Mills and the shops were closed and some of the buildings turned into tenement houses.

mill was built in 1863 of the same size as No. 1. The machine shop stood between the two mills and connected them. In 1865, the larger mill, No. 3, was erected. This was one hundred and four by two hundred and twenty-five feet.

The first patents were granted in England for weaving wire cloth as early as 1770, but there was no successful manufacture of wire cloth by power before it was made in Clinton in 1856. The wire cloth made here was manufactured in many different patterns and used for window screens, corn poppers, sieve bottoms, spark arrestors, coal and sand riddles, and a great variety of other things. Stillman Houghton* was the overseer in charge of the manufacturing until February, 1865. Alonzo E. Hardy was engineer for the first twenty years. Benjamin F. Rice was the chief machinist until February, 1865. He was born in District No. 10, September 21, 1828. He was the son of Nathaniel Rice and the grandson of Joseph, Senior. He was a man of great mechanical ability and the machinery of the Clinton Wire Cloth Mills doubtless owes as much to him as that of the other mills does to J. B. Parker. Mr. Rice invented the first paper bag machine, but he sold his patent. He also made other important inventions. He moved to South Boston and there worked in trying to develop the caloric engine. George F. Wright followed Mr. Rice. After working here for many years, he became the senior member of the Wright & Colton Wire Cloth Company of Worcester. Herbert J. Brown, who* became superintendent in 1872, was employed to some extent by the company before the period with which we are dealing ends.

It was not until after 1865, that the Clinton Wire Cloth Company assumed its place among our great corporations. In January, 1859, only seven hands were employed, including those mentioned, and even in January, 1865, there were only twenty-one.

*See page 255.

† See War Record.

Thomas F. Waters was born in Millbury in 1828. He attended school in the district school with a few terms at the common school. He entered a factory at the age of fifteen and he has been ever since so real to his work that he has become a skilled workman and at the same time gained a good understanding of the business. At the age of nineteen he was the overseer in a cotton mill, and he soon had charge of the mill as a whole. In 1848, he was manufacturing wire from flax at Little Falls, New York. At the age of twenty-three he started mills for the manufacture of wire and rope at Tavenner City, Ct. He married Mary Farnsworth in October, 1853. He came to Clinton when the Clinton Wire Co. was started as agent. He did the same work as the agent that E. N. Sigelow had done for the manufacture of Brussels and Wilton carpeting, that is, he acted for the inventions of E. B. Sigelow. He also acted much about all these inventions and obtained many patents thereon. We are told the Clinton Wire Cloth Mills were created by Mr. Waters. He was the central force in the corporation until his death. After serving as manager twenty-four years he was made president and held this office until his death. He superintended the construction of the works of the Clinton Tartrate Company at Littleton. He never left Clinton although at one time he planned to buy a residence where J. R. Foster's house now stands. His home was in Clinton where he was looked upon as a foremost citizen devoted to the interests of the community. He died March 17, 1883.

Although Artemas F. Sigelow was more prominently connected with several other local interests than he was with the Clinton Wire Cloth Company, yet it has seemed best to consider his story here, as he was the first clerk of the corporation. He was born in Paxton, September 3, 1819, and his brother George N., our first High School master, was brought up on his father's farm. He was educated in the district schools, at Bride's school in Berlin, and



CLINTON WIRE CLOTH MILLS, 1865-1895.

at the academies in Southbridge and Worcester. He taught school in Paxton before he came to Clintonville. He had charge of our Second School for some three years. This was next in grade to the High School. When he resigned in 1852, the school report spoke in the highest terms of his efficiency. For a quarter of a century, he served our various corporations, being connected at one time or another with nearly all of them as clerk, paymaster or treasurer. From May, 1861, to May, 1864, he was treasurer of the Clinton Savings Bank. He was town clerk from 1854 to 1860. He was a member of the school committee from 1855 to 1860. In all his duties, public and private, he manifested the utmost nicety and precision. He was an earnest Congregationalist. He is now living in Paxton.

C. F. W. Parkhurst was born in Framingham, March 5, 1808. He was the son of Ephraim and Betsy L. Parkhurst. He was one of a family of ten children. He had one brother who became a clergyman, and another who became a physician. He worked on his father's farm and attended the common schools and the Framingham Academy. Before he came to Clinton, he had been a farmer and a teacher. He taught for twenty-two winters in Framingham, Holliston and Ashland. He was also a writing teacher. He was superintendent of the Sunday School and leader of the village choir in Framingham. He married Mary Goodale of Marlboro, November 8, 1832. He had three sons and one daughter who are now living. One of these, Wellington E. Parkhurst, has been one of our foremost citizens. Another, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, is noted as a reformer, an author and a divine. A third, Howard E., is an author and one of the leading musicians of the country. Mr. C. F. W. Parkhurst came to Clinton at the end of 1853, to work as a book-keeper in the office of Parker & Palmer, afterwards J. B. Parker & Co. Five-years later, he added the work of book-keeper for the Clinton Wire Cloth Company to that of the machine shop. He performed the work of both offices for

some years, and then gave his time exclusively to the Clinton Wire Cloth Company for seven years more. He retired from business in April, 1875. He bought a house on Walnut Street of Robert S. Freeman. This house is still owned by his heirs. He was a devoted Congregationalist and was a deacon in our church for over fifteen years. He was the first town clerk in Ashland, also an assessor and a member of the school committee in the same town. He was a member of the Clinton school committee ten years, from 1864 to 1873, and was chairman in 1869. He was also an assessor in Clinton and a member of the cemetery committee. He died February 9, 1878.

One who knew him well wrote: "In the death of Deacon Parkhurst this community loses a valuable and respected citizen, and the Congregational Church, an honored and efficient member. His manner was a constant protest against folly, whether in the family, in business, in society, in religion. * * * The methods and discipline of the teacher were evident in all his later work. He went to and came from his office with the regularity of the clock. 'The tenor of his way' was notably 'even.' Rigid system was personified in him. Exceedingly frugal in his expenditures, he was in no way penurious, but from his savings gave liberally to public and benevolent enterprises. A correct creed was to his mind important, but a correct life was more so."

Joseph B. Parker was born in Princeton in 1805. He attended the district school of his native town during early boyhood. From the age of fifteen to that of twenty-one, he served an apprenticeship to Joel Howe, a Princeton blacksmith. He then worked in the machine shop of Samuel Flagg of Oakdale. Within a year, he was made foreman. After holding this position for eight years, he entered into the same business for himself. In October, 1833, he married Mary A. Morgan. In July, 1835, he became a deacon of the Orthodox Church in West Boylston.

When E. B. Bigelow invented his first counterpane loom, he sought the coöperation of Mr. Parker in putting it into form for use. Mr. Parker also constructed the first coach-lace loom for Mr. Bigelow. In 1840, Mr. Parker opened a machine shop in Providence, but he was soon called to Clintonville to take charge of the new machine shop of the Clinton Company. Here, he built the counterpane, gingham, and Brussels carpeting looms for the new mills. As the plan of all these looms was greatly modified in the building, it is probable that their efficiency was increased by his practical suggestions. He was a most thorough workman, and the machines which he built were always the standard machines of their kind in the market. Dr. D. B. Ingalls, who entered Mr. Parker's employ in 1847, says:

"Dea. Parker at this time was in the prime of life—forty-two years of age. He impressed me as a frank, open-hearted, self-possessed, honest man. There was no sham about him. He had none of that suavity of manners, that oils the way to good fellowship in the life of the popular man. He had a way of expressing himself with a look that manifested his contempt for insincerity in others. No one thought of him as selfish in his intercourse with his fellowmen. While true to his employers, he was helpful to those in his employ, and in general was public-spirited in the best sense of the word. In a business way, I never met a person who made a deeper impression upon my early life, as to what the true citizen should be, than did Deacon Joseph B. Parker."

"The place in which I involuntarily find myself, when, in imagination, the attempt is made to look over Clintonville, as it was in 1847, is in that building in the worsted mill yard, at your left as you pass through the gate. At that time, it was the machine shop, and a lively place in more senses than one. A large number were employed there, most of them young men, representing most of the northern states. To keep this little army in hand and profitably at work was no light undertaking. 'The Deacon,' as we called him, had

his work well systematized. The frames, or skeletons of the machines, together with the heavy shafts, were made and put together in the lower room under the direction of Horace Whitney, one of the four men appointed to look after the details of the work. The lighter work was done up stairs; Jonas Hunt and Albert H. Smith at that time had charge of the men at work on the different parts of the last lot of Coachlace looms that they built here. And Edward W. Goodale had charge of those who were at work on the thousand and one things required to complete the various machines made. At this time, these four men, active, wide-awake, in the prime of life, were expected to keep things moving. It is surprising when we remember what they had to contend with, that they all lived to pass the allotted age of man. All four have died within a few years."

In 1849, in company with Levi Greene, Mr. Parker bought out the planing mill machinery of Belyea & Howe and built a mill near the site of the present foundry, which the assessors valued in 1850 at seventeen hundred and fifty dollars. In March, 1851, he sold out his share of this business and went to England to set up some Brussels carpet looms for E. B. Bigelow. Here, he remained for six months or more. On his return to Clinton, he entered into partnership with G. M. Palmer for the manufacture of machinery. The machine shop, which is still standing, was completed by them in the autumn of 1852. They continued business together for five years, building most of the new machinery for the mills here, as well as doing a large general business. At this time, according to the assessors, this shop, with the land, was valued at twenty-five hundred dollars, the machinery and stock at forty-seven hundred. October 31, 1857, Mr. Palmer withdrew from the firm and two years later A. C. Dakin became a partner with Mr. Parker. Considerable additions were made to the shop. From April 1, 1864, to April 1, 1865, Samuel Fosdick of Groton had an interest in the business. March 10, 1875, a new company was incorpor-

ated as the J. B. Parker Machine Company. From fifty to one hundred men were employed.

Mr. Parker was for many years the leading coal dealer of Clinton. He bought the brick house on Main Street a few rods north of its corner with Water. This remained his homestead throughout his life. He died September 1, 1874.

He was one of the committee chosen by District No. 10 to oversee all matters connected with the division of the town. He was one of the founders of the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute. He was connected with every movement to forward the cause of temperance and that of anti-slavery. He was president of the Fremont Club. He was one of the founders of the Orthodox Society of Clinton and continued one of the pillars of this society throughout his life. In his character, the virtues of the Puritans and their progressive spirit were again united.

Archelaus C. Dakin was born in Sudbury, June 24, 1823. His father was a farmer, a deacon in the Congregationalist Church, and a selectman of the town. He attended the district school. He worked on the farm until he was twenty-three, and then went into a machine shop. He came to Clintonville in January, 1848, to work in the machine shop of the Clinton Company. He remained here five years; he was then foreman for two years at J. B. Parker's, and then for five years foreman at the Carpet Mill machine shop. In 1859, he became the partner of J. B. Parker. After Mr. Parker was unable to work, he became the manager of the shop, a position he still holds. He married Julia M. Chickering in 1855. He built his present residence on Prospect Street in 1866. He has been prominently connected with the Congregationalist Society. He has served the town as selectman, and has been a director of the First National Bank and a vice-president of the Savings Bank.

In 1847, H. N. Bigelow, acting for a stock company, completed a building at the foot of Burditt Hill, where the

Bigelow Carpet Mill now stands. This building was designed for industries auxiliary to the mills. The main part toward the east was one hundred feet in length and forty-two in width, with a small boiler-house attached on the south.

The lower story of this section was occupied by Samuel Belyea and Jonas E. Howe as a planing mill. This planing mill ran by steam power and employed about ten hands in making boxes for the mills and other such work in their line as might be demanded by the corporation or private individuals.

The story above Belyea & Howe was occupied by James Patterson, who employed one man and two girls in making belts and loom harnesses and covering rolls. The western part of the building, Gilman M. Palmer used as an iron foundry, employing about twelve men. When this location was needed for the manufacture of carpets in 1849, Belyea & Howe sold out their machinery to Levi Greene and J. B. Parker, and the other occupants of the building moved their business to other parts of the village. Mark Lund, who had a blacksmith shop a little to the west, was also obliged to move.

Gilman M. Palmer was a native of Union, Maine. He was born December 4, 1812. After gaining such limited education as could be obtained from a few brief years at the district school, he began to learn his trade at the age of fourteen. His first business was in Franklin, N. H. Then he went to Dover in the same state and did business there. Thence, he went to the West, but he found that locality less to his liking than the East, and therefore returned. He came to Clintonville, October 2, 1847.

As we have already noted, he began business in the western part of the building on the present site of the Bigelow Carpet Mills, employing about twelve men. He was almost wholly engaged in work connected with the great corporations of the village. In October, 1849, he completed his foundry on Parker Street. In 1857, this foundry and lot

were assessed at two thousand two hundred and fifty dollars and the stock at one thousand dollars. In 1852, he built the machine shop in company with J. B. Parker. He continued in business with him for five years, as before stated. In the fall of 1854, he became superintendent of a foundry in Lawrence, but he gave up the position after a short time. During all these years, the Clinton Foundry was the center of his business activities. He continued business until October, 1881, when he sold out to the Clinton Foundry Company, which was composed of the Parker Machine Company and C. C. Stone. This partnership was dissolved in 1894. The business is now carried on by C. C. Stone, under the same firm name. Mr. Palmer died May 27, 1885.

Mr. Palmer served as one of the selectmen of Clinton for six years, 1851-55, 1856-57, 1868-69. During the last five of these years, he was chairman. He was always especially devoted to the interests of the fire department and served for some years as foreman of the Cataract Engine Company. Mr. Palmer was in 1867 a candidate for the state legislature on the Prohibitory-Republican ticket. Although he received a majority of the votes in his own town, he failed of election in the district. In 1869, he was again a candidate but lost his election by a narrow margin. He contested the seat with Jonas E. Howe the sitting member in the famous case of Palmer vs. Howe which created such an intense excitement in Clinton. The Committee of Investigation decided in his favor six to one, but the House supported the minority report. Mr. Palmer was most prominently connected with the organization of the Clinton Light Guard in 1853, and became the first captain of the company. In 1855, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Regiment. The various pageants which took place in the town in 1853 and 1854 owe their origin and their success in a large measure to him. He was vice-president of the Clinton Savings Bank from the time it was organized until his death. He was also a director in the First National Bank for many years. He was a Free Mason

and held the office of marshal. He was one of the original members of the Unitarian Society and belonged to the prudential committee of the parish from 1852 until the time of his death. He was the first of our citizens to make large bequests to public and local interests. Among these bequests may be mentioned a building lot and four thousand five hundred dollars for a parsonage to the First Unitarian Society of Clinton; one thousand dollars to the Unitarian Society for the benefit of the Sunday School Library; four thousand dollars to the First National Bank, in return for assistance rendered when in pecuniary difficulties; two thousand dollars each, to Trinity Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons and to E. D. Baker Post 64, Grand Army of the Republic; one thousand dollars to the Bigelow Free Public Library.

In 1839, Ephraim Fuller bought of George Howard the water privilege, shops and lands at the old Allen mill site which is now occupied by Rodger's Mills, off Allen Street. Mr. Fuller had before carried on business at the water privilege more recently used by Carter's Mills, but had been burnt out there. The original work of Mr. Fuller had been the dressing and fulling of cloths prepared by farmers' wives. He kept up his old business at his new location, but soon added to it the spinning of knitting yarn and the weaving of satinet cloths.

Andrew L. Fuller, his son, born June 6, 1824, was associated with his father in business at an early age. He had charge of the mill. At the age of twenty-one, he was his father's partner and, before Clinton was incorporated, he had full control of the mill. In 1850, the mill was assessed at five thousand dollars, machinery and stock at one thousand five hundred dollars. August 23, 1851, the *Courant* says that he employed thirty hands, running much of the time night and day. He made woollen yarn for the Clinton Company and fancy cassimeres, using six hundred pounds of wool per day, making from sixty thousand to seventy thousand yards

of cloth annually. Later, he made fancy quilted skirts. In 1857, the stock, mill and water power were assessed at four thousand dollars, machinery and stock at two thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars.

When hoop skirts became fashionable, Mr. Fuller turned his attention to the covering of the steel wires. In 1865, an addition to the mill was completed forty-five feet by eighty-two and three stories high. This was larger than the original mill. Here, he had two hundred and fifty braiding machines for skirt wire. Seventy-five thousand yards of steel were covered daily. Eighteen tape looms wove fifteen thousand yards each day. One hundred hands were employed. The same year, he erected an office and boarding-house. He bought the shops and the water privilege of Haskell McCollum on Main Street. It seemed as if the industry was destined to develop to large proportions, but Mr. Fuller's health broke down. A trip to Europe in the summer of 1866 and to Florida in the winter did not bring recovery. He died September 10, 1867.

Mr. Fuller's home was for years the center of hospitality for all the neighborhood. He was a large-hearted, jovial man. No one was more popular than he among our townspeople and any office that he was willing to hold was eagerly given to him. But, although he consented to serve on the board of fire engineers and for one term in the legislature in 1854, yet, in general, he preferred private life. He was a captain of the Light Guard and lieutenant in Company C, Fifteenth Massachusetts Volunteers, serving for four months. He resigned his commission on account of ill health. He was an Odd Fellow and Free Mason. He was a liberal supporter of the Unitarian Society.

Other men in Clinton became interested in the manufacture of hoop skirts. William E. Frost, who had been a machinist at the Counterpane Mill, made some important improvements in the manufacture of these skirts, but disposed of his rights in them to Worcester parties. A com-

pany consisting, first or last, of H. S. Robinson, W. G. Wilder, D. A. White and W. H. Brockway, hired power of A. L. Fuller and made skirts in his mill in 1858. For a year or so, they worked night and day, employing some ten operatives. In 1859, the business passed into the hands of W. H. Brockway. A. L. Fuller furnished the tape, which was, apparently, the most profitable part of the manufacture. About the end of the war, the Bay State Skirt Company was organized. Albion W. Gibbs was at the head of this business. Chester Guild and H. C. Kendrick were also interested in it. The manufacturing was done in the basement of the Library Building. From ten to twenty-five girls were employed in the most busy times. The business was kept up for about three years.

The Lancaster Quilt Mill Company* was incorporated February 11, 1848, "for the purpose of manufacturing petticoat robes, toilet covers, and the various descriptions of counterpanes, quilts and bed covers and all work connected with this branch of business, and also any other description of cotton goods." The capital was not to exceed two hundred thousand dollars. John Lamson, William P. Barnard and George Seaver were the original incorporators. In 1850, the company was assessed for about one hundred and ten thousand dollars. At this time, one hundred operatives were employed and seventy thousand counterpanes ten quarters by thirteen quarters were made annually on the thirty-six looms. By the patents of E. B. Bigelow, the cost of making these quilts had been reduced from nine dollars to three. The business was not remarkably successful and the hard times of 1857 forced the closing of the mills. In May, 1859, the mills were bought by James Reed & Co. There were twenty acres of land, a brick factory, brick picker house, repair shop and boiler house, a wooden bleachery

*See pages 211-212,



THE COURTENAY MILL.

and some ten outlying buildings. It was about the beginning of 1860 before the works started up. Later, Jordan, Marsh & Co. owned the property; then Jordan, Bardwell & Co. All these parties manufactured under the name of the Lancaster Quilt Company. In April, 1873, William E. Frost and S. T. Howard bought the mill for twelve thousand dollars. June 19, 1873, the outlying estate was sold in many lots, for forty-three thousand dollars.

The clerks who served in the mill were Albert S. Carleton, Edward R. Fiske, Augustus J. Sawyer, Wellington E. Parkhurst, Joshua Thissell and Henry N. Otterson. From 1848 to 1865, Charles W. Worcester was agent. He was born in Princeton, August 23, 1808. He was a most public-spirited citizen. He served as an assessor. He was a member of the board of selectmen seven years; and during five of these he was chairman. In 1868, he was sent to the General Court. He lived at first on the corner of Water and Main Streets. He occupied at a later time the house on Walnut Street next to the Town Hall. He built the Bailey house on Chestnut Street. He was a prominent Odd Fellow. He died November 23, 1872, at the age of sixty-four.

When Dea. James Patterson was forced to move from the shop on the present site of the Bigelow Carpet Mill, he started a shop near his private residence on Walnut Street where W. S. Doggett now lives. The shop was afterwards changed to a tenement house, and now stands on Water Street just west of the Dame estate. Deacon Patterson was a native of Lunenburg, born in 1782. He was the fifth in descent from a James Patterson who was captured by Cromwell at Dunbar and transported to America. He had been in Nashua and Dunbarton, N. H., before coming to Clintonville. He was a most influential member of the Congregational Church. He was austere in character and conservative in theology. A neighbor speaks of his white hair and "saintly face." He continued to live in Clinton until his

death in 1865. He had four sons and two daughters, all of whom had reached maturity before he came to Clintonville.

In 1853, George H. Foster came to Clinton and worked for Dea. Patterson. In July, 1853, he bought out his employer and started a loom harness and belt shop near the depot. In 1857, the shop and lot were assessed at fourteen hundred dollars and the stock at one thousand dollars. Mr. Foster was for many years a leading member of the Methodist Society. He carried on the business until 1865, when William H. Gibbs obtained an interest. The loom harness business came wholly into the hands of Mr. Gibbs January 1, 1868. The present Gibbs Loom Harness and Reed Company was incorporated April 1, 1874.

Just about the time that a division of the town took place, Bagley and Carleton began to manufacture carpet bags from Brussels carpeting. Bagley was a Boston merchant and never lived in Clinton. C. Alden Pratt had direct charge of the manufactory. Thirty thousand dollars worth of carpeting was used in a year. Their brick factory on Church Street is now standing in a greatly altered form as the dwelling-house of Dr. J. F. Worcester. Although the business did not succeed in the end, great expectations were entertained of it at this time. May 8, 1852, Carleton is spoken of as carrying on business alone. January 14, 1854, J. W. Caldwell was in management of the concern. His advertisement disappears from the Courant September 15, 1855. Albert S. Carleton was the son of Moses Carleton, and was born in 1815. He was the first paymaster of the Quilt Mill. He was paymaster at the Carpet Mill from 1852 to 1855, and superintendent of the Coachlace Mill from 1855 to 1857. He was our first town clerk and served for three years. He was a member of the school committee for three years. He was an earnest Whig, and president of the famous Scott Club in 1852, which voted "to hold weekly meetings until Scott shall be elected." He went to New York state in 1857.

He died at Brownsville, N. Y., November 5, 1885, having been in charge of mills there more than a quarter of a century.

James R. and Henry S. Robinson, natives of Laconia, N. H., were for some years consulting steam engineers in Clinton, and had an office in the Library Building, upper room. James R. was the author of a work on boiler explosions. In 1874, he was appointed by the United States Government on a committee with President Barnard of Columbia College and other leading authorities to investigate the cause of boiler explosions. He resided in the later years of his life at Cambridge. He died February 24, 1891, at the age of sixty-eight.

Amos Stearns was a brush manufacturer on Boylston Street in December, 1851. January 31, 1857, he was in the same business at Howell's old place. James R. Stewart had a dye-house on Main Street. He lived on the Rigby Road. He was a man of ability, and among the foremost in the organization of the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute. He went to Australia. Richard Emmett took his place in 1852. Mark Lund, after he moved from the building on the present site of the Bigelow Mills, had a blacksmith shop on School Street, opposite the stables. He stayed in this village ten years and then went to Billerica. An attempt was made, in the autumn of 1855, to establish a local steam power company, but without success. Ephraim Avery, who had sold boots and shoes at Brimhall's Block in 1858, began the manufacture of boots and shoes in April, 1859, at Mark Lund's old shop on School Street. He expected to make five hundred pairs per day. H. C. Kendrick was admitted into the firm in 1860. Avery & Kendrick made extensive additions to their shoe shop in November, 1862. In 1864, Mr. Kendrick withdrew from the partnership, and Mr. Avery continued the business. In May, 1862, Henry T. Goodale, who had sold boots and shoes in the store on Union Street, in Burdett's Block, since 1852, was making some ladies' boots

and shoes. He sold out his store to G. W. Laythe in 1864. He then went to Fitchburg and manufactured boots and shoes there extensively, in company with E. M. Dickinson. He belonged to the "original" Clinton Brass Band. Later, Goodale & Barrett manufactured here.

In a community which was developing as rapidly as Clintonville did in the later forties, the services of many masons, carpenters and others connected with the building industries were required. In the earlier portion of the present century, as we have already seen, Jacob Stone had almost a monopoly as a contractor in this region. His sons, Joseph, James and Oliver, and his sons-in-law, Levi Greene and Nathaniel Rice, succeeded in a large measure to their father's business, and did a large portion of the building in the later thirties and early forties. We have noted that William T. Merrifield took the great contracts on the mills in the period of most rapid development, about 1845. We have now to take a general survey of building and subsidiary industries for the twenty years that followed.

Ezra Sawyer built the brick house on Church Street, where Bagley and Carleton began business as a shop and as a stand for his business as a master mason and contractor. Ezra Sawyer, with his brothers, Luke and Thomas, came of a Sterling branch of the Sawyer family, and were only distantly related to Peter Sawyer. He was born in Shirley in 1794. He married Eliza Houghton of Lancaster. In the forties, he bought of H. N. Bigelow the house now known as the Tyler house, which Mr. Bigelow had built as a dwelling place before 1845. He also owned the vacant lot on the northeast corner of Church and High Streets. He sold his house to Gilbert Greene after some years. Thomas Sawyer built in 1845 a cottage house on High Street, a few rods south of Kendall's Block. This house is now owned by G. W. Morse, and is occupied as a laundry.

We have already noted the work of Ezra Sawyer in con-

nection with the building of the mills. He was also one of the most prominent citizens of the community. He was chairman of the prudential committee of District No. 10 for some years. He was an assessor of Lancaster in 1844, and a selectman in 1846. He served in the General Court as representative from Lancaster two years, in 1847-8, being the only man ever chosen from this section to represent the old town. He took an active part in all the events leading to the incorporation of Clinton, and he was chairman of the board of selectmen in the new town for the first two years. He spent six years with his two sons in Easthampton. He returned to Clinton in 1867. He was for a time an assistant to J. T. Dame at the post-office. He died April 15, 1872. His son, Edmund H. Sawyer, was a prominent manufacturer at Easthampton, and another son, Ezra, held an important position in the mills there.

G. E. Fairbanks and Charles Frazer were in business here as masons before the war. Greene's first brick block was built by them in 1857.

The first dam built on Goodrich Brook where Fuller's Planing Mill now stands was made by Ephraim Fuller and W. F. Conant in the winter of 1846. A shop was built here which was occupied by Luther Gaylord who made hoes, hay and manure forks and other agricultural implements. He had before this manufactured by hand in South Lancaster. In 1850, the assessors valued his machinery, etc., worth only five hundred dollars. Mr. Gaylord hired from six to ten men and made more than one thousand dozen forks in 1851. He continued business until the summer of 1854. He then returned to Naugatuck, Ct. He built the house now occupied by E. S. Fuller. He was a prominent Universalist. The upper part of the building was leased to W. F. Conant who made breast water-wheels and carried on a large business, and to Isaac Taylor, a maker of sashes and blinds.

February 5, 1853, Ephraim Fuller took the door, sash and blind business formerly carried on by Isaac Taylor. Charles

Sawyer of Lancaster, a comb maker, carried on business in the lower part of the mill. April 4, 1857, C. C. Stone bought all the mill and made sashes and blinds here. In 1857, this shop was valued at nine hundred dollars, and the machinery at one hundred dollars. Mr. Stone sold in 1859 to E. S. and S. T. Fuller, who dissolved partnership August 21, 1862. S. T. Fuller erected a lumber house near the depot in November, 1862. Oliver and C. C. Stone had before erected a steam saw and planing mill near the depot. This firm sold to Ephraim Fuller and Nathaniel Rice. February 17, 1857, the mill was burned. The loss was three thousand five hundred dollars.

Oliver Stone, born January 16, 1812, was one of the leading contractors of the community for many years. He was noted as a fine workman. He built the house for the superintendent of Lancaster Mills on Chestnut Street, the Clinton House, the houses where Charles Bowman, A. A. Burdett, Dr. P. P. Comey and W. J. Coulter now live, as well as many others of the best houses of Clinton and Lancaster. He lived for a few years in the Connecticut Valley, but returned to Clinton and renewed his business here. He was familiarly known as Captain Oliver Stone, as he had once commanded the Lancaster artillery company. He died June 10, 1878. Louis L. Stone is his son.

We have already had occasion to mention Christopher C. Stone several times, and we shall see his name constantly recurring as we go on. It seems hardly possible that one who is still in the fullness of his energies should have held so prominent a position forty years ago. He is the son of James and Eliza (Burdett) Stone. He was born November 27, 1829. He attended school in District No. 10. He learned the carpenter trade and worked on many of the earlier buildings constructed by Oliver Stone, his uncle. We have seen how he afterwards became his uncle's partner and carried on business for himself in the mill now known as

Fuller's Mill. After this business was given up in 1859, he entered Palmer's Foundry, where he has remained to the present time, and of which he now has control. We shall see him as captain of the Light Guard and major of the Ninth Regiment. Whoever writes the later history of Clinton will describe his great service to the community as a manufacturer, as a judge in the district court, as a bank director, as a leader in the Unitarian Society, in the development of the Hospital, the Prescott Club, the Board of Trade, the Historical Society and numerous other organizations for the benefit of the community, and above all will show him as a servant of the town unexcelled in public spirit displayed and honors conferred.

Samuel Belyea was a native of the province of New Brunswick. He came to Clintonville from East Brookfield in May, 1844, to superintend work for William T. Merrifield on his contract for building Lancaster Mills. In addition to his oversight of the woodwork in the construction of these mills, he built the old chapel on Main Street and Mr. Bigelow's private residence on Chestnut Street. He entered into partnership with Jonas E. Howe in 1847 in establishing a planing mill where the Bigelow Carpet Mill now stands. This business was sold out in 1849. From this time on, Mr. Belyea was a contractor and builder, and he constructed many of the houses of Clinton and neighboring towns. The residence of Dr. G. W. Burdett on Church Street was built by him and he lived there until 1867. He afterwards built and lived in the Orin Laythe house, and that at the southwest corner of Walnut and Prospect Streets he made his final homestead. He was a member of the first board of selectmen and was elected again in 1856. In 1859, he was chief engineer of the fire department. He died February 22, 1872, at the age of seventy-one.

Jonas E. Howe, a native of Rutland, Mass., was born October 23, 1814. He came to Clintonville in 1846. He had previously been a machinist in East Brookfield. He became

the partner of Mr. Belyea in the planing mill. After that business was sold out in 1849, he became a contractor and builder. Mr. Howe, either in company with Mr. Belyea or by himself, built the A. P. Burdett store, the Clinton House Hall building, Franklin Forbes' house and the Bigelow Library Association building. In company with E. E. Harlow, Mr. Howe built the High School building on Walnut Street and some of the Industrial School buildings in Lancaster. He retired from business about 1870. He was selectman in 1853-4-8-9, 1869, 1877-9, 1883-6, and a road commissioner 1873-8. He was a member of the state legislature in 1860, although the Democratic party, to which he belonged, cast very few votes on the general ticket compared to the Republicans. He was also elected to the same office in 1870, 1872 and 1887. As Mr. Howe's greatest services to the town belong to a later era, in connection with the introduction of water, his story cannot be completed here, but must be reserved until the history of the later development of the town is written.

Edward E. Harlow worked with Jonas E. Howe in the forties and became his partner and an independent contractor in the fifties. Although he died in his prime, before the Civil War began, yet he has left behind him many monuments of his labors.

Levi Greene was born in Berlin, October 12, 1801. He was an apprentice of Jacob Stone and married his daughter, Achsah, November 5, 1829. He became a builder and lumber dealer. After the death of his first wife, he married Lucy Harris, September 19, 1844. In 1846-47, he was an assessor in Lancaster and in 1848 one of the selectmen. He was assessor in Clinton for five years. He lived on the east side of High Street in a house which stood on the ground next north of the present residence of Dr. C. L. French, in 1850. He had lived before in the house built by John Prescott, 4th. He afterwards built and lived in the brick house on the north side of Union Street between School and Nelson.

March 29, 1851, Levi Greene bought the interest of J. B. Parker, his partner in the planing mill near the site of the present foundry. Most of his work as a builder was done in the employ of the Bigelow Carpet Mills. Mr. Greene was a member of the Trinity Lodge and Clinton Royal Arch Chapter of Free Masons, and was elected to the highest offices. He was a supporter of Congregational worship. Among those who worked for Levi Greene was Charles W. Ware, who came to Clinton in 1852. He worked for the Bigelow Carpet Mills and became an independent contractor after the Civil War.

George W. Dinsmore, a brother-in-law of J. B. Parker, was an overseer in the Parker & Greene planing mill from the beginning. He was born in West Boylston in 1807, but passed his youth in Sterling. He was a captain in the militia company of that place. He married September 23, 1829. In company with Amos Childs he manufactured cotton goods. He came to Clintonville in 1848. He went to Plover, Wisconsin, in the fifties. He returned in 1865, and worked for many years in the wood shops of the Parker Machine Company. Later, he was engaged with his sons in the coal business. He was a member of the Congregationalist Church, and sang in the choir. He died September 3, 1888. He had three sons and two daughters. Two of the sons, Charles M. and George B., are among our best known business men.

After Mr. Dinsmore went to the West, John E. Marshall hired the mill for two years. Wilson Morse came to Clinton to work for him in 1857. In this year or the next, Mr. Marshall built for Mr. Morse the house he has since occupied on High Street. In 1859, Mr. Morse went into the meat business with John A. Waters, where Fairbank's market now is. The partnership continued for a year and a half. Mr. Morse built a good many houses for the operatives of our mills on mortgages. He was born in Swanzey, N. H., June 10, 1818. He married Eliza J. Stuart. They belonged to the Baptist Society.

Solomon Greene, millwright, a brother of Levi, had a shop in the basement of the Counterpane Mill, where he conducted his business.

David Wallace was also one of our leading contractors in the period of development. He built the Baptist Church and the tower of the Congregationalist Church. He built the old "Methodist Parsonage" for his own residence and lived there for some years before he sold it to the Methodist Society. He left Clinton before the war. He has since lived in Fitchburg and has done interior finishing. He was selectman in 1857-8.

Caleb, George F., and Sidney T. Howard were all sons of Sidney Howard, who settled on a farm on the South Meadow Road in Lancaster about 1815, and they were nephews of the George Howard who bought the Allen place. They had the education of the district schools of Lancaster and all learned the carpenter's trade. They built many houses in Clintonville and Clinton during the period of greatest development. George F. and Sidney T. Howard bought out Butterfield's stables in 1858. After two years Sidney T. sold out to George F. and went to Worcester. George F. remained in the livery business until his death, May 6, 1873, at the age of fifty-one. The business has been continued to present day by his sons. George F. Howard was a selectman in 1872, and an assessor for several years. He was a member of the Unitarian Society. Sidney T. Howard returned to Clinton in 1871, and in company with William E. Frost manufactured yarn at the Counterpane Mill under the name of the Clinton Yarn Company. He died October 2, 1887, at the age of sixty.

The name of William Sawyer should also be noticed among our early carpenters and contractors. Elisha Brimhall was a carpenter. The construction of his own block was his largest job. Haskell & Cowdrey of Leominster also took contracts here in the forties, and Aratus Kelly took contracts, some of which he sub-let.

Nathaniel, Joseph and Abel Rice, all sons of Joseph Rice, Senior, were all more or less connected with the industrial life of Clintonville and Clinton. Nathaniel was a carpenter and a contractor, and built a considerable number of houses in Clinton and Lancaster. Two of his sons, Benjamin F. and Edwin N., have been prominent in local history. Joseph and Abel were both workers in machinery for the manufacture of combs. In later life, Abel became the most famous mover of buildings in all the country round. He was selectman in 1853-56.

Contracts for the making of cellars and for stone work were taken by Charles H. Chace, whose story we notice elsewhere, and Edmund Harris. Mr. Harris was one of our selectmen in 1850-51. Lawrence and Martin Murphy also did stone work.

Among the painters the Gibsons employed the most men and took the largest contracts. Alfred Knight and Edwin Bynner were also painters in their day. Otis H. Kendall, who had a room over Deacon Stearns' harness-shop, has remained longest in service. He was one of the original members of the Baptist Church.

Most of the lumber used in building during the sixties came from the mill of Eben S. Fuller. He was the son of John Fuller, whose homestead was in the Deer's-Horns district. This John Fuller had a mill on Goodrich Brook, where he made combs, and polished forks for Gaylord. The remains of the dam are still visible about half way between Four Ponds and Fuller's saw-mill. E. S. Fuller was born in 1833. He married the daughter of Ephraim Fuller. He had worked for C. C. Stone before he bought the mill of him in 1859. In 1862, he bought the house where he has since lived, and moved to Clinton. He has been among the foremost of our citizens in the development of the real estate interests of the town.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CERTAIN PUBLIC ENTERPRISES.

THE condition of the new community soon made it desirable to have a savings bank, for thrifty young men and women were saving money without any opportunity for the investment of small sums, and many were desiring to secure homesteads who did not know where to get the needed pecuniary assistance. On the 15th of May, 1851, the Clinton Savings Bank was incorporated.* The by-laws fixed as the date of the annual meeting the fourth Wednesday in September, and declared that the officers should consist of a president, two vice-presidents, twenty-four trustees, and a

*COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

In the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty-one.

An Act to Incorporate

THE CLINTON SAVINGS BANK.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :

Section 1. Franklin Forbes, A. S. Carleton, Charles G. Stevens, their associates and successors, are hereby made a corporation, by the name of the CLINTON SAVINGS BANK, to be located in Clinton, with all the powers and privileges, and subject to all the duties, liabilities and restrictions set forth in the thirty-sixth and forty-fourth chapters of the Revised Statutes, and in all other laws of this Commonwealth relating to Savings Banks and institutions for savings.

Section 2. The said Institution is authorized to hold real estate not exceeding in amount ten thousand dollars,

Approved, May 15, 1851,

secretary. These together constituted the board of trustees. The number of trustees was afterwards reduced to sixteen. The treasurer was to be chosen by the trustees and could not be one of their own number. A financial committee consisting of the president, secretary and three chosen trustees had direct charge of all investments and other financial interests of the corporation.† The smallest deposit was fixed at one dollar. Dividends were to be declared on the second Monday of April and October each year.

Of the officers, Charles G. Stevens and George W. Burdett have retained their respective positions from the beginning to the present day, and Charles L. Swan has always been officially connected with the bank. Of the others, two are still residing in town and one or two are living elsewhere. All the rest of this representative list of our thrifty and progressive men at that earlier time have passed away. Horatio N. Bigelow ceased to be president in September, 1865. Franklin Forbes followed him in this office. When Mr. Forbes died, in January, 1878, Chas. L. Swan was chosen president and he has retained the office to the present day. September 29, 1860, Samuel T. Bigelow became treasurer in the place of C. L. Swan. In May of the next year, Artemas E. Bigelow was elected to the position. May 7, 1864, C. L. S. Hammond, the cashier of the newly created First National Bank of Clinton, was also made treasurer of the Clinton Savings Bank.

*The following board of officers were elected at the annual meeting in September: President, Horatio N. Bigelow; vice-presidents, Horace Faulkner, Gilbert Greene; trustees, Sidney Harris, Franklin Forbes, A. P. Burditt, C. W. Blanchard, Ezra Sawyer, G. M. Palmer, Haskell McCollum, G. M. Morse, Andrew L. Fuller, Calvin Stanley, P. L. Morgan, E. W. Goodale, William Eaton, Donald Cameron, James R. Stewart, George P. Smith, Alanson Chace, Joseph B. Parker, Stillman Houghton, Levi Greene, Edmund Harris, A. Lord, George W. Burditt, Levi Holbrook; secretary, Charles G. Stevens; treasurer, Charles L. Swan; auditors, Ezra Sawyer, G. M. Palmer; financial committee, H. N. Bigelow, Charles G. Stevens, Sidney Harris, Joseph B. Parker, C. W. Blanchard.

The office of Lancaster Mills was made the first place of deposit, as C. L. Swan was then acting as paymaster there. The hours were from ten in the morning to four in the afternoon. Donald Cameron took out the first book. This book has been used to the present time and is now in the possession of Walter M., son of Donald Cameron. In 1853, deposits were also received at the Library Building by Isaac Baldwin, the assistant of C. G. Stevens, and in 1855 by C. F. Horne, the dentist, at the same place. June 2, 1855, as the treasurer, Mr. Swan, went to the Carpet Mill, the office went with him. When the building now called the Court House was erected by H. N. Bigelow for a private office in 1859, it was at once seen that it would be well to have the bank located there. It was in this building that Samuel T. Bigelow and his successors received deposits until the erection of the new bank building at the corner of High and Church Streets.

The amount of deposits in September, 1851, was two thousand six hundred and sixty-seven dollars. Ten years later, it had become sixty-nine thousand seven hundred dollars. In 1865, it was one hundred and twenty-nine thousand dollars. Although this seems small compared with present deposits (one million six hundred and sixty-nine thousand dollars in 1895), yet among the comparatively poor people of that earlier time, a people who were using all their spare means in providing homes, this deposit represents a high degree of thrift. A very large proportion of all the houses now standing in Clinton have been built by the aid of mortgages taken by this bank. The bank has always been regular in its dividends and confidence in it has never been weakened except for a very brief period in 1857, when there was a slight inclination to make a run upon it.

The First National Bank of Clinton was incorporated in April, 1864, with an authorized capital of three hundred thousand dollars. It began its existence with an actual capital of one hundred and ten thousand dollars August 9, 1864.

this was increased to one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, and in November of the same year to two hundred thousand dollars, at which figures it has since remained. The incorporators were Franklin Forbes, G. M. Palmer, Elisha Brimhall, G. M. Morse, W. N. Pierce, E. A. Harris, H. C. Greeley, H. N. Bigelow, E. K. Gibbs, C. G. Stevens, C. L. Swan, Eneas Morgan, all of Clinton, and R. S. Hastings of Berlin.

The directors chosen were Franklin Forbes, H. N. Bigelow, E. A. Harris, H. C. Greeley, C. G. Stevens, C. L. Swan and G. M. Palmer, all of Clinton, F. B. Fay of Lancaster and R. S. Hastings of Berlin. C. G. Stevens was made president and has held that office to the present time. May 12, 1864, C. L. S. Hammond was made cashier and he was soon after made treasurer of the Savings Bank. These banks had their office together at the old bank building on Union Street.

Charles L. Swan was born in Biddeford, Maine, December 23, 1816. He was the son of Charles and Rutha Lassell Swan. He obtained his education at the district schools. He lived for a while in New Bedford. He came to Clintonville May 1, 1848 and became paymaster of the Lancaster Mills. He held this position until he was appointed assistant to H. N. Bigelow of the Bigelow Carpet Mills, July 1, 1855. He afterwards became manager of the Carpet Mill, which office he held until February 1, 1872. He was made treasurer of the Clinton Gas Light Company in 1865, and remained seventeen years in this office. He became treasurer of the Gibbs Loom Harness and Reed Company in 1875, a position he still holds. He was the first treasurer of the Clinton Savings Bank from 1851 to 1860. He has been president since 1878. He has been a director of the First National Bank since its organization in 1864. In 1850 and 1866, he was on the school committee. He was a selectman for two years. He served as fire engineer nine years and on the cemetery committee for thirty-six years. He has been

chairman since 1868. He is a member of the Congregational Church and treasurer of the board of trustees of the German Church. He has been a Republican in politics. He bought his present residence on Chestnut Street in 1870. He married Lucy Haskell. He has one son and one daughter now living.

C. L. S. Hammond, who has been so closely identified with these banks from 1864 to the present time, was born in a bank at Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1837. His father was at this time the cashier of the Michigan State Bank and had the office in his dwelling-house. Mr. Hammond was called hither from the Rollstone Bank in Fitchburg, where he had been assistant cashier for some years. The story of his efficient labors belongs to a later period of our history.

The Clinton Gas Light Company was organized by the Bigelow Carpet Company and the Lancaster Mills for their own benefit, although the people in the town in general were allowed to profit thereby. The company was incorporated March 8, 1854, with a capital stock of twenty-four thousand dollars. Franklin Forbes the president, H. N. Bigelow the treasurer, and Henry Kellogg constituted the first board of directors. The work of construction and the laying of pipes was carried on during 1854 and 1855. In 1856, the capital invested was increased to thirty thousand dollars, at which figures it remained until after the Civil War. A. E. Bigelow was book-keeper for many years. C. L. Swan was made a director in 1856 in the place of Henry Kellogg, and he became treasurer on the resignation of Horatio N. Bigelow, May 1, 1865, an office which he retained until 1882. Henry N. Bigelow followed his father as director. Milton Jewett was superintendent of the works from the beginning.

Milton Jewett, the younger brother of Horace and Theodore,* was born in Bolton, September 22, 1824. He passed

* See pages 254-5.

his boyhood in Sterling and received the education of the district schools. Like his brothers, he learned the trade of carpenter. February 15, 1849, he married Alicia Davis of Princeton. They have had eight children. Mr. Jewett came to Clintonville in 1842, to work as a carpenter, and followed this trade until 1853, when he was made manager of the gas works. He held this position for many years. His homestead has been on Pleasant Street. He has been an earnest supporter of the Unitarian Society. He has served on the board of selectmen and in other town offices.

August 27, 1846, a meeting was held to consider what the people of Lancaster would do to help on the building of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad. Jacob Fisher was chairman and A. S. Carleton of Clintonville, secretary. Among the speakers were W. S. Thurston, Judge Washburn, Hon. John Davis, and H. N. Bigelow. The latter spoke of the need of earnest effort, of his success in getting subscriptions in Clintonville just before coming to the meeting, and of the probable increase in the value of real estate on account of the road. He was appointed chairman of a committee to get subscriptions. December 16, 1846, the president of the Clinton Company was authorized by the directors to subscribe for five thousand dollars worth of the Worcester and Nashua Railroad stock. Twenty-five thousand dollars worth of stock was taken by H. N. Bigelow, and the corporation took the matter in hand so far as to secure him against loss therefrom. December 5, 1848, the Clinton Company voted to apply to the legislature for the right to take eighty-three shares of Worcester and Nashua Railroad stock. Articles appeared in successive issues of the *Courant* urging the citizens to enter heartily into the movement. On September 19th, the editor congratulated the readers on the prospect that the road would be built through Lancaster.

A meeting of stockholders in Lancaster, September 30th, with its adjournment October 7th, decided on the building

of the road. There was some attempt to have the road pass to the west of Clintonville through Sterling, but the present route was permanently decided upon in November. December 19th, grading had begun in Lancaster. Operations were suspended on account of a strike in March. The part of the road between Clintonville and Groton was formally opened July 1, 1848. The passenger and freight stations were not finished until the end of the summer. At this time, three trains ran each way to and from Boston. J. C. Stiles was still running his stage four times a day to Worcester. November 22d, the road to Worcester was formally opened. Between July 1st and November 15, 1848, J. C. Stiles carried ten thousand four hundred and eleven persons between Worcester and Clintonville. He did not give up his business until some time after the railroad opened. The road was completed to Nashua, December 18, 1848. Three trains a day passed through Clintonville each way, northward to Nashua or by connections at Groton to Boston, and southward to Worcester with connection to Boston, Providence and to the West through Springfield and New York or through Norwich by steamer to New York. H. A. Pollard was station agent. He sold lime and plaster from the station. Edwin Bynner, the versatile editor of the *Courant*, was afterwards agent for a while. Henry C. Latham also served in the office before he went to Kansas, where he was murdered in December, 1857. Alfred Knight was a station agent for a long period.

The Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg Railroad was not built until after the Civil War.

Among early stage and express routes the following deserve mention: May 22, 1847, A. J. Gibson bought out the line of stages from Princeton to South Acton, and turned its course so that it came through Clintonville. July 10, 1847, McIntyre and Day ran a stage to Shirley to connect with the railroad there. They also did an express business, which seems to have ceased with the coming of the railroad to Clintonville. April 22, 1848, John C. Stiles, who for some



time previously had a stage line to Worcester, opened a line known as the Clintonville and Lowell line. He was a conductor on the Worcester and Nashua Railroad for five years. He built the Cambridge horse railroad and was superintendent for eighteen years. He was then inspector of hay for the street railways in Boston. Bigelow's express to Boston began in July, 1848. Bancroft and Harlow ran a depot coach from the opening of the railroad in July, 1848, to May 5, 1849, and then sold out to Knight and Butterfield. Benjamin F. Spafford ran an express route to Worcester, beginning October 20, 1849. William P. Holder ran a Boston express through Worcester in 1854. Fiske & Co. were engaged in the express business here for many years previous to the Civil War. Emory Harris, a son of Emory Harris, Senior, for twenty-six years owned a line of railroad carriages. For a while after the opening of the Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg Railroad, he served as conductor. He was also a farmer. He died April 23, 1879, at the age of forty-seven.

Nathan Burdett was a native of District No. 10, and was born May 16, 1813. We have studied the life of his father's family and are therefore already acquainted with his youth. He learned the comb trade and pursued it for some years after reaching manhood. He married Mary E. Carter November 9, 1838. They had two sons, Charles C. and Edward W., and one daughter, who reached maturity. Mr. Burdett was for a time a travelling salesman in the dry goods business, but soon after the Worcester and Nashua Railroad was finished, he became a jobber and followed this business for over thirty years. A considerable portion of the general freight was handled by him during all this time. The family resided until the seventies on Sterling Street, and then Mr. Burdett built on Water Street. He was one of the original members of the Baptist Church. He was for five years one of the assessors. He united sterling integrity with the most genial disposition. He died July 1, 1884. His brother Thomas, who was born two years later, May 4, 1816, is still

living among us, our oldest native citizen. We have been indebted to his recollection for many of the facts recorded in this volume. He has been a comb maker and a farmer residing for some years in Northboro and Leominster, but spending most of his life in Clinton. He married Sarah E. Woodbury, November 22, 1837. All of his sons and daughters have moved away from town. June 14, 1897, he married Mrs. Laura Smith. He built his present residence on Walnut Street in the seventies.

Previous to December, 1847, the only hotel in the village was the old tavern on Main Street still standing to the north of the Parker estate. This had formerly been a boarding-house. After the village began to develop in 1845, it became dignified by the title of the "Clintonville Hotel." It was so small that it was but poorly fitted to accommodate the large number of new citizens that poured into the village at this time and were unable to find dwelling-places enough to supply their needs. Horace Faulkner was the keeper of this tavern or hotel.

The new hotel was built through the influence of the corporations, especially for the accommodation of men employed by them or doing business with them. The building company was called the Clinton House Company or Association. H. N. Bigelow was treasurer. October 5, 1848, the Clinton Company voted to contribute pro rata with the "other company" (Lancaster Mills), toward the cost of construction. Two years later, the Clinton Company sold its share of the stock for fifteen hundred dollars. Oliver Stone was the contractor. C. C. Stone and Elisha Brimhall were among his workmen. When the hotel was finished, Horace Faulkner, at this time a man of forty-eight, came hither from the old hotel on Main Street. Mr. Faulkner originally came from Walpole, N. H., where he had worked in a machine shop. Jerome S. Burdett, his son-in-law, who had previously been in the dry goods business with A. P. Burdett, became his

partner. The hotel was formally opened by a housewarming December 24, 1847. Most of the prominent citizens of Clintonville were present, and many from other sections of the town. J. S. Burdett bought out Horace Faulkner, January 1, 1854. Some years later, Mr. Faulkner moved to Groton where he passed the rest of his life. He died in 1880. For two years, he was one of the selectmen of Clinton, and for two years, he was sent as a representative to the General Court. He is the only man from our town who has ever been unanimously elected to the latter office. William N. Peirce bought the Clinton House property in July, 1858. The hotel was leased to W. N. Nichols and others, but, during most of the time until the close of the war, it was under direct charge of Mr. Peirce. After the war was over, it was sold to Capt. William R. Wheelock. When Jerome S. Burdett sold out here, he took the Sagamore House in Lynn. He was afterwards proprietor of the Leominster Hotel. The Clinton House Hall was not built until 1850. There was an opening ball on October 2d of that year. Jonas E. Howe was the contractor for the building. The hall was separate from the hotel until the spring of 1859, when the connecting structure was built. The hall has been used for every variety of gathering. Here, the music of the dance has often been heard; here, school exhibitions have taken place; here, Colleser's and other famous singing schools have given concerts; here, many of the most eloquent lecturers of the country have thrilled their audiences; here, in town meeting, many important measures have been entered upon; here, the great war meetings were held in which our citizens gave expression to their patriotism by such noble words and deeds.

No class of public servants have been more closely connected with the material progress of our community than the civil engineers and architects who have lived and worked among us, and therefore it seems proper to connect their story with that of the banks, railroads and other similar public institutions.

Most of the general surveying in Clintonville was done by James G. Carter of Lancaster Center, who was closely connected also with the legal life of the community, since the civil cases were in a large measure tried before him.

The first engineering work for our mills was done by that eccentric genius, Uriah A. Boyden, who invented the Boyden turbine wheel and thus gained twenty per cent in the power of water utilized. Mr. Boyden was never a regular resident in town, but came hither as occasion demanded.

John Chipman Hoadley was born in Turin, N. Y., December 10, 1818. He began his work as an engineer in 1836, on a survey for enlarging the Erie Canal. In 1844, he came to Clintonville to work for E. B. and H. N. Bigelow in the construction of the mills. He did the civil engineering connected with the mills and also laid out the general system of streets as they now exist in the center of the town. The map of the streets as thus laid out by him is still in existence, and is often referred to in cases of disputed boundaries. He was one of a committee to erect the Town House in Lancaster, April 5, 1847. He took an earnest interest in the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute and lectured twice for that organization in 1846-7. He lived on the southwest corner of High and Water Streets, in the house built by John Prescott, 4th. When he left Clintonville in August, 1848, he was presented with a gold watch by his fellow townsmen as a token of esteem. He went from here to Pittsfield, where he and Donald McKay established works for building locomotives and textile machinery. For a while, he was superintendent of the Lawrence machine shop, but most of his life was devoted to the construction of engines. He invented the Hoadley portable engine, which had a great sale throughout the country. He was interested in the organization of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company. During the Civil War he went to England under the auspices of the State of Massachusetts, to inspect ordnance and fortifications for the purpose of planning a system of coast defences. He often served as

a mechanical and engineering expert. He was one of the original trustees of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He wrote many technical papers for scientific societies. The most important of these was "American Steam Engine Practice." He died October 21, 1886.

"In the spring of 1847, a young man left his home in the city of Lowell for the village of Clintonville, coming all the way in a stage-coach, a tedious ride, and taking the larger part of a day." This young man was Joshua Thissell, who was a native of Lowell. He was born December 11, 1823, and was the son of Joshua and Prudence (Wood) Thissell. He worked on his father's farm, which was in Centralville, one of the outlying villages of Lowell. He studied at the district school and spent a few terms at Centralville Academy. Here, Benjamin F. Butler was one of his teachers. But, he says, that the largest and best part of his education was "by the open fire with a tallow dip candle." He studied civil engineering with Mr. Bennett of Lowell. His visit to Clintonville in the spring of 1847 was for the purpose of assisting John C. Hoadley in engineering work for the corporations. In the following year, he came again, this time as Mr. Hoadley's successor. Mr. Thissell recollects staking out the cellars for nearly all the dwelling-houses on Green Street, for the dye-house of Lancaster Mills and for a large addition to the main body of the mill. For many years all the civil engineering for the corporations, and nearly all that of the town, was done by him. He was also an architect and many hundreds of the buildings now standing in Clinton were constructed in accordance with his plans. His office was first in the old counting-room at the Bigelow Carpet Company's Worsted Mill; afterwards, for several years, in the old Library Building. Later, it was in the basement of the old Bank Building, now the Court House. For some years, it has been in Doggett's Block.

Mr. Thissell has been a justice of peace since 1858, and has made out many legal papers. For years, civil cases

were tried before him. The confidence in his judgment and justice was universal.* Hon. John W. Corcoran tried his first case in this court.

November 7, 1849, Mr. Thissell married Martha Sarah Brown of Lowell. By this marriage he had one son and four daughters, of whom, one son and one daughter are now living. His son, Horace A. Thissell, has been for some years his father's partner. Mr. Thissell's first wife having died August 12, 1876, he married her sister, Mary B. F. Brown, November 24, 1877. He has lived for over a quarter of a century in a house, which he built on the corner of Prospect and Chestnut Streets.

Mr. Thissell is a deacon of the Baptist Church. He served as superintendent of the Sunday School for some years, and has taken a most active part in all church interests. Few of our citizens have been so often elected to town offices. He was selectman for four years, three of which he was chairman; he was assessor for two years and road commissioner for three. For thirty-six years he has been on the cemetery committee. His most valuable service has been as a member of the school committee. On this board, he served for twenty-one years, a longer period than any other man. For most of this time, he was secretary and performed many of the duties that now fall to the superintendent of schools. In all these offices, he has been thoroughly devoted to the good of the community, and we may well apply to him what he has said of his associates: "These men did not live for self, and I am led not only to cherish their memories, but to bless their very existence."

* His commissions as justice of the peace are as follows:—

April 12, 1858. N. P. Banks, Governor.

April 4, 1865. John A. Andrew, Governor.

March 22, 1872. Wm. B. Washburn, Governor.

March 12, 1879. Thomas Talbot, Governor.

March 3, 1886. George D. Robinson, Governor.

February 16, 1893. Wm. E. Russell, Governor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF CLINTON.

THE first store of which we have any record in District No. 10 was that kept by Poignand & Plant and their successors, the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company, for their operatives. It is likely that something was done in the way of furnishing family supplies soon after the business was established. In the twenties, the goods were kept in a building situated on Water Street just off Main Street. In the western end of this building was a station for a little hand fire engine belonging to the mills. In the middle was the store, and a back store-room. At the eastern end, was the mill office. The operatives and the people in Factory Village who did any work for the corporation were paid in part by goods from the store. The general public also occasionally purchased from this small stock. We are told that John G. Thurston had charge of the store for a time.

There was another little store by the early thirties in Scrabble Hollow. The building in which it was kept is still standing in a re-modeled form on its original site nearly opposite the residence of E. K. Gibbs. This store was kept by a man named Hunt. He soon failed and it went into the hands of Franklin Brigham. It is probable that Whitcomb & Holman of Bolton furnished the stock. Francis E. Lowe acted as clerk. Both these stores in Factory Village were given up before the mills were closed, and for several years there was no store nearer than South Lancaster.

These stores received only a small part of the trade of

the people who were then living in Factory Village, as the larger stores of South Lancaster or Lancaster Center proved more attractive on account of their greater variety. The people traded especially with John G. Thurston, whose store was just south of the present position of the South Lancaster Academy building.

Between 1843 and 1850, District No. 10 developed from the position of an outlying hamlet, dependent on the stores of the neighboring villages for the necessities of life, to a commercial center for all the surrounding towns.

After the village began to be busy once more through the coming of the Bigelows, the store in the old office building of Poignand & Plant on Water Street was opened again. John G. Thurston owned the goods and Lory F. Bancroft had the management of the business. Mr. Bancroft came here in the early forties from Phillipston. He was a man full of enthusiasm and enterprise, always ready for something new. He became very popular among the people and was by character well fitted to act as a pioneer in developing the trade of the community.

An arrangement was made whereby he entered into partnership with George H. Kendall for the sale of dry goods and groceries. Dr. Pierson T. Kendall of Sterling, father of George H., erected a building on the corner of High and Church Streets, which had been recently laid out. For some years, this Kendall building was a center of the commercial interests of the community as its successor on the same site, the Bank Block, is at present. This building when the Bank Block was erected was moved to the corner of Church and School Streets, where, in its altered form, it is now standing.

The young partners moved into the central store of the new building as soon as it was finished. This was as early as the spring of 1845. They sold all varieties of goods, including groceries, clothing, dry goods, patent medicines and furniture. They did a big business with little profit. Before

the close of the year, the partnership was dissolved. George H. Kendall remained in the store they had occupied together and continued to deal in dry goods. He afterwards returned to the variety business. Mr. Kendall was a "boss politician" as well as a merchant, and in the rear part of his store the political action of the community was pre-arranged. After being alone for some four years, Mr. Kendall went into partnership January 1, 1850, with James W. Caldwell, his brother-in-law, from Barre. April 6, 1850, Kendall sold out his share to Caldwell. In August, 1850, Caldwell sold, in turn, to Kendall. This Mr. Caldwell afterwards became a successful coal dealer in New York. In 1859, Mr. Kendall sold out to H. C. Greeley. Charles H. Parkhurst was one of Greeley's clerks. In October, 1861, Mr. Greeley moved to the southwest corner of High Street and was followed in the Kendall Block by George B. Wooster. Mr. Wooster came to Clintonville in 1849. In 1856, he became a clerk to A. R. Marshall. In 1859, he was in business for himself. Mr. Wooster remained in the Kendall Block for many years. George H. Kendall went from Clinton to Worcester and worked as a shipping clerk in the office of Washburn & Moen. He died in 1889. Among the clerks employed by Kendall and Caldwell in early times, were John F. Caldwell, "a sandy-haired youth" of "easy manners," who afterwards went into business in Boston, and Joseph Lathrop, "a black-eyed favorite and miscellaneous beau," who became a dentist in Detroit.

Albert A. Jerauld was employed as a tailor. Mr. Jerauld was born at Warwick, Rhode Island, in 1816. The family of his father, Stephen Jerauld, soon after his birth moved to Northboro and here he passed his youth. He learned his trade in Boston, whence he came to Clinton. His shop was in the rear of Kendall's store. After the post-office was moved in 1853, he went into the north room. He was soon in business for himself. He carried a stock of ready made clothing and cut and made garments. He was for many years a member of the Unitarian Church choir. He built a

double house on the east side of Chestnut Street in company with Dr. D. B. Ingalls. After faithfully serving the community for over a quarter of a century as a tradesman and a citizen, he died October 17, 1878. Of his three sons, Fred G. Jerauld, who followed his father in business, is the only one who remains among us.

The post-office, which was established in 1846, was first kept in the north room of the Kendall Block. Before this time, the mail was brought from Lancaster and distributed by Lory F. Bancroft. Horatio N. Bigelow was the first postmaster, but George H. Kendall had direct charge of the office and John F. Caldwell did most of the work. Those who came for mail outside of the special times for distribution rang a bell which was answered by some one who was employed in the store. In the fifties, there were mails twice each day to and from Boston and twice to and from Worcester. J. T. Dame received his commission as a postmaster September 22, 1853, and he had his office in the new Library Building. Edwin Bynner said in the *Courant* of October 8th, in his usual style: "Our old post-office is closed and dreary; the glory has departed from it. As one stands within the deserted area, how strange the memories that throng upon us; how sad the vacancy. Where is the eager crowd—the expectant faces which were wont to light it up? * * * Here was joy announced—sorrow born; life assured and death heralded. * * * Here from yonder insignificant boxes came news of dire or blest import, changing life's aspect, blasting its hopes, or basing upon sure foundation its too evanescent joys."

The lower floor of the south wing of the Kendall building was occupied by Gilbert Greene as a jeweller until 1846. Mary Ann Newman, a dressmaker, was here in 1847. Mrs. C. D. Davis, milliner and dressmaker, had rooms here in 1848. A long succession of grocers followed in the south part of the building. W. H. Chamberlain, who had moved here from G. P. Smith's building, sold out to Sawyer &

Brother. In 1852, Sawyer & Brother gave way to W. C. Carter and W. H. Harlow. Carter bought out Harlow in 1853, and in the following year he sold out to Fanning & Moore. They dissolved partnership in 1855. Simeon Bowman and son were in business here in 1856. Then George Bowman and A. M. Blair, then Blair alone. He sold out to W. N. Peirce in March, 1857. William N. Peirce and J. F. Howell were here in 1858. A. & N. Churchill were here in 1859.

The Bigelow Mechanics' Institute had its library and reading room in the southeast corner of the second floor from the time of its organization in 1847. Charles G. Stevens, attorney and insurance agent, had an office in the southwest corner. Isaac Baldwin was with him for a while, first as a student and then as an assistant in office work. In 1855, he went to Clinton, Iowa.

John B. Atkinson, Jr., "a famous Odd Fellow," had a tailor shop in the second story. He was followed by Charles H. Moore in the spring of 1847. A. C. Rice & Co. were here over the post-office in 1849. At one time, Dr. C. F. Horne, a dentist, had an office here. He removed to Watertown. Hiram Makepeace, a carpenter, "a wag of lofty stature," lived in a tenement here.

When Lory F. Bancroft dissolved partnership with George H. Kendall, he started in the grocery business for himself on the corner of Union and High Streets where Greeley's Block now stands. The old building of Poignand & Plant, which had been constructed at least twenty years before, and which we have noted as being used for a store-room, office and engine house, was moved from Water Street to this location. Some of this structure is now in William H. Nugent's Block on Union Street. This store, like most of those in early times, was reached by a flight of steps. On summer evenings, these steps were a gathering place for the male gossips of the town. Mr. Bancroft lived in an L which was built out toward the north. In the spring of 1846, Dr. G. W.

Burdett, who had just completed his medical studies, took an office in the second story of this building. C. D. Cook, a dentist, also had an office here, where he practiced until 1848, when he went to Worcester. In the spring of 1847, Misses Whitney and Gould opened millinery and dressmaking rooms in the second story. E. H. Amsden, a daguerrean, was also here during the same year. An office in the second story was occupied in 1849 by W. N. Snow, a dentist who had come to Clintonville about a year before. Frank E. Carr of Westminster first commenced business here as a "tonsorial artist" in the early fifties.

Mr. Bancroft made a specialty of medicines, which he advertised as compounded by Dr. G. W. Burdett. Joseph Bancroft was with his brother for some time as a clerk. In 1847, the firm of Bancroft & Carter was also engaged in the ice business. In 1848, Bancroft & Harlow ran a coach from the railroad station. Mr. Bancroft sold out his stock in the store to Harlow & Flagg in September, 1848. At this time, he took into his own hands all the livery and coach business. His stable was where Howards' now stands. He sold to Knight & Butterfield, May 5, 1849. Knight sold out to Butterfield, and Butterfield sold to G. F. and S. T. Howard in 1858. A farewell supper at the Clinton House was given Mr. Bancroft by his many friends. After staying for a time in the livery business in Hadley, he was engaged in jobbing in Worcester. Later, he became interested in a company which was formed in that city to raise the treasure which was supposed to be buried in the British frigate, *Huzzah*. This frigate was sunk at Hell Gate when bringing over gold to pay the British Army during the Revolution. Mr. B. worked for some years as the active manager of the company. Although the treasure was not discovered, Mr. Bancroft saved some money from his salary and bought a farm on the outskirts of Worcester, where he lived to a good old age.

Harlow & Flagg dissolved August 1, 1849. W. H. Har-

low continued the business until October 19, 1850, when he sold to W. C. Carter and Josiah Alexander, Jr. Carter sold out his interest to Alexander in 1852. Josiah Alexander was born June 6, 1829, at Northfield, where he spent his boyhood. He was afterwards a clerk in a variety store in Worcester. He taught school in Northboro before coming to Clinton. In February, 1858, Mr. Alexander moved his store to the new block which had been erected by Elisha Brimhall at the corner of High and Church Streets. He had the store in the southeast corner of the building. Here he remained until 1864, when he sold out to D. A. White and S. W. Tyler who had been associates in the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts Band, and then he removed to Boston, and he has since been engaged in business there. Mr. Alexander, both in the length of his stay and in the amount of his business, was the principal grocer of Clinton during the first fifteen years of its existence as a town. He was also a public-spirited citizen and was one of the selectmen in 1855-6. He was especially interested in the fire companies and the local militia. Among Mr. Alexander's clerks were Samuel T. Miles, "a shrewd, genial character," and George W. Moore, "of some literary pretension," S. A. Lenfest, now in a Marlboro clothing store, and Josiah Bacon. Lucius Field, who has since been such an important factor in the later history of the town, was a nephew of Mr. Alexander. He came here to act as his clerk in 1857. He was born in Northfield, August 10, 1840. He worked for Mr. Alexander until his enlistment in the army in 1862.* C. H. Chace & Co. followed Alexander in the Bancroft building. Wilder & Orr, and W. G. Wilder & Co. were later occupants. There was a barber's shop in the basement.

Lory F. Bancroft in 1845 built a one-story structure on the east side of High Street, just north of his store. Hiram Makepeace was the contractor. Sidney Harris furnished the capital. In a changed form, this building still stands on its

*See War Record,

original site and is occupied by C. W. Field & Son. On its completion, it was immediately rented by C. W. Field, tailor, and Ballard & Messenger, printers and stationers. The former located on the south side, the latter on the north side, with the printing room in the rear and the store in front.* Ballard & Messenger were followed in 1853 by Keith & Co., dry goods. Later, William Pierce, a milliner, was here. J. H. Raymore opened eating rooms under the printing office. Levi H. Carter followed him, then came Abijah Carter, a brother of Levi, who remained five years.

Charles W. Field was a native of Northfield and served his apprenticeship as a tailor in Athol. He was afterwards in business in Walpole, N. H. He came to this village June 16, 1846. He was at first a tailor and then sold ready-made clothing. He lived in the rear L of the store building. After half a century of successful business, he still remains at the old stand, now in partnership with his son, C. W. Field, Junior. The upper story of the tenement was at first used as a hall for temperance meetings. When the new Trinity Lodge of Free Masons organized in Clinton in 1858, it leased this hall and continued to occupy it until 1869.

By the spring of 1846, Gilbert Greene, whom we have noted as being in the south store of Kendall's Block, put up a two-storied wooden building on the estate now owned by his heirs on High Street. It was on the corner of the estate where H. A. Burdett's drug store is now. The lower floor was occupied by Mr. Greene as a jeweller's shop until he built his brick block. This building, which in later years was used as a drug store,† was destroyed when the north part of the present Greene Block was completed in 1888. Mr. Greene also built an L adjoining his store on the south. Here, he lived several years. This, was afterwards moved back from the street, as a cottage. It is now destroyed.

*See pages concerning Courant. †See pages 397-8.

His first brick block was not completed until June, 1858. He then moved his jewelry store into it. J. J. Boynton took the upper story for ambrotype rooms, and the Peveys and J. T. Dame had offices here.

Gilbert Greene was born in Stoneham in 1814. He learned his trade and worked in Holden. He went to Lancaster about 1839, and had a small jewelry store in the building now opposite the Orthodox Church; this building then stood in the same square the Orthodox Church now occupies. He was afterwards for a while in the brick store. Dissatisfied with the business prospects in Lancaster, he moved to Manchester, N. H. When Clintonville began to develop in 1845, he came hither. While in Lancaster, he had been the leader of the choir in the Orthodox Church and was always deeply interested in music. "It was a rare treat to hear him tell of 'old times.'" "He possessed the compound ability of cleaning a watch in good shape and telling a good story at the same time." We shall find him prominently connected with the organization and development of the Congregationalist Society in Clinton. He was a selectman of the town for several years. He was a vice-president of the Savings Bank and a director of the First National Bank. In January, 1860, Walter W. Pierce, who had been his clerk, became his partner, but he died in June of the following year. Mr. Greene continued business until his death, June 26, 1875.

Among the first of the old settlers to take advantage of the new impetus given to business, was Deacon John Burdett. In 1845, he erected a building on High Street where Dexter's Rink now stands. This building was removed to East Street by T. D. Dexter, who occupies it as a dwelling-house. The store was rented by Mr. Burdett's nephews, Augustus P. and Jerome S. Burdett, who sold dry goods and clothing. The partnership was dissolved July 16, 1847. J. S. Burdett entered into partnership with his father-in-law, Horace Faulkner, in charge of the Clinton House. A. P. Burdett

kept on with the business. Horatio S. Burdett was his clerk. Albert T. Burdett looked after the tailoring department. Jerome S. was the son of James Burdett. The other three were sons of Phineas Burdett. Both James and Phineas were brothers of Nathan and lived in Leominster. In August, 1847, H. K. Dunbar, a tailor, took rooms in the second story. Dr. G. W. Symonds also had an office here for many years. A. P. Burdett stayed in this store until September, 1849. L. D. Lyon, a dealer in boots and shoes, took his old stand. Deacon John Burdett built another house north of the first on the adjoining lot. This is still standing in its original location. The lower story was used for tenements, but there was a hall in the second story which was known as Concert Hall. This was used by the Second Adventists for religious meetings.

When A. P. Burdett left his old store building, he went into a new one which he had just finished on the west corner of High and Union Streets. This building, with some additions which have since been made, is still standing. It was at this time the finest store building that Clintonville had seen. Jonas E. Howe was the contractor. Mr. Burdett and his brothers continued business there until the summer of 1852. He then moved to Mississippi and afterwards to Memphis, Tennessee. He made a fortune in cotton planting, but he afterwards lost it and became a commission merchant in New York and Boston. A. T. Burdett worked as a tailor in Boston. H. S. Burdett became a partner in the firm of Whitten & Burdett in the same city, with which he is still connected. Dr. G. W. Burdett* and Dr. Jeremiah Fiske* bought the building in 1852.

Of Orlando A. Smith, A. P. Burdett's successor, W. E. Parkhurst says: "As a bachelor village merchant, Mr. Smith did full justice to his calling. Never have we known a more genial dealer or one who had more thoroughly learned that

* See further account by aid of index.

profitable mercantile trick of taking an absorbing interest in the health and personal welfare of his customers and all of his or her immediate and remote relations. In variety of assortment, his store resembled an overcrowded museum; from pianos and silks to yarns and buttons, nothing was omitted. Mr. Smith was a natural musician and for a time was the leader and organist of the Baptist choir, playing on a small melodeon, but as a seller of dry goods he ably illustrated the secular version of the doctrine, known as 'perseverance of the saints.' Mr. Smith's confidential clerk was Horace W. Robinson, a polite Shylock, with a squeaking voice, pitched in the third story of his bronchial tubes, but a genial, happy soul. It was the general understanding that between Horace and 'O. A.' a customer stood a very small chance of getting out of the store without making a purchase." Among the other clerks were W. Atwood McCurdy and William H. Putnam; also B. F. Warner, who built the house on Water Street now occupied by Mrs. J. T. Dame. O. A. Smith sold to H. C. Greeley in 1861, and went into business in Worcester. He subsequently went to Newton.

A. A. Burditt had a drug store in the north room of the first floor during the first three years. Then came Horace W. Robinson's millinery store. In 1857, Sarah M. Stuart took the business. Alonzo P. Boynton next sold boots and shoes. Then followed a series of millinery stores, among them, those of B. R. Smith and Mrs. J. R. Deming.

Miss Ellen Skillenger of Poland, Maine, had millinery rooms at first in the south room, second story. She stayed a short time, and was followed by Dr. Jeremiah Fiske as a dentist. The north front office was rented in succession by the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute; A. T. Burdett, tailor; H. K. Dunbar, tailor; J. B. Haskins; Miss H. B. Roe, milliner; D. H. Bemis, attorney at law. The latter entered it in 1864, and remained many years. The rear rooms were occupied by various parties, including C. F. Horne, dentist, Horace H. Waters, and Harrison Leland. The third story was let as a

hall to various religious organizations, and there all sorts of entertainments were given, and it was for a time a place of meeting for political caucuses and temperance organizations.

C. D. Davis was the first grocer in the basement. A. O. Warner and A. E. Smith were grocers there in 1850. A. E. Smith and G. E. Harrington continued business here in 1851. In 1852, Smith sold out to Harrington. In January, 1855, it was changed to a Union Store in charge of J. F. Maynard. The members of the Union weighed and measured their own goods and charged them on the books. The Union was not a success, and, in 1862, J. F. Maynard bought out the store. Maynard sold to William H. Haskell before the war closed. Mr. Maynard was born in Marlboro in 1820. He lived in Shrewsbury and in Boylston. He came to Clinton in 1850. His home was on South Main Street. Here, he had a grocery store for some years. After selling out to Wm. H. Haskell, he did business for twenty years in Boston. He died January 9, 1888. As chairman of the board of selectmen during the Civil War, he did most efficient service. We shall find him one of the leading members of the Methodist Society and for fifteen years the superintendent of the Sunday School. Frank Howard, a tailor, and James Greenwood, as clothier, were in the west room of the basement. H. T. Goodale, a native of Marlboro, born in 1824, opened a shoe store here in the basement in 1852. In 1864, he sold out to G. W. Laythe. At a later time, he manufactured boots and shoes both in Fitchburg and Clinton. He died in 1886.

George P. Smith built a block on the west side of High Street where Doggett's Block now stands, in 1847. When Doggett's Block was built, this was moved back from the street to make way for the finer structure. Mr. Smith was born in Wilton, N. H. He lived in Nashua before coming to Clintonville. His first advertisement in the Courant appears October 23, 1847. He sold dry goods, West India goods and crockery. Mr. Smith lived in a tenement in the

upper story of the store building until he built, in the winter of 1854-5, the house on the east side of Chestnut Street now occupied by Mrs. Gilbert Greene. He was a successful merchant and an influential citizen, prominently connected with the most important interests of the community. He was one of the organizers of the Baptist Church. He sold out his business to Burton S. Walker, his junior partner, in 1871. He had already moved to Bricksburg, N. J., some years before. There, he died April 6, 1874, at the age of fifty-eight. Among the clerks employed in the store were: Joseph Holt; Orlando A. Smith, a brother, who afterwards had a store of his own which we have already mentioned; N. Chandler Sawyer, who went into the banking business in Brattleboro, Vt.; and W. H. Chamberlain, who bought out the grocery department. William H. Putnam who went to Boston, and John H. Ring, also worked for him.

H. C. Greeley, Mr. Smith's brother-in-law, was his most notable clerk, and became a partner February 21, 1855. Henry C. Greeley was born October 15, 1830, in Hudson, N. H. He attended an academy in Nashua, where he was under the instruction of the famous David Crosby. He completed preparation for college in the academy at Hancock, where he studied for three years. He expected to enter Brown University, but the attraction of business proved too strong, so he became a clerk for Mr. Smith in 1849. We have already noted the stores which he opened in Kendall's Block and Burdett's Block. He married Jane Osgood, a daughter of Samuel Osgood. In 1861, he bought an estate on Walnut Street of Mrs. Mehitable Freeman. His early success was the result of that commercial ability which was in future years to make him the recognized leader among the merchants of Clinton. From 1860 to 1870, he was town clerk. He was a selectman in 1870-71. He was on the school committee from 1867-78. He served in the senate in 1870-71, and on Governor Robinson's council in 1885 and 1886. Mrs. C. D. Davis had milliner's rooms here in Smith's Block in 1850.

She was followed by Miss A. S. Merriam in 1854. The offices above were occupied in early times by Dr. A. W. Dillingham, Dr. C. A. Brooks, J. T. Dame, Esq., and D. H. Bemis, Esq.

A. L. Burbank opened a jewelry store in the south room of Clinton House Hall building in 1850, but he soon sold out. O. A. Smith was here in 1851, with musical instruments and dry goods. In 1852, Smith moved to A. P. Burdett's Block and Eliphas Ballard took the room. Here, he had a book-store, while his printing business was done in the room below. H. J. Chapman sold ready-made clothing in this building in 1850. The clothing store was occupied in a later time by Daniel Haverty, who was followed by Levi H. Carter, March 3, 1855. He was followed by John R. Foster and W. H. Ashley in January, 1857. John R. Foster was born in Moretown, Vt., November 7, 1834. He began to work in a store at the age of twelve. He was for some time a clerk in Waterbury, Vt. In September, 1856, he went into partnership with W. H. Ashley, in the clothing business, in Clinton. Their store was in the A. H. Pierce Block on Church Street; thence they moved to the Clinton House Hall Block. Ashley remained in Clinton but a few months, then Mr. Foster took the business alone and carried it on until 1870, when he started the clothing stores in Danielsonville, Ct., Willimantic, Ct., and other places, which have proved so profitable to him, and have enabled him to add so much to the beauty of the town through his private residence and public benefactions.

John H. Ring was the son of Benjamin Ring, the furniture dealer, who went into business in Clintonville in December, 1849. During his youth and young manhood, John H. Ring was interested in literary matters. In 1853, he published our first Clinton book. It was entitled: "New England Rhymes. Sacred and Passionate." It was a small volume of poems and other papers. He was a prominent member of the Clinton Rhetorical Society. For some years, he served as a clerk in the store of G. P. Smith. In April, 1859, he went

into partnership with J. R. Foster and opened a dry goods store in No. 2, Clinton House Block. Mr. Foster moved his clothing business meanwhile into the room now used as a tobacco store. In September, Ring bought out Foster's share and continued the business alone until October, 1861. He then removed to Ware, and from thence, after a short time, to Worcester, where he kept a fancy goods store until his death at the age of thirty-eight, in March, 1873.

Lorenzo D. Lyon, who was a native of Halifax, and had previously been engaged in business in Lowell and at the John Burdett building, opened a shoe store here in the room now occupied by Heagney's drug store, upon the completion of the building. He carried on the business for more than twenty years, and then removed to North Attleboro, where he died in 1888. L. Coburn, a negro barber, was in this building until 1855, when he left town.

C. A. Merriam and Company carried on the shoe business in a small structure which they built in 1845 on the spot where Bourne's store now stands. Merriam having died about the beginning of 1848, the business was carried on by the surviving partner, M. D. Hawes, until 1849, when it was sold out to Tyler & Bartlett. Mr. Hawes went to Leominster. During the previous year, Benjamin Tyler had been in the same business on Church Street. In August, 1851, Deacon Waldo Winter and his brother, Aaron E., carried on the boot and shoe trade here. Then, Aaron E. Winter was alone in 1852. The business soon came into the hands of Dexter S. K. Winter, who also manufactured some in the room above. He sold out in 1855, to his father. For nearly half a century, Deacon Waldo Winter, or members of his family, have had control of the business. Richard Bourne, his son-in-law, is the present proprietor. Deacon Winter was born in West Boylston, 1802. He had had a variety store in West Berlin, in the long block above the railroad bridge, and had lived in Northboro, and had had a store with his brother,

Aaron E., in the "brick" building in West Boylston, and a second one at Beaman's Mills. He was postmaster at West Boylston, and deacon in the Congregational Church before he came to Clinton. He had kept boarding-houses in Pond Court and at No. 1 Green Street before he bought the shoe store. He died February 28, 1887.

Alfred A. Burditt, the youngest son of Nathan, was born June 20, 1827. He went to Worcester County Manual Labor High School. He taught in Lancaster, Shrewsbury and Leominster. February 26, 1849, he opened a drug store in a small building on Church Street, opposite the present Courant office. This was built as a stand for Emory Harris, who did a small business here for a short time. S. P. Heywood, dressmaker and milliner, was in this building in 1847 and 1848. The record of Mr. Burditt's first day's business on Church Street was as follows: Confectionery, fourteen cents; medicines, thirty-one cents; fancy goods, forty-four cents; valentines, ten cents; cigars, nine cents. Total, one dollar and eight cents. Profit, fifty-five cents. He married Matilda A. Boynton, June 17, 1849. In October of the same year, he moved into the north store of A. P. Burdett's Block. The first druggist's license for selling liquors in Clintonville was given to A. A. Burditt, January 2, 1850, by the county commissioners. Mr. Burditt erected a block just north of A. P. Burdett's in 1852, where he continued the druggist business. G. F. and S. T. Howard were the builders of this block. His family lived for some time in a tenement above his drug store. He bought the Kellogg estate on the corner of Church and Chestnut Streets, in the hard times of 1857, for four thousand four hundred and twenty-five dollars. Among Mr. Burditt's clerks were: James Curtis, W. P. White, W. A. Macurda, Edward Winter, W. D. Burdett, O. F. Sawyer, C. C. Burdett, A. P. Boynton, W. L. Boynton, C. L. Woodbury, W. S. Noyes, Burrill Morse and Stephen Todd. For ten years, Mr. Burditt enjoyed a monopoly of the drug business. He

has been one of the leading members of the Baptist Society. From 1863 to 1866, he was one of the selectmen of the town, and in more recent times he has been on the school committee nine years, and town treasurer one year. He has served in the legislature. His three sons are all well known citizens. Two of them have followed their father's business.

W. A. Macurda, who had previously been a clerk for A. A. Burditt, carried on the drug business for some years in the Greene building which stood where H. A. Burdett's drug store now is. He was subsequently in Fitchburg in the same business. He is now in Watertown in the insurance business. Charles C. Burdett went into this store after the war. He went to Springfield and then to Conway, where he recently died.

There were numerous daguerrean artists who carried on business in this community in early times. Among them were E. H. Amsden, who was at the Bancroft building in 1847; T. W. Russell, who was at the house of William N. Pierce in 1848, and S. Williams, who had a saloon near the Clinton House. David Chase, who had a stand in a little building on Church Street, near the present position of the Y. M. C. A. rooms, stayed here for a longer time. He was a good musician and the organizer of a brass band. John J. Boynton bought out his business and occupied this building in 1856. It was afterwards moved to Sterling Road. Mr. Boynton followed the business for a short time in the Burdett & Fiske building, but went into Greene's brick block as soon as it was completed and carried on business there over thirty years. At first, he had a monopoly and if pictures could be published of all the negatives still in his possession, the community as it existed in war times and the years before and after would be represented. Here are pictures of those who are now dignified citizens, taken in chubby infancy to satisfy a mother's pride. Here are pictures of slim young maidens in the first flush of womanly beauty, which portly

matrons of to-day would scarcely recognize as their own. Here are pictures of volunteers just about to leave their homes, many of them never to return. Here are pictures of our older citizens, taken that their children might have their portraits, when they had passed away.

John J. Boynton was born in Holden in 1824. His father, Asa Boynton, was a farmer. The boy went to West Boylston to work in a mill when he was eight years old. He worked sixteen hours a day. He came to Clintonville in October, 1847. Although he had never worked as a machinist, he had gained some slight acquaintance with the trade, and was employed by J. B. Parker at the Clinton Company's machine shop. He developed such aptitude in the trade that he was chosen to work with E. B. Bigelow in the development of his new inventions. He thus worked "under lock and key" for months. He wove the first Brussels carpeting on the new looms, and became overseer of the weaving room at the Bigelow Carpet Mill. Here he remained until 1856. He was in partnership with his son, L. W. Boynton, about 1870, in the drug business where H. A. Burdett's store now is. His first wife died shortly after he came to Clintonville. He married again in 1849. He built his house at the corner of Church and Prescott Streets, in 1861.

The old school-house, one story in height, which originally stood at the corner of Walnut and Church Streets, after having been moved between the churches and then to Union Street, at last found an abiding place on High Street between G. P. Smith's Block and the Clinton House. Levi H. Carter, who had bought the building, raised it another story in 1858. He lived here and kept a restaurant for many years.

There were two other buildings, both of them private houses, on High Street, between Church and Union, in early times. The Kendall house was built by Dr. P. T. Kendall in 1845. It has now been moved back from the street and is known as the Union House. There were two tenements in

this building. Among those who lived here were J. B. Atkinson, George H. Kendall, Albert A. Jerauld, Charles G. Stevens, B. R. Smith, Dr. P. T. Kendall, H. C. Greeley and George B. Wooster. Back of the Kendall House was a large orchard. On the south, was another cottage built by Thomas Sawyer soon after the street was laid out. It was occupied by members of the Sawyer family until recent years. It is now used as a laundry.

In 1850, High Street extended only from Water to Union. Between Water and Church Streets, private houses were more numerous than stores. The Prescott house on the west corner of High and Water Streets was then known as the Hoadley place. It was for some years occupied by J. C. Hoadley, engineer, and afterwards by his sister, Mrs. Pease. It is the oldest house on the street. On the east side of the street, was the private house of Levi Greene, a little to the south of the present watering trough. The house now in the corner was built on Main Street and removed hither in the sixties. N. A. Boynton built the house on the north corner of High and Prospect Streets, in 1847. It was sold by him to Simeon Bowman and is now occupied by Charles Bowman, son of Simeon. The house now known as the Howell house was built and occupied by B. F. Howell. For more than two score years it has looked just as it does today. We have already noticed the Wrigley or Otterson and the Wilson Morse cottages, which were built in the fifties.

William N. Peirce, who had before had charge of the bleachery at the Counterpane Mill, built the house now known as the American House by 1848. T. H. Russell had a daguerrean saloon here in December of that year. S. P. Heywood, milliner and dressmaker, was here in 1849. In 1850, W. N. Sleeper had a clothing store here. In February, 1854, B. F. and J. F. Howell went into the grocery business in the basement. The upper part of the house was used for tenements.

William N. Peirce was born November 9, 1824. He came



continued in the same business. He died in the summer of 1893. While he was in Clinton, he lived in the long wooden tenement house which was erected at an early date in Kendall Court. His brother, Abram J. Gibson, was also a painter. He was for a little while the owner of a stage route. He built the brick block in Pond Court. Another brother of these men, Deacon Wm. H. Gibson, was a shoemaker, whose house was on the west side of High Street. It is now owned by Gilman Laythe, whose father, Asa Laythe, lived in one tenement of this building while Mr. Gibson lived in the other. Deacon Gibson had another brother named John, and a sister who married William Goodale. This William Goodale, a native of Marlboro, moved hither from Bolton. He built the Fletcher house by 1845. Here, he resided for many years. He was employed in the Quilt Mill. Deacon Gibson died from the effects of an accident at the railroad crossing near Four Ponds, in 1866. His second wife and his daughter, Mrs. Buss, were also killed here.

June 5, 1847, J. W. Willard advertised the opening of a furniture store in rooms recently fitted up on High Street. Dartt's grocery store is now in the same building. Mr. Willard was also an undertaker. December 8, 1849, he sold out to Benjamin Ring and was afterwards in Cleveland, O. This Mr. Ring had formerly been a Baptist clergyman, and he came hither from Liberty, Maine. His family lived in a tenement in the same building with his store. He continued his business in Clinton in a small way until October, 1857, when he went to New York state. He afterwards lived in Boston for some time. He died in Hudson, May 8, 1875, at the home of his son, Sanford B. Ring. Elliott Jenkins afterwards had a store in this building.

Elisha Brimhall was born March 25, 1825, in the town of Oakham, Mass. He was the only child of Jonas and Caroline (Nye) Brimhall. In his early years, he worked on his

father's farm, but at the age of twenty, he began to learn the carpenter's trade of a neighbor. As we have already noted, he came to this community to work on the construction of the Clinton House. In 1852, we find him in the furniture business on School Street in the house which he had built there. This is now known as the Cummings house, and stands on its original site, south of Howards' stable. He soon bought the lot on the north-west corner of High and Church Streets, and began to erect his brick block there in the spring of 1857. The building, then the largest on High Street, was completed so that Josiah Alexander, the grocer, moved into the south store in February, 1858. Mr. Brimhall took the north store for his furniture business. The west wing of the building was not constructed until 1869. The part now used as a drug store was built still later, and the Oxford House was remodelled from a dwelling at a quite recent date. The Courant Block, a large tenement block on High Street, and a residence on Prescott Street, also built by him, belonged to a period beyond the limits of this history. Mr. Brimhall continued his furniture business until after the close of the war. He took Lucius Field as a partner in January, 1867, and subsequently sold out his share of the business to Henry O. Sawyer, in January, 1872. We shall see him as one of the selectmen during the war. He delighted especially to recall an interview which he had in Washington with President Lincoln, whereby he secured a credit of seventy names for the enlistment roll of Clinton and thus saved the town from a draft. In later years, he served the town as treasurer and as representative to the General Court. He was also a state senator for two years. He was a director of the Lancaster National Bank. He died April 9, 1887.

Daniel Haverty erected the building where the Courant Block now stands. C. D. Holton had a jewelry store there in May, 1858. The property, as we have seen, finally passed

into the hands of Elisha Brimhall. Daniel Haverty also built the W. H. Haskell dwelling-house on Chestnut Street.

Oliver Greene's building is just below the Courant office, on its original site. He lived here, and for a time rented an upper tenement to A. A. Burditt. William A. Downing sold boots and shoes in the same building.

In the little building, which stood where Fitch's Block now stands, N. A. Boynton had a tin and hardware store in 1844. David Holder and his son, William P. Holder, had a shoe store here, and John Fry was in the same business in 1853. This David Holder had been a citizen of the village many years before and had kept a boarding-house at the foot of Church Street in the days of the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company. He then had a little shoe shop near by. When this company sold out, he went to Bolton. Hon. H. S. Nourse says of his work in Bolton: "On a cross road in the south part of Bolton stood a humble cottage with a little unpainted shop close by, wherein lived and delved a Quaker shoemaker by the name of Holder. He was no common cobbler. The exceeding excellence of his work had somehow gained the attention of the wealthier ladies of Lancaster and vicinity, and they soon would wear no work but his." Through Mrs. Cleveland and Mrs. Sampson Wilder, he sent his work to lady friends of theirs in Cuba and Paris. He was descended from Christopher Holder, who came to Boston in 1656 in the *Speedwell*. He returned to Clintonville in the forties. His son, William P., also had charge of a stage route to Boston through Worcester in 1854. His son, Frank P., we have noted as a prominent carpet manufacturer.

N. A. Boynton first came to town in 1844. Mr. Boynton soon erected the building now occupied by Charles Bowman and continued the sale of stoves and tinware there. C. J. Boynton was in partnership with him in 1848. After April 2d of this year, N. A. Boynton continued the business alone until April, 1850. After he left Clinton, he went to New

York, where he established a large and successful business. He is the best known maker of furnaces in America. In 1847, he built the house on the northeast corner of High and Prospect Streets, now occupied by Charles Bowman. Mr. Boynton was a leader in the Mechanics' Total Abstinence Society, while he lived in this community.

Simeon Bowman bought Mr. Boynton's store when he left town. His sons, George and Charles Bowman, took charge of the business in 1851. They dissolved partnership January 16, 1855, and Charles took the store, where he has since continued. Simeon Bowman was a native of Berlin, and came to Lancaster at the age of twenty-one. He took the blacksmith's shop since occupied by Stephen Turner. He afterwards became a pump-maker. In 1854, Warren and Bowman erected a building on School Street, which was afterwards known as the Clinton Bakery. This, in a changed form, is now owned by Dr. P. T. O'Brien. After a short time, Warren retired from the business and Bowman continued it for two years, and then sold to E. W. Howe. Robert Brooks followed here in 1859. Simeon Bowman went to California in 1856, and died there. Charles Bowman was born in Lancaster, October 23, 1828. He attended school for some time at the Lawrence Academy, in Groton. He has served the town most efficiently as chief engineer of the fire department and as selectman. He has been a leading member of the Unitarian Society.

Whitcomb & Holman had a livery stable where Andrews' stable on Church Street now stands, as early as 1848. Both Nelson Whitcomb and Charles Holman came from Bolton. The former was a selectman of Clinton, and in 1852, the Free Soil candidate for the legislature. This stable had been erected for Augustine F. Houghton some years before, and had been used by J. C. Stiles. Augustine F. Houghton was the son of John P., who did the teaming for the mills. This stable was advertised to be sold, May 19, 1849. It passed through many hands before it came into the possession of

the present owner, who has held it about a quarter of a century.

Amos Blood, a painter, now of Sterling, erected the building on Church Street, that has since gone by his name, in the forties. A Mr. Nourse seems to have been a partial owner of this building. I. H. Marshall sold dry goods and groceries here previous to 1847, when he was followed by A. Macullar, who sold clothing. Samuel D. Brigham had a market in the Blood building, in 1847. Charles Ryan had a market here in 1852. J. B. and H. M. Dudley were grocers here in 1853. Mr. Cate, another grocer, subsequently had a store here. There has also been a bakery in this building.

In the spring of 1847, A. H. Peirce, a brother of W. N. Peirce, had a grocery and dry goods store in a house built by him on Church Street. This house is still standing, though in a greatly altered form, and is known as the Kelley house. The business did not succeed and was soon given up, to be renewed in 1849 for a short time. A. H. Wood had a grocery and clothing store here for a while between these two dates. Miss E. Davis, milliner, had rooms here in 1847, and P. Howes, tailor, in 1848. William Bowman, a baker, had a shop in this Peirce Building in 1853. These are only a few of the many changing tenants of the building, which soon acquired the reputation of being a poor place for business, as no one succeeded here.

The harness shop next to the east was built by William Stearns in 1846, and occupied by him for nearly forty years.* Otis Kendall had a paint shop in the upper story of this block, and was among our best known painters for about half a century.

There was a Union store in a building constructed by the association, on Pleasant Street, near the point where Burdett Street meets it. After a short period of unsuccessful

*A further account of William Stearns may be found by aid of the index.

business the store was abandoned. In the summer of 1848, Charles H. Bridge had a stand here where he sold harnesses and trunks and kept a small variety store. This building was used for tenements and was afterwards burned in 1859. Mr. Bridge moved from the Union building to the brick building on the corner of Church and School Streets. B. F. Brown followed him here as a dealer in harnesses in November, 1854. G. K. Houghton & Company opened a market here in 1858. This brick building was erected in the forties. L. Coburn, the negro barber, had his shop here in 1848. L. B. Rollins and F. R. Cook, furniture dealers, were among the many other occupants. The building was purchased by a Mrs. Churchill and descended to her daughter, Mrs. Horace Jewett, and was hence known as the Jewett building.

We have already noted the Cumming's house, Howards' stables and the little building opposite the present Courant office. This completes the list of business buildings on Church and School Streets until recent times.

Charles H. Chace, the son of Alanson,* was born February 19, 1826, and has always lived in this community. He received his schooling in District No. 11. He married Caroline M. Ball of Boylston, April 11, 1850. He followed his father in the family mansion on Prescott Street. He took contracts for making cellars in the early fifties. In 1858, he went into business with William H. Haskell in the store at the corner of High and Union Streets, which had been left vacant by Josiah Alexander, under the firm name of C. H. Chace & Co. They kept the usual variety found in a country store, and also sold meat after the first year. He erected the store building on Mechanic Street in 1861. There was a small structure on this lot when he bought it. When Mr. Chace and Mr. Haskell separated at the end of three years, Mr. Chace took the groceries, and later, the dry goods also.

*See Chace family by aid of index.

Mr. Chace continued business in his new building for many years. He has been a member of the Baptist Society. He has served the town as selectman for three years.

William H. Haskell was born in Rochester, Mass., October 20, 1824. He was for a time a clerk in a country store in North Abington. He came to Clinton in 1850, to work for David Haskell, his brother, who was seven years older than he, and who already had a store on Mechanic Street on the lot afterwards occupied by the C. H. Chace building. He soon became his partner. September 5, 1854, David Haskell was the victim of a dreadful accident. He was returning some "patent oil" to a barrel when it took fire from a lantern. The barrel exploded, and the cellar was filled with flame. Mr. Haskell was so badly burned that he died the following day. The home of David Haskell was on Water Street at the brick house built by Asahel Harris. For some over three years, W. H. Haskell continued business alone, but in August, 1858, he advertised groceries and dry goods at the old stand in partnership with D. W. Kilburn. In the same year, C. H. Chace, his brother-in-law, became his partner, but in August, 1861, the partnership was dissolved, and Mr. Chace kept on with the groceries and Mr. Haskell with the dry goods. Haskell finally sold out the whole business to Chace. He had a store for a little while in the rear of his residence on Chestnut Street. He was, during the closing years of the war, in the grocery business in the basement of Burdett and Fiske's Block on the corner of High and Union Streets. In 1868, he erected the block at the corner of Union and Walnut Streets. Here, he continued business until his death, December 2, 1878. He was a leading member of the Congregational Society of the town.

Asaph R. Marshall, a native of Hillsboro, N. H., had a store of dry goods in the "Big Boarding-House." George B. Wooster, who had worked in the Lancaster Mills and had served as clerk to A. R. Marshall, bought him out, and Mr. Marshall moved to Worcester. There, he became deacon of

the Old South Church. He served as a representative to the General Court in 1881 and 1882. He died January 30, 1884. George B. Wooster followed H. C. Greeley at Kendall's Block. He went to the West a few years later. He had a store in Nebraska at the time of his death in 1890.*

*The comparative amount of stock carried by our merchants in the fifties can be judged from the following gleanings from the assessors' lists of 1857:—

Dry Goods—Smith & Greeley, \$6,500; O. A. Smith, \$6,500; A. R. Marshall, \$3,500; George H. Kendall, \$1,500.

Dry Goods and Groceries—William H. Haskell, \$3,200.

Groceries—Josiah Alexander, \$1,800; William N. Peirce, \$1,500; Protective Union, Div. 49, \$1,500.

Hardware—Charles Bowman, \$4,000.

Jewelry—Gilbert Greene, \$2,000; C. D. Holton, \$600.

Clothing—C. W. Field, \$1,500; A. A. Jerauld, \$900; James Greenwood, \$800.

Boots and Shoes—Waldo Winter, \$1,000; L. D. Lyon, \$1,000; H. T. Goodale, \$450.

Furniture—Elisha Brimhall, \$1,500; Benjamin Ring, \$200.

Drugs—A. A. Burditt, \$1,500.

Books and Stationery—Eliphas Ballard, \$1,000.

Bakery Stock—E. W. Howe, \$500.

The following statistics for May, 1865, may enable us to get a general view of the life of our town at that time: Population, 4,021; natives of the United States 2,637, of Ireland 967, of Scotland 172, of Germany 97, of England 89, of France 5, of Spain 2, of Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, 50. Mill operatives, 666; laborers, 315; machinists, 56; farmers, 54; comb-makers, 40; house servants, 36; carpenters, 35; clerks, 28; shoe-makers, 27; teachers, 20; merchants, 15; painters, 15; students (over seventeen years old), 13; manufacturers, 13; grocers, 13; masons, 12; milliners, 12; boarding-house keepers, 11; blacksmiths, 10; foundries, 7; clothiers and tailors, 7; book-keepers, 7; engineers, 6; dentist, 6; saloon-keepers, 6; clergymen, 5; physicians, 5; dress and cloak-makers, 7.

CHAPTER XXV.

LIBRARY AND PRESS.

APRIL 14, 1846, a petition was made to a justice of peace by H. N. Bigelow, J. R. Stewart, L. F. Bancroft, J. B. Parker, Sanborn Worthen, A. S. Carleton and G. H. Kendall, representing that those gentlemen were "desirous of forming an association for the purpose of mutual improvement and for the further purpose of extending improvement to and throughout the village in which they reside, and the neighborhood with which they are more immediately connected, by sustaining courses of lectures upon the sciences and their connection with the mechanical arts, by sustaining, if their means shall allow it, a school for scientific instruction and education in those branches more immediately connected with their employment, and the collection of a library, a reading room and a repository of models and drawings of useful machines and mechanical inventions." In answer to this petition, a warrant was issued for a meeting for the purpose of organizing an association with these ends in view. At this meeting, held April 29th, J. G. Carter of Lancaster Center, J. C. Hoadley, J. B. Parker, J. D. Otterson and A. S. Carleton were chosen as a committee to draft a constitution and to report May 20th.

The preamble of the constitution presented and adopted offers a broader basis of organization than was suggested in the petition, namely: "In order to promote our mutual improvement in literature, science and the mechanical arts; —to diffuse a taste for literary, scientific and mechanical

pursuits in the community in which we reside;—and to develop the social, moral and intellectual natures with which we are endowed by one Creator."

The society took the name "The Bigelow Mechanics' Institute in Clintonville." E. B. Bigelow, in whose honor this name had been assumed, in addition to other donations, gave to the society as a recognition of his esteem, the valuable air pump, now used by the Clinton High School, and two hundred dollars to be used for the good of the Institute.

A fee of five dollars was charged for membership, and some forty men joined. The management of the affairs of the Institute during the first year was placed in the hands of twelve trustees. The first board of trustees was constituted as follows: W. T. Merrifield, president; H. N. Bigelow, J. B. Parker, Vice-Presidents; A. S. Carleton, Treasurer; J. C. Hoadley, Corresponding Secretary; C. B. Kendall, Recording Secretary; J. R. Stewart, Levi Greene, C. W. Worcester, Ezra Sawyer, J. D. Otterson, J. G. Carter. In 1847, C. G. Stevens and William Eaton were made trustees, and on the following year, Sidney Harris, H. A. Pollard, J. W. Willard and Charles Ryan. H. N. Bigelow was president for 1847-48. It was intended that the society should be a legal corporation, but the failure to administer the oath to the clerk after the first year destroyed the legality of all the acts as a corporation.

The first lecture was given before the Institute by J. G. Carter of Lancaster, October 1, 1846. This was followed by lectures once in two weeks throughout the winter. These lectures were partly by home talent and partly by speakers from the neighboring towns and cities. The home lecturers were: J. C. Hoadley, C. G. Stevens and Dr. G. M. Morse. On alternate weeks, there were debates conducted by the members of the Institute.

A small circulating library was immediately purchased, and additions were made from time to time, according to the funds of the Institute or the liberality of donors. A

reading room was opened June 5, 1847, in the southeast room on the second floor of the Kendall Building. C. G. Stevens, who had an office in the building, acted as the first librarian. This reading room was not frequented by ladies or children, and it really became a sort of club room for the members of the Institute, who gathered there to read and talk. Any resident of Lancaster, not a member of the Institute, could have the privileges of the reading room by paying three dollars per year. Later, the library was moved to the second floor of A. P. Burdett's Block. The interest in the lectures and debates evidently declined after the first year, and the energy the society possessed was given mainly to the reading room and library.

On account of the desire of the members of the Institute to control its affairs directly, rather than through a board of trustees, at a meeting held May 10, 1849, the constitution was so changed as to accomplish this end. Thus, new life was infused into the organization. There was a course of twelve lectures during the winter of 1847-48, with an average attendance of somewhat over one hundred. Among the names of the lecturers for the following year, we find those of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Horace Greeley, Edwin P. Whipple and Henry D. Thoreau. Similar courses of lectures were held during the two succeeding years, and the number attending was sometimes as large as four hundred. G. N. Bigelow was president of the society from 1849 to 1852, and then J. T. Dame was chosen. In 1850, there were three hundred and eighty books in the library; in 1852, there were six hundred and sixty-seven. The location was changed from the Kendall Block to the A. P. Burdett building.

It was found desirable in 1852, to change the Institute into a legal corporation. To do this to advantage a complete reorganization seemed necessary. June 19th, a meeting was held for the organization of a society in the form of a corporation "for mutual improvement and the promotion of education." This corporation took the name of "The Bige-

low Library Association." At a meeting of the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute, held June 30, 1852, it was voted to transfer all the property of the Institute to the Association.

The stock of the corporation had a par value of ten dollars. Most of the stock-holders had a single share, but a few held as many as twenty. Before the end of the first year, one hundred and twenty-two shares were taken, and at the close of the next year, one hundred and fifty-nine were on the books. Franklin Forbes was first chosen president, an office which he continued to hold until the Association was dissolved.

It was voted at this first meeting, June 19th, to buy "a lot of land at a cost not exceeding one thousand dollars, and to build thereon at a cost not exceeding three thousand, a building adapted to the purposes of the Association, and for renting." The land on Union Street at the intersection of Walnut Street, was bought. September 30th, the Association added seven hundred dollars to the amount hitherto appropriated for the building. Jonas E. Howe was engaged to erect it.

E. B. Bigelow offered to "give to the Bigelow Library Association for the enlargement of its library one hundred dollars every half year for the next five years," if "the Association raise and appropriate to the same object a like sum at each respective time of payment." This proposition was gratefully accepted. Through this gift, two thousand dollars worth of books were added to the library within five years and the number of volumes was quadrupled.

Persons not stock-holders were allowed to use the library for an annual fee of two dollars. As the reading room of the Institute had been little patronized in its later years, it was not continued by the Association.

The new building was ready for occupancy during the summer of 1853. The lower floor on the west side was rented for the post-office, and rooms were rented to C. G. Stevens, H. N. Bigelow and H. Kellogg. Later, the base-

ment was finished off and rented to the Town of Clinton for an armory. The net income from the building paid a good interest on its cost. Among the most prominent of those who had rooms in the building at a later time were J. R. and H. S. Robinson, J. Thissell, Bay State Shirt Company and Mary O'Keefe. The first catalogue, published just after the books were moved to the new building, shows that there were thirteen hundred and twenty-one volumes in the library. Isaac Baldwin, the assistant of C. G. Stevens, was the first librarian here, and it was doubtless prepared by him, working under the direction of Mr. Forbes. In 1855, Mr. Baldwin was succeeded by A. E. Bigelow. He was followed in the same year by J. H. Vose who served until May 2, 1857, when G. W. Weeks was chosen. He served for ten years. Excellent courses of lectures were provided in the winter of 1852 and 1853 and on the following year, but they were not pecuniarily successful and, when it was found that the course planned for 1855 and 1856 would not be supported, it was given up.

A levee was held January 11, 1855, which proved more lucrative. It was made in part an exhibition of home industries. The recently completed mill of the Bigelow Carpet Company, in which it was held, was abundantly decorated with Wilton and Brussels carpeting, the plaids and coach-lace of the Clinton Company, the gingham of Lancaster Mills and the quilts of the Lancaster Quilt Company. The comb shop of Sidney Harris and the carpet bag factory of J. W. Caldwell were also represented. This levee was repeated January 13, and a similar one was held in March of the following year.

By the year 1860, the circulation of the library had increased to four thousand, while the number of volumes on the shelves was three thousand three hundred and eleven, a gain of over three hundred per year. A catalogue was prepared during this year by the librarian, G. W. Weeks. It was published early in 1861. It is a volume of one hundred

and sixty pages. It is characterized by great accuracy, and shows that the management of the library was much more efficient than was common in those days.

A collection of minerals was begun in 1862, and in a few years there were a thousand varieties. Collections bearing on local history were also made by the librarian.

After the resignation of Mr. Weeks in 1867, H. H. Waters and G. W. Morse served as librarians for a short time each. January 2, 1869, J. H. Hunt was elected, and he continued to serve until 1873.

The growth of the library was not as great during the twelve years from 1861 to 1873, as it had been in the preceding ten years, for in 1873 there were only four thousand four hundred and eight volumes on the shelves, a gain of less than a hundred per year.

At a meeting held August 4, 1873, a committee which had been appointed "to consider the donating of the books and other property of the library to the Town of Clinton," reported: "That, whereas the establishment of the Bigelow Library Association was originally intended for the good of the people at large, and whereas, the formation of the Free Public Library will more effectually secure the design of the Association. The committee recommend to the stock holders of the Association to grant to the Town of Clinton all the books, pamphlets and periodicals, and all articles of natural history belonging to the Association." This donation was made and accepted on certain conditions, and the Bigelow Free Public Library was established.

The Bigelow Library Association proved not only an educational blessing, but a business success, for its shares paid a final dividend of forty-seven dollars. It was not until 1877, that, after all settlements had been completed, the Bigelow Library Association which had for so many years been the center of culture for the community, ceased to exist.

The first number of the Lancaster Courant was published

July 4, 1846, by Eliphas Ballard and F. C. Messenger. It was printed in the north side of a one-story building which has been raised in its old location on the east side of High Street and now forms the upper part of C. W. Field's building. The editorial work was done by Mr. Messenger, while Mr. Ballard was printer and publisher. They also carried on a book, medicine and stationery business. The price of the *Courant* was one dollar and fifty cents per year. The *Courant* contained at first four pages of five columns each. For many years, the amount of local news was very small. Information from Europe was considered of greater importance than that from High Street. A story, often continued, selected miscellanies, general news of the country and the world, long-winded discussions of obstruse topics by local writers, with occasional items about events at home, made up the reading matter of the paper. To one who is studying the history of the time, the advertisements and the lists of marriages and deaths are the chief sources of information. During that period of great development in the community, from the beginning of publication to 1850, there is scarcely a word concerning any of the new buildings that were being erected, and events, to which columns would now be devoted, were entirely unnoticed.

Mr. Ballard was a native of Lancaster. His father's home was in the Deer's-Horns District. He worked as a printer for about ten years in Boston, and was thirty years old when he published the first number of the *Courant*. His pastor, Rev. L. J. Livermore, of the Unitarian Church, said of him: "He was kind, almost feminine in the gentleness of his disposition. * * * I never saw his temper ruffled, although he had his share of the world's vexations, perhaps, * * he had too little of the rugged, strong, selfish nature to make a successful business man, * * * quiet, reserved, unpretending, a lover of peace and concord, * * * trying to meet his obligations and make others happy, even as he himself enjoyed life."

The *Courant*, which up to July 6, 1850, had been called the *Lancaster Courant*, on that date took for its title, *Saturday Courant*. It was at this time enlarged by the addition of a sixth column. F. C. Messenger made his valedictory in the *Courant* of June 28, 1851, after he had been editor five years. He went to Maine, where he became editor and publisher of the *Camden Advertiser*. In March, 1859, he was editor of the *Oshkosh Herald*. Mr. Ballard became the sole printer and publisher, and Edwin Bynner the editor. Mr. Bynner came to town originally as a painter. He had been station agent during the previous year, and a dealer in brick and lime. He had also been an auctioneer since February, 1851. These forms of business he still united with his editorial duties.

May 7, 1853, Mr. Bynner went into partnership with Ballard as publishers. The *Courant* moved to the south store under Clinton Hall, in October, 1853. May 13, 1854, Mr. Bynner withdrew from partnership in publishing on account of ill health, but still continued his editorial duties. On July 1st, he withdrew from these also. In addition to ill health, he assigned as a reason for this withdrawal the fact that the income from the paper furnished an inadequate support for his family. Although the circulation had doubled during the three years of his editorship, yet only two hundred copies were taken in town. No wonder he said: "The wolf prowls too near the editorial chair to admit of any longer occupancy of its 'unstuffed' space."

Mr. Bynner was a man of literary ability, although he was at times more fluent than a severe taste might demand. He was a man of vivid imagination, keen wit, sound judgment, honest fearlessness and a high ideal of his editorial position. In local affairs, his influence was always used to restrain lawlessness and to promote enterprise. His frequent editorials on such public needs as fire engines, railroads and gas works, on beautifying the Common and planting trees along the streets, and especially on liberality in matters of

education by means of schools, books and the lecture system, must have had an important influence in the development of the community. In dealing with the affairs of the state and nation, especially with the different phases of the anti-slavery movement, his editorials had a breadth of vision and a fervor of eloquence seldom found in a country newspaper. When he left Clinton, he went to Worcester, where he acted as freight agent. In 1858, he became agent of the Commercial Steamboat Company and Worcester and Providence Railroad Company. His versatile genius often found expression in newspaper literature, and he was well known as a public speaker. If he had devoted himself entirely to letters he might doubtless have gained as great a reputation as that held by his son, Edwin Lassiter Bynner, the author of *Agnes Surriage*.

John P. Davis, who had for some time been connected with "the business of the paper," undertook the editorship after Mr. Bynner withdrew. His name as editor disappears without any formal statement, December 9, 1854. Henry Bowman became a partner of Mr. Ballard, October 2, 1854, and remained until May 5, 1855. Rev. L. J. Livermore of the Unitarian Church, having done the editorial work of the paper for some weeks previously, assumed formal connection with the paper, January 6, 1855. September 5, 1857, this connection was severed. During his editorship the paper, though full of noble sentiment, dealt little with matters of local interest.

For nearly two years, no name appeared at the head of the editorial column of the *Courant*, but the keen human interest and the trenchant wit of its leading articles would have given evidence of the work of Rev. C. M. Bowers, even if his editorship had not been an open secret. At no time before the Civil War are we able to get more closely at the life of the community through the paper than in those "hard times" of 1857-8, when he did so much to turn the workless people of Clinton from their despondency to profitable self-

improvement, and to cheer their hours of idleness. The following may be taken as a sample of his wit: A correspondent had criticised one of his articles on the ways to relieve the distress of the community, and said, among other things, that it would be well for the editor to give up his horse and ride upon an ass, as his Master did. Mr. Bowers replied: "Your last paragraph is capital; we concede to all its suggestions. We are willing to share with the people, and we should decidedly enjoy riding as you hint; so if you will trot up, ready saddled, to our house at half-past ten tomorrow, we will prove our readiness to imitate the Master by using an ass, in the sight of all the people."

Rev. C. M. Bowers was succeeded by J. J. Allen, May 7, 1859, but Mr. Allen remained only until the 20th of August. For the next two and a half years, Mr. Ballard managed the paper by himself, with what volunteer help he could get from the citizens of the town. For the few months following January 7, 1860, these unpaid helpers were recognized as editors, under the title, "An Association of Gentlemen." After this, Mr. Ballard seems to have had little assistance.

During the opening year of the Civil War, although the *Courant* suffered severely from the lack of an editorial head who could devote his full time to it, yet, even under these circumstances, the paper could not fail to give voice in some degree to the patriotic enthusiasm of the people, and much of the news was of such evident importance that it almost published itself. The letters from the Clinton soldiers, especially those from William J. Coulter, added much to the value of the sheet.

Horatio E. Turner, who had for some time previously added many editorial duties to his work as a printer, was formally acknowledged as editor March 22, 1862, but he enlisted in August of the same year. During the next five months, although Wellington E. Parkhurst's name nowhere appears in the *Courant's* columns, we know that he was receiving his initiation into the editorial duties which he was afterwards

to perform so ably for so many years. October 31, 1862, the *Courant* was nominally sold to W. A. Farnsworth, but Mr. Ballard really controlled the paper until, after an existence of sixteen and a half years, it was stopped December 13, 1862, on account of the high price of stock.

Although Eliphas Ballard ceased publishing the *Courant* in 1862, yet he continued the book and stationery business here until 1869, when he removed to Gardner and engaged in the clothing business with A. A. Jerauld, Junior. In later times, he continued the business with his son. He was also connected with the *Gardner News* in its earlier years. During the twenty-three years he was in our community, he in his quiet way exerted a great power for good upon the people in his private capacity. As the publisher and, at times, the editor of the *Courant*, his influence in moulding the opinion of the growing community was unsurpassed by any clergyman or teacher. His sweet reasonableness never sanctioned anything that was rash or base, while local enterprise and national patriotism always found inspiration and encouragement. Thus, the *Courant* in its earlier days had the same characteristics that it has displayed in later times, except that it has grown in virile force as it has increased in age.

The young men who worked in the *Courant* office during these earlier years of publication have a remarkable war record. They enlisted, one after another, until every man who had worked there, outside of Mr. Ballard and the regular editors, was in the service of his country. Henry Bowman, Henry Greenwood, William J. Coulter, James A. Bonney and James P. Chenery were in the Light Guard; Daniel A. White was in the Twenty-fifth, Horatio E. Turner was in the Thirty-fourth, Robert Orr in the Fifty-third. W. B. Whittemore entered the navy.

Of Bowman and Greenwood we have already had occasion to speak. James P. Chenery was the son of Seth Chenery, who came from West Boylston and worked in the Parker Machine Shop. He learned his trade in the *Courant* office.

He, and also his brother, Frank A. Chenery, gave their lives for their country. James A. Bonney, a native of Sterling, was killed on the field of battle. Horatio E. Turner died in Andersonville. Daniel A. White is a native of Marlboro, N. H., born August 12, 1836. He attended the Clinton High School. He entered the office as an apprentice in 1852. He was a musician and a member of our first brass band, and leader of the second. We have already spoken of his connection with the hoop skirt business and his partnership with S. W. Tyler in the grocery business. He has been one of our leading grocers since the Civil War. Robert Orr, who was born in Paisley, Scotland, and had come to this country in the forties, began to work in the office in the early fifties. He went away for a while, but returned when so many of the compositors entered the Fifteenth. Since the war he has worked in the Worsted Mill, in the stationery and book business, and in the Courant office.

William J. Coulter was born in Troy, N. Y., February 13, 1841. He learned his trade in the office of the Washington County Post, published in Cambridge, N. Y. Later, he worked on the Albany Morning Express. He came to Clinton in 1860, to work in the Courant office. During the summer of 1865, shortly after his return from service, he bought out the printing business of Eliphas Ballard. Mr. Ballard had previously attempted to get enough subscriptions to justify him in starting the paper again, but had not been able to secure the four hundred names which he deemed requisite. When he learned that Mr. Coulter was about to begin re-publication, he told him that he needed a guardian. The new series was called the Clinton Courant, and the first issue was September 30, 1865. Wellington E. Parkhurst, was the editor.* He was born in Framingham, January 19, 1835. He was educated in the public schools and Framingham Academy. He was a paymaster of the Lancaster Quilt

* For an account of his father, see pages 347-8.

Company, 1856-9. He worked for two years in the Clinton Savings Bank. He has taught school. He has been on the editorial staff of the Worcester Spy. The later historian will tell of services rendered by Mr. Parkhurst to the Congregational Society, to the town, as clerk, assessor, treasurer, director of the library and member of school committee; and to the state, as an influential member of the legislature. The Clinton Courant, the best of country papers, will remain a lasting memorial of his wit, his sound sense and his devotion to public good.

CHAPTER XXVI.

LAWYERS, PHYSICIANS, AND DENTISTS.

CHARLES GODFREY STEVENS was born in Claremont, N. H., September 16, 1821. His ancestors had lived here for several generations. His grandfather, Josiah Stevens, had fought as ensign in the battle of Bennington. After the Revolution, he became the colonel of his regiment. Godfrey Stevens, the father of Charles G., was a merchant. He was a member of the national convention which nominated Harrison for the presidency. He was prominent as a speaker in the stirring campaign that followed. Parson Stevens, one of the uncles of our townsman, was noted as a hotel owner and proprietor. Among the hotels controlled by him were the Revere and Tremont Houses in Boston, and the Fifth Avenue Hotel of New York and the Battle House of Mobile.

Charles G. Stevens fitted for college at Meriden, N. H. The school here was one of those academies which, before the days of high schools, stood between the elementary district schools and the college. He entered Washington College at Hartford, Ct. This was an Episcopal institution, and the religious convictions of his parents led to the choice of this college. After he had been here about two years, he had a severe sickness, on account of which he was obliged to give up his studies for a time. When he recovered, he entered Dartmouth where he graduated in 1840. He was one of the originators of the custom of senior banquets, which is still kept up at Dartmouth.

On account of the death of his father, he was obliged to



CHESTNUT STREET.

give up his course at the law school soon after he had entered. He studied at Claremont in the office of George B. Upham, and afterwards in that of Alpheus F. Snow, who was Upham's successor. From Claremont, he went to Boston, where he continued his studies and then opened an office. He came to Clintonville in 1846. On September 29th of the same year, he married Laura Russell. The family lived for four years in the Kendall cottage on High Street. In 1851, Mr. Stevens built his present residence on the corner of Chestnut and Church Streets, which was, at the time of building, considered to be a great distance from the center of business. Mr. Stevens has one son and one daughter now living.

His office was in the southwest corner of Kendall Block. In this office, many schemes for the development of the new community were devised. Mr. Stevens acted as counsel for the corporations, and H. N. Bigelow was accustomed to consult with him on all matters relating to the good of the village which was growing up around the mills. When the library and reading room of the Bigelow Mechanics' Institute was opened, Mr. Stevens was in charge of the room, as it adjoined his office. Isaac Baldwin studied with him, and afterwards, acted for a time as his partner. He also had charge of the library for some time. He went from here to Clinton, Iowa, where he has been very successful in his profession, and has been mayor of the city. An insurance business was united to the legal practice of Mr. Stevens. This in time developed to large proportions. His son, Colonel Edward G. Stevens, has been associated with his father in this department of his work.

We have seen how Mr. Stevens was the moving spirit in the separation of Clinton from Lancaster and the organization of the new town.* Some one in Lancaster had asked when the division was first talked about: "Who is there in

* See chapter on the incorporation of the town.

Clintonville who is capable of running a town meeting?" While the first warrant of Lancaster, after the separation, was found defective, that of Clinton was all right, and the meeting was a model of parliamentary accuracy on account of the able management of Mr. Stevens, the moderator. This office of moderator of the annual town meeting was held by him for some forty years. In later times, when there has been confusion in regard to parliamentary practice or meetings have fallen under the control of a lawless element, our older citizens have said: "Such things never happened when Mr. Stevens was moderator."

When the Clinton Savings Bank was organized in 1850, he was elected to the secretaryship, an office which he has since held. In 1853, he was a member of the state convention for the revision of the constitution. From 1856 to 1862, he was a member of the school committee, during which time, with the exception of one year, he acted as secretary. We shall see how prominent a part he took in the campaign against Eli Thayer in 1860. In 1862, he was elected to the Massachusetts senate. He was the first Clinton senator. He was appointed draft commissioner for Worcester County by Governor Andrew. The story of his patriotic labors during the war will be elsewhere told.* No one was more earnest than he to fill the quota of the town or felt greater pride in its grand record. He managed a large portion of the legal business connected with the pensions of the soldiers, and no expenditure of energy was too great which promised relief to the suffering families of those who had offered themselves as a sacrifice for their country. In this work, Mrs. Stevens was engaged no less zealously than her husband. As was fitting, he was chosen to give the welcome to the returning soldiers, and his eloquent utterances were worthy of that great occasion.

In 1864, he organized the First National Bank of Clinton,

* See chapters on Civil War.

and was chosen the first president. He has held this office since that time. His position in connection with the banks has made him a most important factor in the business interests of the town, of which the banks have been the center. In later years, he and his family have been among the organizers and most prominent members of the Episcopal Parish in Clinton.

John Thompson Dame was born October 21, 1816, at the little farming town of Orford, N. H. He was the son of Dr. John Dame and Abigail (Thompson) Dame. His father was a physician in the adjoining town of Lyme during his early childhood. While he was still a small boy, both his parents died and he went to live with his cousin in Orford. This cousin looked after his interests with a parent's care. The boy was sent to the academy in Meriden, a village of Plainfield, N. H. Here, he first met Charles G. Stevens, who entered the school from Claremont, and an acquaintance was formed which was destined to extend over more than half a century, during which they were closely associated in their life work. Mr. Dame entered Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1840. The excellence of his scholarship is attested by the fact that he was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

He began his law studies with Judge Leonard Wilcox of Orford. The second year, he passed at the Harvard Law School. He completed his preparatory legal studies with Hon. Sidney Bartlett of Boston. He was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1843. He soon opened an office in Marlboro. During the year of his residence in that town, in addition to such practice as fell to the lot of the new fledged lawyer, he taught at times in the academy.

In 1844, he removed to Lancaster. June 11, 1845, he married Eliza Elmira Reeves of Wayland. Their home was in the house of Mr. Rand, opposite the hotel. During the five years of his residence in Lancaster, he not only practiced law, but he was also acting postmaster, and, for the last two years, he was police magistrate.

When Clinton was incorporated, foreseeing its growth, he wisely decided to cast his fortunes with the new community, and moved hither April 1, 1850. He built the house on Chestnut Street now occupied by Charles L. Swan. After living here for some years, he bought the estate on Water Street which is still in the possession of his heirs. The cultivation of the ample grounds of this estate was one of the chief pleasures of his life. He delighted in out-door work, in watching the development of plants and the maturing of fruits. He found joy, too, in sharing with his neighbors the products of his orchard and garden. Mr. Dame had two sons and four daughters. Mr. Dame's home was always a center of culture. Mr. Dame was a member of the Congregationalist Society and one of its most reliable supporters.

Mr. Dame was police magistrate in Clinton from 1850 until he was commissioned a trial justice under the law of 1858. The latter office he held until the close of 1863. In speaking of his work in these offices, Mr. Stevens says that Mr. Dame's decisions were so just that he cannot recall any instance of an appeal from his judgment as a magistrate. As a lawyer, he was especially esteemed for "his ability as an adviser," for "his familiarity with the statutes pertaining to real estate and conveyancing," for "his spotless integrity and self-less devotion to duty."

Resolutions which were adopted by his associates at the bar soon after his death state: "As magistrate and practitioner, he brought to the discharge of all his duties an intelligent and comprehensive knowledge of the law, a well-trained, vigorous mind, habits of untiring industry and a strong love of justice which always distinguish the impartial judge and the successful, upright lawyer. He had a keen sense of the obligations of his profession to the community, and used his influence and opportunities as a councillor to discourage strife and promote the peaceful settlement of controversies between contending parties. While always true to client and faithful and painstaking in his client's

cause, he was equally loyal to the court, and in all his transactions as a lawyer kept both the letter and spirit of his attorney's oath."

Mr. Dame never had any partner until his son, Walter R. Dame, was associated with him in 1886. Among the students who studied with him, may be mentioned L. D. Warner of Harvard, who went to Richmond, Virginia, before the war and has since filled various important positions there. A large insurance business was carried on by Mr. Dame. Money was loaned through him and real estate transfers were consummated. Thus, his office was always a busy place. This was at first located in G. P. Smith's Block, and after 1857, he was in Greene's Block, first in the old brick building and later in the new.

In politics, Mr. Dame was a Democrat of the old school. The fundamental element of his political creed was, that the most perfect freedom for the individual comes from the localization of government, and he feared the results from the centralizing tendencies of his time. He often received the vote of members of both parties for local office, for everyone knew that he would strive to fill any position to which he might be elected for the best interests of the town and without regard to party associations. It is worthy of note, that, although he was a Democrat, yet it was he who made the motion under which Clinton appropriated money for the relief of the families of those who had enlisted for the defense of the government. He received commissions as postmaster of Clinton from Franklin Pierce and James Buchanan, and filled that office from September 7, 1853, to April 6, 1861. Immediately upon entering upon his duties, he removed the office from Kendall's Block to the Library Building on Union Street. His administration was progressive and efficient. Among his clerks were Dexter Fisher, James Powers, George W. Moore, L. D. Warner and Ezra Sawyer.

Mr. Dame always took the deepest interest in town busi-

ness. No voice was heard more frequently in town meetings. He was conservative in his tendencies and so sternly opposed to the waste of public funds that he was sometime spoken of as "the watch dog of the public treasury." In some directions, such for instance as the cause of education, he believed in the most liberal appropriations and here, we come upon the most important service he rendered the town in any official capacity, his work as a member of the school committee. He was a member of the board for seventeen years and was chairman for fourteen years. Most of this service comes after the period covered by this history. The school reports prepared under the direction of Mr. Dame make a bulky volume and must be consulted by any who would form an adequate idea of his efficient and unremitting labors for the educational interests of the community. He also served in his later life, for eight years from 1884, as a member of the Board of Directors of the Bigelow Free Public Library. From 1888 to 1892, he was chairman of the board. He prepared a history of Clinton for the Worcester County History published in 1879, by C. F. Jewett & Company.

After a prolonged illness, he died July 3, 1894. Thus closed a life fraught with blessing to the town, both in deed and example. A life of service both through private and public channels, a life of high ideals in education, of unswerving integrity and of Puritan simplicity.

As Daniel H. Bemis did not begin to practice in Clinton until after the war, his story is left for future histories.

Since the most important service that Enoch K. Gibbs rendered the community was in connection with law and the courts, his record is entered here. Enoch K. Gibbs was born in Sturbridge, Mass., July 31, 1811. His father, Elijah Gibbs, was a farmer. The boy was brought up on the farm and attended the common schools. He came to Factory Village when he was seventeen years old to learn the comb business. He remained here some years. He then became

a member of the firm of Gibbs, Tiffany & Company of Sturbridge, which was engaged in the manufacture of pistols. He returned to this section in 1839. He had married Martha Lowe, the daughter of John Lowe, April 21, 1833. They had six children, Albion W., Charles W., William H., Edward M., and two daughters. He came into possession of the homestead of John Lowe on North Main Street and, here, he has since spent his life. October 15, 1872, he married Martha C. Hart. We have seen how he engaged in the comb business on Rigby Brook. In later life, he was our best known auctioneer. He was one of the officers of the first temperance society in Factory Village and one of the organizers and most earnest supporters of the Congregational Society of Clinton.

He served his first writ as a constable October 19, 1846. In October, 1850, he was appointed deputy sheriff of Worcester County, an office which he held for thirty-nine years. During this time, he served three thousand four hundred and eighty-six attachments. So great was his coolness and tact, that although he was frequently threatened, sometimes with loaded weapons, yet he was never attacked so as to receive any injury. For six years, he had charge of the grand jury. He had an office for a long time with C. G. Stevens at the Library Building on Union Street.

He was appointed postmaster April 6, 1861, under President Lincoln, and served until August 1, 1870. The office during all this time was in the Library Building. Among his clerks were his sons, Albion W. and William H. Gibbs, Oscar M. Lawrence and Maria M. Paul.

Mr. Gibbs is passing an honored old age among us in well earned repose.

In the early days of this community, very little demand was made on the services of the physicians. Some did not

* See page 166.

"believe in doctors," some were fatalists and said: "If the sick person is going to get well he will get well, doctor or no doctor, and, if he is fore-ordained to die, he will die in spite of all the doctors in the world." With others, the prayers of the minister or deacon were considered of more efficacy than the prescriptions of the physician. There were certain women, too, in every community who had acquired the reputation of knowing how to care for the sick "better than any doctor." Although superstition too often conferred this reputation on some old hag, yet it is doubtless true that there were some women, "born nurses," who were more capable of dealing with ordinary cases of disease than the poorly educated practitioners of that olden time. Moreover, every mother of a family was supposed to know something of the art of medicine which had been handed down in recipe books or by word of mouth from generation to generation. Each housewife laid away her store of herbs for the winter with as much care as she made her preserves. Wormwood and thoroughwort, plantain leaves and tansy, false indigo and Saint John's-wort, pennyroyal and catnip, sarsaparilla and horehound, sassafras and dandelion, the different kinds of mints and mallows and various other products of garden, field and forest were gathered and dried and hung up in bundles along the rafters of the attic against the day of need.

Old people with chronic complaints were constantly dosing themselves, especially with the New England rum, which was with some the universal specific. Often, some bitter concoction of herbs was kept simmering by the fire and a sip would be taken as opportunity offered. In the spring, "the system always seemed to need toning up."

In a case of illness, if the home store of herbs, the emetic, "the rum sweat" and the poultice failed to work a cure, the wise woman of the village was called in. If the patient still lived and failed to recover, either the minister or the doctor might be summoned. The latter came with his sad-

dle bags and surgical instruments. The lancet never was missing. Bleeding was the chief means of conquering disease, "visit and venesection" the most frequent charge. The physicians were not lacking in prescriptions, however. One prepared by Dr. Stephen Ball of Northboro, whose visits extended even to this section during the first half of the present century, contained thirty ingredients. A patient asked him one day: "What is the need of so many different things, Doctor?" "Well," the doctor answered, "if you are going to shoot a bird, you use plenty of shot. Some of these things will be pretty sure to hit the case." One of his common directions was: "Take a little of this 'ere and a little of that 'are, put it in a jug before the fire, stir it up with your little finger and take it when you are warm, hot, cold or feverish." In his "Resipee Book" is found the following recipe for scratches: "One qrt. fishworms, washed clean, one pound hog's lard stewed together, filtered through a strainer and add half a pint oil turpentine, half pint good brandy, simmer it well and it is fit for use."

There was no regular physician within present Clinton limits until Dr. George W. Symonds came in 1845, but those from other sections of Lancaster and the neighboring towns were occasionally called. We have already had occasion to notice the celebrated Dr. William Dunsmoor of Revolutionary times. The blood of the Prescotts and the Sawyers flowed in his veins, and he was closely associated with the people of this section. He was no less noted as a patriot and as a man of affairs than as a physician. He died in 1784, at the age of fifty. During the first years of the present century, Israel Atherton,—who lived in New Boston and gave the name to the Atherton Bridge, which was near his dwelling-place,—James Carter and Samuel Manning were physicians in Lancaster, and had more or less practice in this vicinity.

Dr. Calvin Carter, who died in 1859, had for many years almost a monopoly of the practice in the South Village. He

was the son of Dr. James Carter, and was similar in character. Dr. G. M. Morse, in some reminiscences before the Clinton Historical Society, says: "There were in town in 1846, were Dr. Symonds, Dr. Burdett, and Dr. Carter. We were kindly assisted in our labors by Drs. C. and J. L. S. Thompson of Lancaster, and Dr. [unclear] of Sterling. These have all passed to their rest. Truly no man in this section had such a reputation as a physician and surgeon as the late Dr. Carter. He lived in the house (lately) occupied by Dr. G. M. Morse of Lancaster. He was a queer compound of ignorance and skill in prescribing, and today is remembered by old patients with the greatest kindness and respect, almost say, reverence. I once heard a man say he would do more to cure a patient to see his old gray horse drive into the yard, than all the medicine of a physician within ten miles. He never received a diploma from any medical college, but had a license to practice from the Massachusetts Medical Society. He had a peculiar way of answering questions. Soon after I came to town, I was injured at the Counterpane Mill, and of course Dr. Carter must be sent for. He visited the patient in the stairs, and the companions of the injured man crowded around him. 'Well, doctor, what do you think of this?' he paused, then said: 'Four times six is twenty-four.' The man died the next day. This passed for wisdom."

In an article published in the Clinton Courant, 28, 1895, Hon. Henry S. Nourse gives the following of his characteristics: "His parting advice to his favorite pupil about to start upon the practice of medicine, was: 'Well, Charles, you must be honest—as honest as the times will permit you to be. You may be wrong once in a while, but always keep the probabilities on your side.' He knew everybody, young and old, by name, and he would gossip with those met in his drives, comment upon some phrase upon some topic of the day. Shortly after

of Clintonville, sundry youthful M. D.'s illuminated its chief street with their bright gilt-lettered signs. The old doctor, driving homeward in his shabby sulky, saw an old acquaintance on the street, and stopping short, addressed him with: 'Gilbert, how many doctors have you got here?' Mr. Greene counted them up on his fingers and said six, or whatever the number then was. 'Six! Good Heavens! damned if it isn't lamentable!' and the doctor jerked the reins and hurried out of the village. To a worthy old lady who, in spite of shaking nerves and protesting friends, would have sooner died than give up her two cups of strong tea at each meal, he replied when she asked him if tea could be injurious: 'Certainly not, madam, if you drink it strong enough.' His doses were heroic, for the rural majority then seemed to think that curatives must of necessity be nasty, and that tumultuous intestinal war was an essential preliminary to the establishment of a peaceful working together of humanity's organs. Strong-willed patients who had experienced the revolutionary result of swallowing some of Dr. Carter's favorite detergents, sometimes became rebellious. An old gentleman whose 'I won't' meant something more than contingent reluctance, was constrained to consult the doctor one day. After the usual fingering of wrist and inspection of a furry tongue, the doctor pronounced it a case of torpidity of liver, and added: 'An emetic will set you all right in a day or two.' Now, if there existed any superfluity which the old gentleman had made up his mind never to indulge in again, it was an emetic. After a little mild expostulation, the doctor dropped argument and asked what he would prescribe for himself. The sick man thought he could swallow a pill or two. The pills were deftly made before the patient's face, received from the doctor's soft hand, and disappeared. The next day, when the doctor's sulky drew up at the door he was met on the threshold by the lady of the house, with a dolorous tale of her husband's terrible experience. 'Why, those pills were worse than two emetics,' said she, 'and they

have left Mr. C. as weak as a dish-cloth.' 'Ah! I shouldn't wonder, but it can't very well be helped now,' responded the doctor in his soft drawl, with an appreciative grin."

The practice of Dr. Henry Lincoln and Dr. J. L. S. Thompson was comparatively light in this neighborhood, although each of them had some patients.

Dr. Pierson T. Kendall of Sterling also had some practice here, and as he was a considerable factor in the development of Clinton, and in his old age had his home in this community, his biography claims closer consideration.

He graduated from Harvard University in 1812, at the age of nineteen. He received his diploma from the Harvard Medical School in 1816, and in the following year began to practice in Sterling. For forty years he made Sterling his home, although he paid many visits to all the neighboring villages and shared with his rival, Dr. Carter, the patronage of the outlying districts. One who knew him well says, that he always had a lot of practice on hand, and whenever there were no special calls to make he would start out in his old sulky and visit all his chronic cases for miles around. By carefully planning his circuit, he was able to bring in a great many distant families with comparatively little travel, and thus get a considerable number of large fees for his day's work. Like all other country physicians of those earlier times, he was often obliged to accept his pay in the produce of the farm, as ready money was a scarce article. On his return from one of these trips, his old sulky was usually loaded with apples, potatoes, turnips, grain, meat or any of the articles that farmers used for barter. He was accustomed to take many of his meals in the families of his patients, for it was convenient for him and they were always glad to have him, as he would, in his genial way, bring to them the news of the outside world. We have seen how in 1844-5, he built the Kendall Block in Clintonville where the Bank Building now stands. We have seen, too, the prominent part taken in the affairs of the village by his son,

George H. Kendall. Dr. Kendall built the Kendall cottage to the south of his store building and rented it for some years to one after another of our leading families. He also built and owned several other houses in town. It was owing to this fact that Kendall Court and Kendall Place received their names. From 1845, orders for visits were left for him at the store. In 1857, Dr. Kendall moved here himself and occupied his cottage. He was then a man of sixty-five. He secured some local practice, although his younger rivals maintained their hold on most of it. He died January 11, 1865.

George Washington Symonds, the first physician settled in Clintonville, was born in Reading, Mass., October 16, 1811. He studied medicine at Hanover, N. H., and received his diploma from Dartmouth in 1841. He began to practice in Shirley, but in the course of a year or so went to Lancaster where he became an assistant of Dr. Calvin Carter. He came to Clintonville in 1845, and had an office in Deacon John Burdett's building on High Street, opposite the Methodist Church. In the early years of his life here, he had a very fast horse and drove most furiously. He always rode in an open gig, and there are many of our older citizens who remember him as speeding past with the ends of his scarf flying behind. He was a great worker, "indefatigable in the cause of suffering humanity." As he was "a friend of the poor," a careless bookkeeper and a bad collector, although he had a large practice, it brought him little wealth. He was a man of impulse and of a most generous nature. A friend said of him: "I have known him for twenty-five years and never did I ask a favor at his hands but full measure was given me." At one time, he nearly monopolized the practice among the Irish families in town, and it is said that at his death, August 11, 1873, he was mourned among them as a dear friend. He was twice married and by his first wife, a daughter of Samuel Osgood, had one son, who survived him. He was a man of decided opinions and expressed them freely. He was an ardent worker in the tem-

perance and anti-slavery movements. He was a Republican in politics, and at one time was the candidate for the General Court. He served the town on the board of selectmen. He was a member of the school committee from 1860 to 1863. He was a member of the Baptist Society and acted as its secretary for many years.

In 1857, Dr. Charles Addison Brooks came to Clinton from Keene, N. H. He was born in 1823. He had been a mechanic in his youth, but finally determined to study medicine. He graduated from the Hahnemann Medical School at Philadelphia. All our previous physicians had been allopathic. Dr. Brooks found enough people in Clinton and the neighboring towns who preferred homœopathy to give him a good practice. At first he had an office at the Clinton House, then at Greene's Block. In later years, he purchased the estate of Mrs. George Bowman on Church Street. This became his family residence and he used the basement for an office. Dr. Brooks was for twelve years a director of the First National Bank and was a member of the investing committee. He was twice married. By his first wife, he had one son who became a physician, but died after a short and successful career in Boston. By his second wife, he had two daughters. During the period which our history covers, he had established a high reputation for professional courtesy and judgment. Most of his life among us belongs to a later period, for he continued in active practice here until his death, June 3, 1889.

Dr. Charles D. Dowse, who had received a regular medical diploma and had practiced in Shirley, had a home and office at the corner of Maine and Water Streets in 1849. He had come here at the desire of his friend, C. W. Worcester, and lived in the same double house with him. Later, while his residence remained unchanged, he had an office in the Bancroft building at the corner of High and Union Streets. He stayed in town only a year or two. He moved to the vicinity of Boston where he died many years ago.

In 1852, Dr. A. W. Dillingham, "a botanic physician," had rooms in G. P. Smith's building. His stay was still shorter than that of Dr. Dowse.

Adoniram J. Greeley, a brother of H. C. Greeley, was a physician in Clinton for a year or so. He was a graduate of Brown University and received the diploma of the Harvard Medical School in 1845. He practised for ten years or so in Searsport, Me., before coming to Clinton. After a brief stay among us, he went to Providence, R. I., where he practised until his death in September, 1893.

In addition to these men, as Dr. Morse has said: "There was the usual number of itinerant doctors of all kinds and stripes—botanic, Indian, eclectic, electric, magnetic and mesmeric quacks; but they would only remain a few days, and having reaped their harvests would depart."

The two physicians most closely connected with the history of our town in length and amount of practice and in the influence of their citizenship, are Dr. G. W. Burdett and Dr. G. M. Morse. As there was a remarkable parallelism in the lives of C. G. Stevens and J. T. Dame, our leading lawyers of early times, and in the lives of Rev. C. M. Bowers and Rev. G. M. Bartol, the two clergymen who served longest in this vicinity, so the lives of these physicians have had much in common. There is but little difference in their age. They attended the same medical schools for the same length of time. They began their practice here the same year. They had the same up-hill work in securing patients among the older families who clung to Dr. Calvin Carter and distrusted younger men. They both won success through their efficiency. For many years, they lived on adjoining lots. Through exchange, they have read the same medical journals, and thus, while retaining what was best in the old, have kept alike informed of every step of progress made in their profession. They have each played a most important part in the history of our town, a part which cannot be measured, until they have received the credit due for their

share in the labors of those whose anxieties they have relieved, whose strength they have restored, and whose lives they have saved. They have been ardent Republicans. They have each done much service and received many honors as citizens. Both have often been called upon to make public addresses. They have each filled out half a century of unremitting labor in behalf of this community.

Dr. George M. Morse is the son of Ebenezer and Esther (Crafts) Morse. He was born in Walpole, N. H., August 27, 1821. His father was a physician. He passed his childhood at Walpole, and prepared for college at the Walpole and Keene Academies. After attending the Medical School at Dartmouth one year, he went to the Harvard Medical School, where he graduated in 1843. For the next three years, he practiced medicine at Claremont, N. H. He married Eleanor C. Chase, the daughter of Bishop Carlton Chase. From this marriage, there is one son, George F., who is now living in Lancaster. Hearing of the development of Clintonville, the doctor visited here and determined to settle, although H. N. Bigelow advised strongly against it on the ground that there was no room for another physician. Dr. Morse says: "I came to town on one of the first days of March, 1846. I came in a sleigh, in the midst of a snow-storm, in the evening of a cold, dreary March day, inquiring my way over Ballard Hill of the people living on the route, many of whom never heard of Clintonville, but knew that a large cotton factory was being built in the southerly part of Lancaster."

For the first two years, he lived on Main Street near the railroad station. In 1847, he built his present residence at the corner of Walnut and Church Streets. He moved into it in 1848. As far as is known, no other citizen of Clinton is now living in a house which has been continuously occupied by himself for so many years. This house lot was the first that was bought east of High Street. The house of Rev. C. M. Bowers, which has since been burned, was built about

the same time, and that of Deacon James Patterson soon followed. Dr. Morse says: "People expostulated with me for going away out of town. * * * At this time, our beautiful Common was simply a cranberry swamp."

For his second wife, he married Mary F. Stearns, daughter of Deacon William Stearns, by whom he has had two daughters. The family has attended the Unitarian Church.

Dr. Morse took an active part in the movement for the separation of Clintonville from Lancaster. He was a member of the board of overseers of District No. 10. He was on the school committee of Lancaster in 1848-9. He was chosen on the school committee of the new town from 1854-1857. He also served as an assessor and was a fire engineer. In later years, he was one of the building committee of the Town Hall. He has been a director of the Bigelow Free Public Library for many years, and is now chairman of that board. He was "surgeon to the draft" during the Civil War. He went to the South after the battle of Antietam to care for our fellow-citizens who had suffered in that battle. He has been examining surgeon to the Pension Office for about thirty years. He was for fourteen years the medical examiner for Worcester County. In later years, he has been especially connected with the organization and development of the Clinton Hospital.

The Burdett family have been closely connected with nearly every phase of local history for almost a century. We have seen Nathan Burdett as one of the early comb-makers, as the teamster of the first cotton factory, as an active member of School District No. 10, and as a selectman of Lancaster, representing Clintonville in its period of most rapid growth. We have seen John Burdett, the brother of Nathan, as a pioneer in Baptist worship, and as the first of our older citizens to aid in the commercial development of the community by the construction of worthy buildings for stores. We have seen the nephews of Nathan and John, Augustus P., Horatio S., and Albert T. Burdett among the

most progressive of our early merchants, and another nephew, Jerome S., in charge of the Clinton House. We have also had occasion before to notice the services rendered to the community by the sons of Nathan Burdett.

George Washington Burdett, the fifth son, was born February 17, 1819. He has never been long absent from this, his native place, and has therefore spent more years in this community than any other citizen now living in it. He passed his childhood at home with the alternations of work, play and study usual among the boys of those days. After mastering all the branches taught in the school of District No. 10, he spent a year at Bride's School in Berlin. After another year of work and private study in Northboro, he became a teacher in Albany, New York, where he remained for a year. We have seen him as a successful teacher in District No. 10 in the winter of 1842-3. He next entered the Dartmouth Medical School, where he spent one year. The following winter, he was teaching again at home. From 1844, he was in the Harvard Medical School, where he graduated after two years of study, in the spring of 1846. He was a member of the private medical classes of Dr. Winslow Lewis and Prof. Samuel Cabot, M. D., for two years, in addition to the University studies.

He had already determined to settle in Clintonville, and at once took an office in the Bancroft building. November 24, 1846, Dr. Burdett married Elizabeth J. Valentine, daughter of Elmer Valentine of Northboro. They have had seven children, four sons and three daughters. In 1849, Dr. Burdett completed a house on Union Street, below A. P. Burdett's Block. Here, he had his home and office until 1867, when he purchased his present residence on Church Street. His Union Street house was afterwards sold to A. A. Burditt. Since 1852, he has been a half owner of Burdett Block and has had control of other real estate. He has been a trustee of the Clinton Savings Bank since its organization, and with the exception of C. G. Stevens, is the only

one of the original board now in office. He has been first vice-president since the death of Col. G. M. Palmer in 1885, and has presided at all the meetings in the absence of the president. He was a member of the board of overseers in District No. 10 for two years, and a member of the general school committee of Lancaster in 1848-9.

During the first three years after the incorporation of the town, he served on the school committee and helped organize the new school system. He was for many years a member of the board of directors for the Bigelow Free Public Library. He has been master of the Trinity Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons. The greatest work outside of his profession that Dr. Burdett has done for the community has been in connection with the Baptist Church. We shall see that he was the chief agent in its organization and that he served as its clerk for some forty years or more. From the beginning, his name was on every important committee appointed by the church or society. He was ever among the foremost in the business of the society, on the subscription lists, in the charitable work, in the social functions, in the Sunday school, in the prayer meetings and in every phase of church life.

Jeremiah Fiske, who was born at Temple, N. H., February 10, 1824, came to Clintonville in the fall of 1849. He had passed his childhood and youth on his father's farm. In addition to his studies at the district school, he had spent one term at the Hancock Academy. He studied dentistry with Dr. Palmer of Fitchburg.

On coming to Clintonville, he began business on the second floor of A. P. Burdett's Block. Dr. W. N. Snow, whose office was in the Bancroft building, had already moved to Worcester, as C. D. Cook, his predecessor, had had done before, although each of them still retained some Clintonville business. Near the end of 1850, Dr. Fiske moved to Dr. Burdett's new building on Union Street and C.

F. Horne soon after took the office in Burdett's Block. Early in 1852, Amos A. Pevey, who had been a student with Dr. Fiske, was taken into partnership. During this year, C. F. Horne moved to the Kendall Block and Fiske & Pevey took the rooms in the Burdett Block. Dr. Horne subsequently removed to an office over W. C. Carter's store, and then to the Library Building. In 1855, he went away from town. Daniel B. Ingalls and Gustavus A. Gerry began to study dentistry with Fiske & Pevey in 1855. Dr. Gerry went to Lowell, where he became one of the leading men of the city. Early in 1856, the firm of Fiske & Pevey dissolved. Dr. Fiske remained at the old stand and soon took in Dr. D. B. Ingalls as his partner.

Dr. Pevey went into partnership with his brother, Frank M. Pevey, who had previously studied with Fiske & Pevey. This new firm took rooms at first in Kendall's Block, but as soon as Greene's Block was completed, in 1858, moved thither. The Pevey brothers remained in Clinton until 1867, and did a large business. Two younger brothers, B. M. and C. K. Pevey, learned dentistry of them. Dr. Amos A. Pevey bought the house next west of the present Courant Block and the family lived there for years. He was especially prominent in Masonic circles. After leaving Clinton, he practised dentistry in Worcester and in Woonsocket, R. I. He died March 6, 1889, at the age of sixty-one. Frank M. Pevey is now living at East Wilton, N. H.

In 1867, Dr. D. B. Ingalls withdrew from the firm of Fiske & Ingalls, and in partnership with A. T. Bigelow, bought out the Pevey brothers and took their rooms in Greene's Block. Dr. Bigelow went to Boston in 1873, and Dr. Ingalls continued business alone. Dr. Fiske went on at the old rooms. He was alone two years, and H. C. Kendrick was his partner one year. In 1870, the firm became Fiske & Bastian. After 1876, Dr. Fiske retired from the local business, but kept up some of his practice in outlying towns. Dr. Fiske has been a large owner of real estate in town.

In company with Dr. G. W. Burdett, he bought Burdett Block. He has owned a group of stores and tenements on High Street, near the foot of Prospect. He built a private residence on Walnut Street. Here, he has lived for over forty years. He married Caroline E. Bailey, February 17, 1853. They have two daughters. Dr. Fiske has been connected with the Congregational Society and has been especially active in temperance work.

Daniel B. Ingalls was born at Sutton, Vt., May 25, 1829. He was the son of James and Mary (Cass) Ingalls. He began to learn the machinist's trade at the age of seventeen, in Norwich, Ct. He came to Clintonville to work in the machine shop of the Clinton Company in 1847. At the age of twenty-one he married Rebecca N. Randall. He went to California in October, 1851, and became a miner. In January, 1853, he returned to Clinton. Of the future life of Dr. Ingalls, it is not our province to speak. The future historian will tell of his graduation from the Boston Dental College in 1874; of the addresses he has delivered before the Massachusetts Dental Association and various other organizations; of his devotion to the Baptist Church, of which he has been a deacon; of his labors as a member of the investing committee of the Clinton Savings Bank, a director of the Lancaster National Bank, and the president of the Clinton Co-operative Bank; of his services to the town as a member of various committees and a director of the Bigelow Free Public Library, and of his work for the state in the General Court, in the House of 1880 and in the Senate of 1881 and '82.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE FIRST EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF CLINTON.

THE early religious history of the section of Lancaster which became Clinton is inseparable from that of the rest of the town. The Prescotts and their neighbors worshiped under the ministration of Thomas Rowlandson, John Whiting, Andrew Gardner and John Prentice in the old meeting-house on the site of what is now known as "The Middle Cemetery" of Lancaster, opposite the Thayer estate. The first house was destroyed in 1676, the second in 1705. From this time until 1742, our people went to divine service with the rest of the inhabitants of Lancaster, in a new meeting-house located on Bride Cake Plain, opposite the burial ground, a mile to the east of the old location. John Prentice was their minister during the whole of this period. From 1742 to 1817, the house of worship was nearer the center of the town, in front of the present residence of Solon Wilder. This building was fitted up with pews six feet by five for the more wealthy members of the society, while the poorer people occupied seats along the central aisle or in the gallery. The men sat on one side of the aisle, the women on the other. Special seats were reserved for negroes. This meeting-house was built during the forty-three years' pastorate of John Prentice, who lived until 1748. He was succeeded by Timothy Harrington. Nathaniel Thayer was ordained the colleague of Mr. Harrington in 1793. January 1, 1817, the "New Brick Church," which is now standing, was first occupied.

At this time, the majority of the church members of Lan-

ster sympathized with the movement which was sweeping away so many of the congregations of New England from the old evangelical standards. Those who were more conservative in their views felt that they were not receiving the proper spiritual food, hence there was an increasing tendency to unite with evangelical churches in other towns, or to form new organizations. As the religious society at Lancaster was supported by taxation, and all the tax-payers in town, who did not have a certificate of membership in religious societies elsewhere were obliged to contribute to "the standing order," the building of this new church edifice naturally inclined some to ally themselves with organizations where the expenses were less. Thus, we find some even who continued to attend the services in the "Brick Church" became members of other societies. The majority of the people of this district who attended meeting anywhere sat under the preaching of Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, until he died in 1840. Many kept on attending at the old meeting-house through the pastorate of Rev. Edmund H. Sears, who served the church from 1840-1847. Some few, who were decidedly Unitarian in their belief, worshiped under Rev. George M. Bartol until the Unitarian Society of Clinton was organized.

Preliminary steps for building the "Hillside Church" of Bolton, on the western slope of Wataquadock Hill, were taken March 4, 1828. Sampson V. S. Wilder was the originator of this church and its most liberal supporter, although many people of every evangelical denomination represented. Lancaster, Sterling, Bolton and Stow attended service there. Several of the families of the Factory Village, the Howes among others, worshiped there. It is said that the church was capable of seating seven hundred people. The basement was fitted up with a reading room and an extensive set of cupboards for the benefit of those who came from a distance and brought their dinners, as most of the congregation did. In 1830, Rev. Joseph W. Chickering began to

preach there. After the retirement of Mr. Chickering, the pulpit was occupied successively by Revs. Peabody, Davenport and Adams. The starting of the evangelical church in Lancaster Center in 1839 and the evangelical church in Clintonville in 1844, removed the need of a church at such a distance from either village, and so the services there were given up.*

The First Evangelical Congregational Church in Lancaster, which was organized in February, 1839, had in 1844, twenty-six members from Clintonville, and the number of those attending service from here must have been much larger. Among these were the Bigelows and many other of the most prominent citizens. The first meetings of this congregation were at the house of Rev. Asa Packard, a retired minister then living in Lancaster. Rev. Charles Packard was ordained January 1, 1840. The dedication of the meeting-house occurred December 1, 1849. In the early forties, John P. Houghton carried an omnibus load of people from Clintonville to Lancaster Center every Sunday morning to attend the Congregational and Unitarian services there.

As early as 1840, a Sabbath School was gathered for weekly study of the Bible by the Evangelical Congregationalists of Clintonville. The meetings were held in the brick school-house on Main Street, the use of which was obtained after much opposition. The first contribution taken up was for a library. It amounted to thirty dollars. H. N. Bigelow was the first superintendent; Henry Lewis, assistant superintendent; James S. Lawrence, secretary and treasurer, and Amos Holbrook, librarian. Carter Wilder, John Lowe, Theodore Jewett and Joseph B. Parker were also prominently connected with its organization. The latter was a superintendent from 1842. Congregationalists, Baptists and Methodists attended the school. The "Union Question Book" was used. There was also a preaching service held here at

* For full account of this church, see *Courant* of August 27, 1892.

five o'clock. Among those who preached were Revs. Cross and Tracy of West Boylston, Davis of Fitchburg and Packard of Lancaster. Revivals were the result of this Sunday School and this preaching, and thus the number of those professing faith in Christ was constantly increased through confession as well as from the influx of operatives.

June 11, 1844, H. N. Bigelow, L. F. Bancroft, G. H. Kendall, T. B. Sawyer, C. K. Sawyer and A. H. Parker, "members of the Religious Society which has recently worshiped in the Brick School-House in the South Village in Lancaster," petitioned James G. Carter to issue a warrant for a meeting to be held June 19th, for the purpose of organizing a society. Such a meeting was legally called on the specified date. William Eaton was chosen clerk and duly sworn by J. G. Carter. Levi Greene was made moderator and a committee consisting of H. N. Bigelow, J. B. Parker, Levi Greene, A. H. Parker and Haskell McCollum chosen to draft a code of by-laws for the society. This committee called the adjourned meeting July 16th, and made its report. The first article reads: "Resolved: That we form ourselves into a religious society to be known as the Second Evangelical Society in Lancaster, and to unite with a church of Christ which is hereafter to be formed in support of Orthodox Evangelical Preaching in the South Village of Lancaster."

No action of the society looking toward the building of a chapel was entered upon the records, but the next recorded meeting of the society was called at "their chapel," December 10, 1844. This chapel was largely built by the means, and under the supervision of H. N. Bigelow. The site of this building was the southwest corner of Main and Sterling Streets. Its doors, one upon either side of the front, opened from Main Street. As one entered the audience room, the pulpit was directly in front and on the west side of the oblong structure. The singing-seats were on the east side between the doors. There were no pews, but settees

were used. The seating capacity was two hundred. The room was heated by box stoves.*

The first entry in the records of the Second Evangelical Church of Lancaster was made September 26, 1844. It was as follows: A number of brethren who are members of Christ's visible church in different places, feeling it important on account of the growing population and other reasons that there should be a church of Christ organized in Clintonville, Lancaster, met at the chapel for prayer and consideration of the matter. After a choice of Rev. J. M. R. Eaton for moderator and after deliberation on the subject, it was thought to be the duty of all friends of Christ in the place to unite and take the steps for forming a church here. It was then voted that a committee of five be selected to draw up a form of covenant, confession of faith and articles of discipline. Rev. J. M. R. Eaton, Deacon J. B. Parker, Levi Houghton, Haskell McCollum and Hiram Morgan were chosen. Artemas H. Parker, Anson Lowe and C. K. Sawyer were chosen a committee to obtain the names of all who would unite in building up Christ's kingdom in the place."

A meeting was called to hear the report of these committees on the twenty-second of October. Fifty-five persons had been found, who, being members of churches in different places, were ready to unite to form a church here. The covenant, confession of faith and discipline and rules of the church presented, were those usual in Evangelical Congregational churches and possess no striking peculiarities.

*In later years, after being used by the Baptists and being altered in 1849, at an expense of about a thousand dollars, for a High School, the building was moved to the south near the present site of Wallace's grain store and raised and changed into a tenement house of two stories. The doors were put on one of the longer sides and smaller windows were put in. Otherwise, the outside appearance of the building was little altered. Still later, it was moved to the north side of Sterling Street, where it is now standing opposite the Wire Mill. It is known as the Dunbar or Lyman House.

November 14th, an evangelical council was called at the house of H. N. Bigelow. There were delegates from the churches in Harvard, West Boylston, Lancaster, Fitchburg and Leominster. Rev. George Fisher of Harvard was made moderator. The council then adjourned to the chapel. Letters of recommendation were presented from various churches for fifty-one persons who wished to unite to form the new church.*

"Documents were then laid before the council and statements made, whereupon it was

"Voted: That the proceedings of the petitioners for a new church have thus far been satisfactory, and that it is expedient and desirable that a new church be formed.

"Voted: That the persons whose names have been read be formed into a church of Christ to be called the "Second Evangelical Church of Lancaster." In the public services in the afternoon, Rev. Hope Brown offered the introductory prayer, Rev. J. W. Cross of West Boylston preached the sermon, Rev. George Fisher of Harvard read the Confession of

*From the church in Lancaster: Sophia Greene, John Lowe, Jr., Sylvia McCollum, Mary Lowe, Martha L. Gibbs, Lorinda Lowe, Haskell McCollum, Polly Bigelow, Lucy Greene, Betsy Stone, Eliza Houghton, Eliza E. Houghton, Levi Houghton, Joseph B. Parker, Anson Lowe, Eliza H. Sawyer, Joseph T. Sawyer, Emily Bigelow, Ira G. Childs, Abigail Childs, Levi Greene, Nathaniel Rice, Mary A. Parker, Mary E. Sawyer, Mary Ann Osgood, Charles Miller.

From the church in West Boylston: Elizabeth S. Parker, Lucina L. Morgan, Hiram Morgan.

From church in Shirley: Hannah Harris, Sampson Worcester, Mary B. Worcester, Almira Worcester, William Eaton, Susan Eaton, Louisa E. Jewett.

From church in Leominster: George W. Wakefield, Maria Wakefield, George H. Wheelock.

From church in Northboro: C. K. Sawyer, Nancy H. Sawyer.

From Southwick, Roxana Wilcox; Sturbridge, Enoch K. Gibbs; Holden, Adeline E. Howe; Oxford, Abijah Nichols, Mary E. Nichols; church in Andover Theological Seminary, A. H. Parker; Darien, James I. Wyer; Weston, Henry H. Wyer; Providence, R. I., Jonas Hunt, Eliza Hunt.

Faith and Covenant by which the church was constituted. Rev. E. W. Bullard of Fitchburg offered the constituting prayer and Rev. Charles Packard of Lancaster gave the right hand of fellowship. Rev. O. G. Hubbard of Leominster offered the concluding prayer. January 7, 1845, Joseph B. Parker and Ira G. Childs were made deacons of the church.

Thus our first independent religious society with a complete organization was started on its course. Various auxiliary organizations were soon added. The Sunday School, as we have seen, even preceded the church, and from its scholars "trained in the nurture and admonition of the Lord," the church has been constantly recruited from its earliest days. Joseph B. Parker continued to act as superintendent until 1848.

Horatio N. Bigelow was leader of the choir. Erastus B. Bigelow, when he was in town, played the violin. Gilbert Greene and James Burdett rendered the sacred music on bass viols. The only reference made in the records in these earliest years to music is as follows: "Voted, That the society pay rent for the bass viol." "Voted, That we hire the same for another year." September 9, 1849, it was voted: "The society would be pleased to have the seraphine played on trial."

Eleven days after the church was established, Rev. J. M. R. Eaton was invited to become its pastor. Joseph M. R. Eaton was born in Fitchburg, October 15, 1814. His father, Thomas Eaton, a mechanic and farmer, was a descendant from one of the Pilgrim settlers in Plymouth. He was educated at Leicester Academy and Amherst College, class of 1841, and Andover Theological Seminary, class of 1844. He first preached in Clintonville, August 3, 1844. He married Harriet Downe, December 23, 1844. The society concurred in this call and offered a salary of five hundred and fifty dollars. He accepted, and was ordained January 9, 1845. He had received his license to preach from the Andover

Council.* A fellow-worker remembers him especially for his "gentle and lovely" character. The house now known as the Tyler house on High Street was used by Mr. Eaton as a parsonage. He was interested, like all the clergymen of his day, in the schools, and served as a member from this district on the school committee of Lancaster.

The furniture of the Hillside Church to which several of the members of this new church had in former times belonged, was procured for the communion service. Eleven new members were added to the church in March, 1845, and ten more in August. March 23, the church voted to join the Worcester Association.

In February, 1845, a committee was chosen to draft resolutions on the subject of slavery, and March 23, the following preamble and resolutions were reported:

"Whereas, God created man in his own image and permits him to enjoy the fruits of his own industry; and has denounced a woe against such as use their neighbors' services without wages and give him not for his work; and against such as take away the key of knowledge; and whereas the system of American Slavery is the means of destroying in man the image of his Maker, of appropriating without compensation the services of one class of men to the support of another, and from taking away from millions of our fellow beings the key of knowledge; Therefore Resolved:

"1st, That we consider the system of American Slavery in direct violation of the laws of men and the laws of God;

*For the public services of ordination, the parts were assigned as follows: Reading from the scriptures and prayer, Rev. Charles Packard of Lancaster; sermon, Rev. J. L. Taylor, South Church, Andover; ordaining prayer, Rev. W. P. Paine, Holden; charge to the pastor, Rev. E. W. Bullard, Fitchburg; right hand of fellowship, Rev. H. M. Dexter, Second Evangelical Church, Manchester, N. H.; address to the people, Rev. E. Smalley, Union Church, Worcester; concluding prayer, Rev. Henry Adams of Berlin; Rev. J. W. Cross of West Boylston, scribe; benediction by the pastor.

"2nd, That, as Christians, we cannot countenance this system, but will labor in all proper ways for its extermination;

"3d, That we cannot admit a slave-holding preacher to our pulpit;

"4th, That we cannot fellowship a slaveholder at the table of our Lord."

These resolutions were unanimously adopted, and thus, at this early date, the church took a decided stand against the system of slavery. Men like J. B. Parker and his associates could bear no tampering with evil, but while the anti-slavery cause had few supporters even at the North, with all the sternness of their Puritan ancestors, they stood for the cause of righteousness.

In 1846, twenty-seven more were added to the church, and in the early months of 1847, four others. These, like those previously admitted, were mostly by letter. Of the total one hundred and three who had joined before the close of Rev. J. M. R. Eaton's pastorate, only thirteen had been added by profession.

The congregation became so large that the chapel was badly crowded, and in March, 1846, it was voted to build an addition thirty-one feet in length; Levi Greene, William T. Merrifield and Ira G. Childs were chosen members of the building committee. In April, this vote was reconsidered, and it was voted to adopt the plan recommended by H. N. Bigelow, namely, to sell the old chapel and build a new one on Walnut Street for temporary use. H. N. Bigelow and J. D. Otterson were added to the building committee. The land was given by H. N. Bigelow. The building was completed before the close of the year and dedicated January 1, 1847. The cost is not recorded, but the society was obliged to run in debt for a portion of it. This building had little beauty, and deserved the name by which it was familiarly known, "The Lord's Barn." It sat back from the road considerably farther than the present church, and a large oak tree grew in front of it and another on the north,

In April, 1847, it was found best that the relations existing between the pastor and his people should be dissolved. Mr. Eaton and his wife received letters to the church in Shirley, where he was pastor for three years. From February, 1851, to June, 1868, he preached at Henniker, N. H. He served as stated supply in Medfield from 1869 to 1876. He then lived in Fitchburg without any charge. Later, he went to California, where he is still living in Redlands, in 1896.

It was not until the 10th of October, that there was such a degree of agreement over any candidate for the pulpit that a call was extended. At that time, it was voted by the church and society to call Rev. William H. Corning, at a salary of eight hundred dollars. He accepted, and was ordained December 8, 1847. The sermons of Mr. Corning which have been printed, show that he was a man of broad culture. In 1854, he published a volume entitled "The Infidelity of the Times." He had a remarkable clearness in his expression of spiritual truth. Dr. C. M. Bowers says of him: "He was in many respects as notable, strong and instructive a preacher as ever filled a Clinton pulpit. * * * He was a man intellectually well furnished, with a proper round of the scholastic theologies of his day, abundantly able to expound the doctrines of his faith, not afraid to deal with what our times reproach as dogmas, well read in general literature, and possessing a good measure of oratorical power as a speaker. * * * But he was too limited in height, size, limb and muscle for the best endurance." He acted as chairman of the school committee of District No. 10 under the new organization, and was the first chairman of the school committee of the new town.

Joseph B. Parker resigned the superintendency of the Sunday school in 1848, and Jotham D. Otterson succeeded him. He served only one year, and was followed by William W. Parker, who was an overseer in the cloth room at the Lancaster Mills. Mr. W. W. Parker was one of the leaders in prayer meetings and always ready to give his testimony for

the Lord. It has been said of him that his "religion extended to the tips of his fingers." He afterwards studied theology at Andover, and became a minister. In 1850, H. N. Bigelow again became superintendent, and notwithstanding the pressure of his secular duties, continued in the office for six years.

Deacon Childs having resigned his office in May, 1848, James Orr, who came from Paisley, Scotland, and had begun to work at the Lancaster Mills in 1847, was elected as his successor in July, 1848. He apparently resigned or declined to serve, for November 4, Hiram Morgan was elected to the office. Mr. Orr died in 1854. He was the father of Robert Orr. Hiram Morgan was a native of Brimfield. He was employed at the Coachlace Mill. He built the house on School Street now known as the McQuaid house.

Of these early deacons, Rev. J. M. R. Eaton has recently said: "I used to think that, though his words sometimes seemed to hang in momentary hesitation, I seldom, if ever, heard a more able prayer from a layman's lips than that offered by Deacon Parker. Ira G. Childs was associated with him in the diaconate of the church. They were true yoke-fellows who honored their profession and their office. By their mutual influence they did much to build up the church. They were possessed of quite different characteristics. The milk of human kindness marked the steps of Deacon Childs. Deacon Parker was rooted and grounded in the truth as the church held it. The Book furnished him with chart and compass. If any point were under discussion, "How readest thou?" settled it for him. Deacon Childs, while an exemplary, earnest, active christian man, was sometimes a little disturbed by views held and proclaimed in the large Brick church, whose pulpit was occupied at that time by an eminent christian minister, holding, as was said, the views of Emanuel Swedenborg. The good deacon's active brain led him to think on these things, though his reason never accepted them, his will never yielded to them.



His noble wife stood as a pillar at his side, thoughtful dignified, a helpmeet indeed. Devout Hiram Morgan and his equally devout wife were lights that did not become dim. Necessarily employed in the labors of the day, early and late, by careful planning and strict economy of time, the family Bible and the altar of prayer and thanksgiving were not forgotten."

Mrs. Corning, the pastor's wife, died during 1850. In May, 1851, Rev. W. H. Corning was in such a precarious state of health that he was obliged to give up his work. The church granted him a vacation until November 1st, on the condition that he should resign his pastorate at that time if his health should still remain insufficient for the fulfillment of its duties. After some months had passed by, as his immediate recovery seemed improbable and the people here were feeling the need of pastoral care, it was decided October 2d, that he should be dismissed. He subsequently preached for some months in the Park Street Church, Boston. He entered some time later upon pastoral duties in New York state, where he died. During his pastorate forty-one had been admitted to the church by letter and twenty-one by profession. Eleven of the latter were admitted in 1850, when a period of religious interest began throughout the community which continued for many months.

Rev. William D. Hitchcock was the next pastor. He was called at a salary of eight hundred dollars, October 2, 1851. He was a native of Pittsford, Vt. He graduated at the Vermont State University and at the Andover Theological Seminary. During his brief pastorate of one year and nine months, twenty-four were admitted to the church by profession and twenty-five by letter. The council called for his dismissal July 16, 1853, stated: "that he was a sound and discriminating theologian, a judicious, energetic and affectionate pastor." He served on the school committee from 1852-3. Mr. Hitchcock lived in the Patterson house on Walnut Street. Mr. Hitchcock went to Exeter, N. H. He died in 1854. Rev. C. M. Bowers thus characterizes him:

"He was a man of wonderful sweetness and gentleness of character, almost too good for some of the stalwart work of rebuking sin and carrying on the battle against the world, the flesh and the devil. If he knew in himself what sin was or what temptation might be in any of its many forms, it hardly ever appeared to any one. He lived much in himself intellectually and spiritually. Not that he was indifferent wholly to social conditions, but his standard of self-making was so high he had to economize his whole life in reaching it. His speech, appearance and movement had almost a feminine delicacy in them. He could hardly say a rough thing and almost never a radically bold one. This does not mean that his mind was destitute of good tone and quality—far from it. If, to use a word we heard applied to a minister the other day as a royal virtue, he was no "hustler" and did not preach in capital letters and prepare his sermons with enormous exclamation marks, he gave his people the results of careful, honest study and was never surpassed in Sabbath ministrations in the production of discourses of able and well digested thought by any of his successors. At the same time, in his preaching, the best part of his sermon was himself. He was an infinitely modest man—too modest and given over to much quiet and retired thinking. He could not thump the pulpit or whack the bible or speak with the voice of thunder. But he could do better. Like Moses he could say: 'My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb and as the showers upon the grass.' Hitchcock was the embodiment of grace and goodness."

In June, 1853, the society debt of twenty-seven hundred dollars was paid. A period of nearly nine months intervened before another pastor was secured. During this time five were added to the church by letter. At length, Rev. Warren W. Winchester was chosen and it was voted that his salary should be fixed at one thousand dollars. He was ordained March 23, 1854. He had previously preached in Wilton, N.

H. He is especially remembered as a "genial and cordial" man, but of his pulpit ministrations we are told "some tardiness in the movement of his blood often prevented a proper ambition from doing its utmost. Frequently, as late as Saturday morning, he did not know what the next day might bring forth in the nature of a sermon." He had a great number of friends outside of his own society. He was especially liked in his pastoral functions. He was a member of the school committee in 1855 and 1856, and was the last of our Congregationalist clergymen to serve in this capacity. He lived in a corporation house on Nelson Street and in the Worcester house on Walnut Street.

The first four years of his pastorate were not marked by any events which call for especial attention. In 1858, steps were taken to re-model the church building. On July 13 of this year, a building committee consisting of H. N. Bigelow, Gilbert Greene and C. W. Worcester was appointed to make alterations, enlargements and repairs upon their house of worship, agreeable to plans submitted and adopted at a previous meeting. The sum to be expended was not to exceed five thousand dollars. The work was begun during the summer and pushed forward with such vigor that the rededication took place February 22, 1859, twelve years after the dedication of the first house on the same site. In addition to the amount paid by the society, nearly as much more was paid by H. N. Bigelow and others for the building and its furnishings. The audience room was ninety-three feet by forty-five, with a seating capacity of six hundred and fifty. It was lighted by gas. The gas fixtures, the frescoes, the Brussels carpeting, the furnishings of the pews, the pulpit and the organ, gave more beauty to the church than had before been seen in any house of worship in Clinton. The organ, which took the place of an eolian, cost fourteen hundred dollars and was put in by H. N. Bigelow, and for a time it remained his private property. The old lecture room of the vestry was but little changed. Parlors and a kitchen

were provided for the social needs of the congregation. In the new tower, a bell, costing six hundred and fifty dollars, the gift of E. B. and H. N. Bigelow, was placed. Here, too, was the new clock valued at four hundred and fifty dollars, the gift of ten gentlemen of the town. This clock and bell have been of great value, not alone to the society, but to the community at large from that time to this. For the rebuilding, a debt of four thousand dollars was incurred, which was paid in 1863. During the period of re-modeling, services were held in the Clinton Hall, although cordial offers of the use of their respective houses were made both by the Baptists and Unitarians.

At the dedication, a historical address was given by Rev. W. W. Winchester. Rev. W. H. Corning preached the sermon. Mr. Winchester said that in addition to the original fifty-one members of the church there had been up to this time two hundred and sixty-nine additions, one hundred and twenty by profession and one hundred and forty-nine by letter, making a total membership of three hundred and twenty. One hundred and three had been dismissed to other churches, twenty-seven had died. At that time, the membership was fifty-four males and one hundred and thirty-six females. The church had given two candidates (W. W. Parker and D. W. Kilburn) to the ministry. During the preceding five years the benevolent contributions had amounted to five hundred dollars annually. "To one individual (H. N. Bigelow) more than to any other, the church is indebted for the beauty, comfort, finish and taste of the present temple. He has watched the enterprise to its consummation with untiring care. * * * Of him it may be said in a christian sense, 'He loveth our nation and hath built us a synagogue.'"

C. F. W. Parkhurst was made a deacon November 24, 1860, in place of Hiram Morgan who had resigned. Mr. Morgan moved to Worcester.

There was a deep religious interest during the early months of 1861, and in May, fifteen new members were

added to the church by profession, and in July, thirteen more. May 26, 1862, Rev. W. W. Winchester resigned, and June 17, he was regularly dismissed by a council. He was afterwards a hospital chaplain in Washington, D. C. His nature was peculiarly fitted for this work, and we are told by one of our townsmen who met him while engaged in this service that the sick and wounded soldiers used to long for his coming and rejoice in his presence. His sunny disposition dispelled their despondency and cheered their final moments. We next hear of him as a pastor at Bridport, Vermont, then as pastor in Blackinton, Berkshire County. He died in Williamstown, Mass., August 4, 1889, at the age of sixty-five. At the time of his death, he was preparing to go to Alaska, as he had been appointed by the government as superintendent of education in that territory.

In 1856, Daniel W. Kilburn, a second-hand in the cloth room at Lancaster Mills, was elected superintendent of the Sunday School, an office which he held for three years. Mr. Kilburn was a constant attendant at religious services, and all delighted to hear his voice at the prayer meetings. He received a license to preach, although he never entered into the ministerial profession. He afterwards resided in Boston. George W. Perry was superintendent in 1859, and Henry S. Robinson in 1860, and both entered the army, together with about forty other members of the school. During the next five years, Charles L. Swan, Henry C. Kendrick, Daniel W. Kilburn, John F. Howell and Charles L. Swan again were successively superintendents.*

* LIST OF SUPERINTENDENTS.

1840-1. Horatio N. Bigelow.	1860. Henry S. Robinson.
1842-7. Joseph B. Parker.	1861. Charles L. Swan.
1848. Jotham D. Otterson.	1863. Henry C. Kendrick.
1849. William W. Parker.	1864. Daniel W. Kilburn.
1850. Horatio N. Bigelow.	1865. John F. Howell.
1856-8. Daniel W. Kilburn.	1865. Charles L. Swan.
1859. George W. Perry.	

In 1860, a Green Street mission school was established by Miss Mary C. Sawyer.

It was the first of December, 1862, before a regular preacher was secured. At this time, the Rev. Benjamin Judkins, a man "of excellent voice and many friends," was hired for a year at a salary of one thousand dollars. In November, 1864, it was increased to twelve hundred dollars. He lived at first on Pleasant Street, and later, in the Worcester house on Walnut Street. He remained acting pastor until December 1, 1867. He was a native of Boston and had been previously settled at Nantucket and Somerville, Mass., and at Allentown, Penn. After leaving Clinton, he became a pastor in a Presbyterian Church at Keokuk, Iowa. He then became an Episcopalian and was settled in a church in Connecticut. He served also as rector at Dedham, Mass. He died at Houghton, Colorado, December 26, 1893, at the age of seventy-three.

Before the close of the war, the church had some four hundred and fifty names on its rolls. About two-fifths of these had been admitted by profession and three fifths by letter. Through dismissal and death, over one hundred and seventy names had been dropped from the rolls, so that the membership was about two hundred and eighty.*

*The clerks were: A. H. Parker, 1844-9; W. N. Peirce, 1850-56; C. F. W. Parkhurst, 1857-8; C. L. Swan, 1859-65. The clerks of the Society were: William Eaton, 1844-47; H. A. Pollard, 1847-48; W. W. Parker, 1848-55; C. F. W. Parkhurst, 1855-59; D. W. Kilburn, 1859-65; W. E. Parkhurst, 1865.

Among the names most prominent for service, as given in the church records, we find in order of mention those of J. B. Parker, Levi Houghton, Haskell McCollom, Hiram Morgan, A. H. Parker, Anson Lowe, C. K. Sawyer, Ira G. Childs, James Orr, H. N. Bigelow, G. W. Wakefield, Levi Greene, Alvan Hall, James Patterson, J. D. Otterson, William Orr, B. R. Smith, Chas. Jewett, W. W. Parker, Gilbert Greene, A. R. Marshall, C. H. Morgan, William Malcolm, D. W. Kilburn, C. L. Swan, G. W. Perry, Waldo Winter, Amos Stearns, Edwin Andrews, H. C. Kendrick.

Among other names that have not been prominently mentioned, there

Jasper Howe was for many years a leader of the choir and the musical center of the society. He was born in Holden in 1827. He learned the trade of boot making, but on coming to Clinton in 1852, entered the Carpet Mills, where he has so long been an overseer. Before his coming hither, his brother, E. W. Howe, had been interested in the church music.

The Ladies' Benevolent Society connected with the Congregational Church held its first meeting May 16, 1844, at the house of H. N. Bigelow. The meeting was adjourned until May 29th, when a constitution was adopted and the society organization completed. The preamble to the constitution states: "Impressed with a sense of our obligation to that Being from whom we receive all our blessings, both spiritual and temporal, and realizing our accountability for the improvement of the talents committed to us, we would form ourselves into an association for the purpose of social and moral instruction, that we may be prepared to discharge faithfully our duties to ourselves, our fellow creatures and our God."

The following board of officers was chosen: Mrs. Polly Bigelow, president; Mrs. Betsy Stone, vice-president; Emeline Jewett, secretary; Eliza Sawyer, Emily Bigelow, Eliza J. B. Eaton, directors; Susan Parker, treasurer. Twenty-three gentlemen and thirty-five ladies became members during the first year. Twenty-three meetings were held at the house of various members. The attendance varied from two to sixty.

The proceeds of the society from the time of its organization were largely given to benevolent purposes. Some of them passed through the hands of the American Home Missionary Society. Occasionally, the ladies found cases of

appear on the books of the society those of W. T. Merrifield, J. R. Stewart, E. W. Goodale, N. A. Boynton, Jonas Hunt, J. T. Sawyer, G. H. Kendall, Jason Gorham, J. T. Dame, E. B. Frost, J. H. Vose, Jeremiah Fiske, J. R. Robinson, A. E. Bigelow, A. C. Dakin, W. H. Haskell, Henry Eddy.

poverty inside of their own community, and in all such cases gave the needed relief. Yet they were provident and laid by a part of their income to be devoted, when an emergency should arise, to some special purpose. At times, those who entertained the society were too liberal in their provision for supper, and it was voted in 1851; "But one kind of cake should be provided, * * * and whoever should provide more, should pay a fine of fifty cents." Any lady who wished to work upon her own sewing at the society meetings was allowed to do so on condition that she "paid six and a quarter cents."

Until 1853, the records of the society were made for the most part by Mrs. M. B. Carleton and Mrs. Emily Parker. In the latter year, the society was apparently in a very prosperous condition and had ninety-one names on its rolls, but for some reason no further records of the proceedings were kept until October 1, 1857, when the society was reorganized. There was much need of charitable offerings in our community during the "Hard Times," and the society did all in its power to help the poor at home, besides sending clothing to a home mission station in the West.

The next year, the fitting up of the new church demanded the special attention of the society. Cushions and carpets were provided, and thus all the accumulated funds, five hundred and fifty-seven dollars and twelve cents, were expended. H. N. Bigelow's generosity in helping to furnish the carpet saved the society from a heavy debt. As soon as the building was finished, the ladies held their meetings in a room which had been fitted up for them in the vestry.

January 23, 1862, a box of hospital stores which had been prepared during the preceding weeks, was forwarded to the seat of war. Although the Clinton Soldiers' Aid Society, which was composed of ladies from the town as a whole, did most of the work for the relief of suffering caused by the war, yet there were some cases where the relief could be best given by the benevolent societies of the churches. In all

such cases there was a ready response. The excitement, the anxiety and the sorrow which prevailed throughout the community during the war, lessened the attendance at the society meetings. As soon as the war was over, however, the attendance increased again and the society entered upon a new career of usefulness.*

*Officers of Congregational Benevolent Society from 1844-65, as far as recorded.

Presidents.

Mrs. H. N. Bigelow.
 " J. M. R. Eaton.
 " Hiram Morgan.
 " Wm. H. Corning.
 " J. B. Parker.
 " B. R. Smith.
 " C. W. Worcester.
 " C. G. Stevens.
 " W. W. Winchester.
 " E. Harris.
 " J. B. Parker.
 " C. L. Swan.
 " S. Judkins.
 " Gilbert Greene.

Secretaries.

Emeline Jewett.
 Mrs. A. S. Carleton.
 Mrs. W. W. Parker.
 Mrs. G. H. Kendall.
 Mrs. J. T. Dame.
 Miss L. S. Morgan.
 Miss H. M. Haskell.
 Miss C. L. Pevey.
 Mrs. D. W. Kilburn.
 Miss L. J. Derby.
 Miss H. S. Kendrick.
 Miss A. W. Goodale.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH OF CLINTON.

AMONG those who lived within the present limits of Clinton in the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were several earnest Baptists. Four of these, Charles Chace, Charles Chace, Jr., Levi Howard and John Burdett, belonged to the Baptist Church in Harvard. They and their friends of the evangelical persuasion may have held meetings here for religious worship in accordance with their beliefs, long before there was any attempt to organize a society in this community. In 1816, when the "New Brick Church" was being built, and the people began to grumble about the consequent taxes, those who wanted Baptist preaching saw their opportunity to organize a society for that purpose. A constitution was prepared, which was signed both by those who wished for Baptist worship for its own sake and by those who wished to belong to an organization supported by subscriptions rather than pay large church taxes. The following document is self-explanatory:

"March 18th, 1816.

"We, the subscribers, being of the denomination of Christians called Baptists, maintaining the sentiments held by the Warren Association and being desirous of supporting the said denomination, do associate, engage and covenant, to support the articles hereafter subjoined: Viz.

"Art. 1. We voluntarily, and in the fear of the Lord, with the sincere hope thereby of promoting the cause of our

blessed redeemer in the world, do form ourselves into a Religious society by the name of the Baptist society in Lancaster, Ms., to be composed of such members as shall from time to time voluntarily join themselves to, and congregate with us and conform to such regulations for the due observance of order as the majority may establish.

"Art. 2nd. Such Monies as we shall from time to time agree to raise for the support of Preaching either by subscription, or otherwise, shall be appropriated according to the major vote of the Society, it being restricted to the support of Preachers of the Baptist denomination approved by the Church or Church Members."

Then follow articles on the annual meeting to be held in March or April, and the choosing of clerk, treasurer and a standing committee of three.*

The first meeting of the society was held at the school-house in District No. 11, March 18, 1816. Elder Thomas Marshall acted as chairman and John Burdett, Jr., as clerk. The officers chosen in accordance with the constitution, were: Charles Chace, treasurer; Cornelius Moore, Caleb Houghton and John Burdett, Jr., as committee. John Bur-

* This constitution was signed by Cornelius Moore, Nathaniel Hastings, *Charles Chace*,* *John Burdett*,* *John Wilder, 2d*, Caleb Houghton, *James Fuller*,* Jonathan Ball, *Stephen Sargent*, William Ball, Silas Cutting, Paul Faulkner, Benjamin Larkin, William Larkin, *Moses Chace*, *Nathan Burdett*, Joel Dakin, Silas Houghton, *John Wilder, 3d*, *Abel Wilder*, Jonathan Hastings, *Alanson Chace*,* William Bartlett, *Charles Chace, Jr.*,* *William Walker*,* Thomas T. Chapin, Henry Moore, *Patience Wilder*, Oliver Moore, *Josiah Rice*,* *Joseph Butler*, *Leonard Pollard*, Emerson Bucklin, *Samuel Dorrisson*, Daniel Willis, *John Low*, *Nathaniel Low*, Joel Peirce, Farnham Plummer, *John Burdett, Jr.* (afterwards a Methodist), *Samuel Jacobs*, *Levi Howard*,* *Thomas Sargent*,* *Cyrus Houghton*,* Jotham Holt, *Amos D. Tucker*, *Charles Flagg*, *Zophar Fairbanks*, John Gage, Samuel Gage, Daniel Gage.

April 3, 1827, William S. Wilder. April 9, 1827, *Abel Allen*. April 16, 1829, *Abel Farwell*. February 27, 1830, John Powers, *Benjamin Holt*.*

Those starred are known to have been earnest Baptists; those italicised, to have lived within present Clinton limits.

dett, Jr., acted as permanent clerk, although there is no record of his election. It was voted "that the Committee agree with Elder Luther Goddard to preach once in a month and with Elder Thomas Marshall once a month." As in the meeting held March 27, 1816, there is mention made of "last year's subscription paper," it may be supposed that services had been held before this time, although there is no record of any definite organization. The next year, the same officers were chosen, and it was voted to hire but one minister. Elder Thomas Marshall was employed.

The annual meeting of 1818, was held at the house of Charles Chace, and the subsequent annual meetings were held at the same place until 1829. Joshua Eveleth was hired to preach for the summer months of 1818, and received for fourteen "Lord's Days" thirty-five dollars, or two dollars and a half per day.

In 1819, Caleb Houghton was made treasurer and Abel Wilder, clerk. John Burdett, Charles Chace and Abel Wilder were the committee. Elder Luther Goddard was hired as preacher for the spring and summer months, and "Mr." Benjamin Willard for the fall and winter. In August, 1819, it was voted by the Harvard Baptist Church to have deacons in the "south part" to serve the church there when they shall have communion. Charles Chace, Jr., and Levi Howard were chosen deacons under this vote, and the organization here may be considered as a branch of the Harvard Church rather than as an independent organization.

In 1821, James Fuller and Cornelius Moore took the place of Messrs. Burdett and Chace on the committee. In 1822, Alanson Chace was clerk; Charles Chace, Jr. treasurer; Charles Chace, John Burdett and Cornelius Moore, committee. In 1824, the officers remained the same, except that James Fuller took the place of Cornelius Moore on the committee. In 1825, there was no change, except that John Burdett became treasurer instead of Charles Chace, Jr. In 1827, Levi Howard was made treasurer and Cornelius Moore,

clerk. Levi Howard, John Burdett and Charles Chace were the committee. The price set for preaching this year was four dollars per day. In 1828, the officers were the same, except that William Ball took the place of Charles Chace on committee. During the next seven years, Levi Howard, Cornelius Moore and John Burdett held the offices of the society, except that Benjamin Holt became clerk in 1834. At this point, the record ceases. After 1819, the names of the ministers hired are not recorded, but tradition recalls the names of Appleton, Archibald, Branch, Burbank, Fisher, the Morses, Sampson, Wakefield and Winthrop.

The earlier meetings for worship were held in the school-house of District No. 11, but soon the private houses of Charles Chace and John Burdett were the special places of meeting. There are some yet living who can remember those old kitchen meetings where some twenty or thirty devoted people gathered for worship. Those who attended services at the Brick Church were inclined to look down on these Baptists as a contrary-minded band of zealots, but the Baptists themselves felt that in these meetings they received spiritual nourishment such as they had before sought in vain.

The following is taken from a record written by one who attended some of these meetings: "The house of our respected brother, John Burdett, was freely opened as a kind of sanctuary, and was easily filled by an attentive people willing to use pine boards for pews for the sake of enjoying the luxury of hearing 'the truth as it is in Jesus.' Preaching was supplied with a true-hearted and generous devotion to the cause of the Redeemer, partly by students and partly by fathers in the ministry. * * * The Holy Spirit was pleased to descend in approval of the labors and sacrifices of God's children, and a revival commenced. * * * In consequence of the revival and the removal to this place of individuals connected with various churches, it was found that a company of Baptists numbering nearly thirty could be collected."

Even after the society organization ceased to exist, meetings were held occasionally either at the house of John Burdett or at the "Tavern House" of Dea. Levi Howard. This Levi Howard had worked for Poignand & Plant and the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company while their factory was in operation. It is said that he was well educated and had studied medicine in his youth, although he had never practiced. It may be safely asserted that there were never many consecutive months without Baptist services within present Clinton limits from 1816, or earlier, to the present time.

When the Congregationalists determined to build their new meeting-house on Walnut Street, H. N. Bigelow, as a representative of the Congregationalists, urged the Baptists to begin worship in the chapel. At first, the Baptists, who had been worshipping up to this time with the Congregationalists, doubted whether they were strong enough to support worship by themselves. But the enthusiasm of the Burdett family and the pecuniary assistance promised by Alanson Chace, decided the question in favor of immediate organization.

Application for advice and assistance was made to Rev. Harvey Fitts, the state missionary. In answer to this application, the following letter was received by Dr. G. W. Burdett.

"NORTH BROOKFIELD, December 15, 1846.

"DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 10th inst. came duly to hand. I have often thought of Clintonville and have more than once determined I would soon call there. I hope you had an encouraging meeting on Saturday evening. I have recently had intelligence that has led me to think that the time is not far distant when it will be found best to build should Providence favor the establishing of a Baptist meeting-house in your village. Still, it would be best, probably, to secure for the present the Congregationalist Chapel and to commence meetings as soon as that can be obtained. Engage it

for a few weeks with the refusal of it for a year or longer. I will try to be with you the first Sabbath of meeting. * * * May the Lord direct in all things. May indeed the good brethren in Clintonville be much in prayer, looking to God for his guidance and be prepared for rich blessings from heaven.

Yours truly,

H. FITTS."

A service was held on the first Sunday in January, 1847, in the brick school-house. Rev. George S. G. Spencer was invited to become the pastor of the few who thus gathered together, but he did not see his way clear to accept this invitation. Rev. Charles M. Bowers was then called and consented to serve. He began his labors in March at a salary of five hundred dollars. In accordance with his own desire he was never settled over the parish, but engaged from year to year through his long pastorate.

Mr. Bowers was a native of Boston. He was born January 10, 1817. His father, Charles Bowers, was a merchant in that city. The son, Charles M. Bowers, fitted for college in the Boston Latin School. He graduated from Brown University in 1838. In 1870, he received the degree of D. D. from the same institution. He pursued his theological studies at Newton, graduating in 1841. He preached for some years at Lexington. When he came to Clintonville, he was in the prime of his youthful manhood and had already established a reputation for ability as a preacher and pastor, for unworldliness, for intense earnestness in all matters pertaining to morality and good citizenship, and for complete devotion to the work of his Master. He married Ellen Augusta Damon. He built a house on the southeast corner of Water and Walnut Streets in 1847-8. This house was burned in 1872, but was immediately replaced by another. Mr. Bowers had one daughter and five sons who reached maturity. Three of the sons are now living in Clinton. Another, Arthur F., is city editor of the New York Tribune.

Turning to the introduction to the records of the church,

written by Dr. G. W. Burdett, as clerk, we read: "The abandonment by our Orthodox friends of their chapel, where for more than a year they had very successfully sustained preaching, for a new house, opened the way for a vigorous and, as we hope, successful effort on the part of the Baptists to maintain the doctrines as once delivered to the saints. Favored with a good and attentive congregation, with a few conversions and a spirit of inquiry, and also with an encouraging number of disciples in the Lord of our name and order, we have for some time felt specially called upon to provide a Gospel church as a means of combining in one those who love a pure illustration of the ordinances."

At a meeting, called April 24, 1847, at the chapel, Rev. C. M. Bowers was chosen moderator, and Dr. G. W. Burdett, clerk. After the reading of seventeen letters from other churches of the same denomination, it was voted: "That we whose letters of recommendation have now been presented and read, being desirous of giving some visible form in this place to the 'faith once delivered to the saints,' and cherishing full confidence in each other's Christian character, do hereby associate together in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel under the name of the First Baptist Church of Lancaster." The seventeen thus voting were as follows: John Burdett, Sarah Burdett, Nathan Burdett, Jr., Mary E. Burdett, Thomas Burdett, Sara E. Burdett, George W. Burdett, Elizabeth J. Burdett, Frederick W. Burdett, Tamar Eddy, Otis H. Kendall, Mary W. Kendall, Polly Morgan, Abigail Morgan, Harriet Morgan, Oliver Stone, Lois M. Stone. Within a year, thirty-nine other members were added. At an adjournment of this meeting, held April 30th, Dr. G. W. Burdett was chosen clerk of the Church, an office which he continued to hold, with the exception of one or two years, until 1892. Oliver Stone was made treasurer. John Burdett was made deacon. It was not until a year later, that William Walker was made deacon.

On the 20th of May, the Society organized, with Oliver

Stone as clerk and Lory F. Bancroft as treasurer. At an adjournment of this meeting, held June 4th, Alanson Chace, Samuel B. Pollard and George W. Burdett were made a prudential committee. During the first year, Frederick W. Burdett led the choir with his violin. After he removed to Southboro, James A. Weeks became chorister, and the violin and bass viol gave way to the seraphine.

On the 6th of June, the first baptism and the first communion service of the newly organized church occurred. During these early years, it was customary for the baptisms to take place at Coachlace Pond on the farm of Joseph Rice. July 8th, a council was held consisting of delegates from the Baptist churches of Sterling, Bolton, Harvard, West Boylston, Fitchburg and Leominster to consider the recognition of the church that had been organized as the First Baptist Church of Lancaster. The recognition service was held in the evening; Rev. Leonard Tracy of West Boylston gave the sermon.

Such was the success of the society, that the chapel soon proved too small to hold the congregation comfortably. As early as August 23, 1847, a meeting of the church considered the subject of building, and "voted to choose a committee of seven to examine a location for a house, to procure a plan and make a probable estimate of the cost of a house." This committee consisted of Oliver Stone, Dea. John Burdett, N. C. Martin, W. S. Keyes, G. W. Burdett, Alanson Chace and S. B. Pollard. The society endorsed the action of the church and chose the same committee to solicit funds for building. It was many months after this, however, before the building was begun, and many committees of various kinds were appointed. May, 26, 1848, the church passed resolutions expressing thanks to H. N. Bigelow "for his late liberal donation to this church and society, a piece of land on Walnut Street for a site for a church." Dea. George Cummings, a cotton manufacturer who made handkerchiefs for turbans, presented a gift to the society of a thousand

dollars for the meeting-house, with the condition that it should be used for Baptist worship and should have three hundred sittings. This George Cummings was not a member of the society, but he had three sisters living in Lancaster who attended the church services. The meeting-house cost four thousand dollars without bell or furnishings; only about fourteen hundred dollars were contributed by members of the society, and with all the assistance received from outside parties the society was left twenty-seven hundred and fifty dollars in debt. This debt hung over it with little diminution until 1852, when Dea. George Cummings presented to the society fifteen hundred dollars, the amount of the note he held against it. The people of the parish, encouraged by this munificent gift, raised enough by subscription to pay the rest of the debt.

The meeting-house was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, January 10, 1849. Before Clinton became a town in 1850, the church had ninety members. It has since been known as the First Baptist Church of Clinton. Among those members who were received after the original seventeen and who afterwards became especially prominent in the affairs of the church and society, may be mentioned Rev. C. M. Bowers, William H. Gibson, N. C. Martin, Wright S. Keyes, George P. Smith, William Walker, Alfred A. Burditt, Orlando A. Smith, Benjamin Willard and Benjamin Ring. Many who were not Baptists attended their services, so that the new house was comfortably filled. Of those not in the church, whose names are found most often in the transactions of the society or on the subscription lists may be mentioned Alanson Chace, Lory F. Bancroft, S. B. Pollard, Charles Ryan and Dr. G. W. Symonds.

L. B. Tinkham succeeded J. A. Weeks as chorister, and was in turn followed by O. A. Smith, David Wallace, W. H. Putnam, H. G. O. Hooker, Daniel Marsh, W. A. Macurda, M. C. Healey, C. W. Moore and Birney Mann.

The Baptist Society of Clinton has always been preëmi-

nently social and benevolent in its nature. Warmth of heart characterized the people as well as the pastor. This social spirit found its expression in the Sabbath greetings and in the prayer meetings where all were made to feel that they were surrounded by personal friends. All tried to satisfy each others needs. It was felt by the pastor in 1848, that while this social and charitable spirit should continue to prevail through all the work of the church, it would be well to have it fostered by the ladies in a department peculiarly their own. Hence, under the leadership of Mrs. G. W. Burdett, the "Ladies' Sewing Circle" was formed. Mrs. C. M. Bowers was the first president. Mrs. Alanson Chace was vice-president, and Mrs. G. P. Smith, secretary and treasurer. There were forty-two members. The aims of the organization are stated in a constitution which was first recorded in 1857. "Believing that in properly conducted social gatherings whereby we may form a more intimate acquaintance, we may receive both pleasure and profit, by the improvement of our social, intellectual and moral faculties and thereby advance the cause of morality and religion, both by the cultivation of Christian sympathy and fellowship and by furnishing aid to some benevolent object: we, the undersigned, do form ourselves into a society." The society has amply fulfilled the purpose for which it was organized. It has been productive of "good times" in the highest sense of the word, and has also exerted a wide-spread influence as a charitable organization.

The story of the Baptist Church from the incorporation of the town to 1865, contains no startling features. Rev. C. M. Bowers remained as a pastor. He did not serve the church and society alone, but the community as a whole felt the inspiration which came from his devoted life and active citizenship. The sick were cheered by his presence, mourners were comforted, sleeping consciences were awakened, noble endeavors were encouraged, while year after year the special work of the church went on and many souls were

gathered into the spiritual fold. No man ever cared less for his salary than Mr. Bowers. It was raised from time to time until it was eight hundred dollars in 1857. Owing to the hard times of that year, the pew rents came in very slowly, and Mr. Bowers asked that for the next year his salary might be reduced. The society responded by paying him the same salary and by raising it the next year to nine hundred. Again in 1862, in 1863 and in 1866, he refunded a considerable portion of his salary against the will of his parishioners. But it made little difference what he was paid, since his purse was always open to the needy, and every worthy public enterprise was sure of his hearty support. With his tender sympathies, he united intense convictions, so that he was always among the foremost in advocating the great reforms of the day. No voice sounded more fervently than his the call to serve the country when the storm of war burst over our land, and no one was chosen so often as he to say the last words for those who had fallen.

He was deeply interested in every movement for the progress of the community. He served on the school committee of District No. 10 for two years, on the general school committee of Lancaster for one year, and for eleven years, on the school committee of Clinton. This period of service exceeds that of any other citizen during the time with which our history properly deals. In this office, he showed the same keenness of insight, the same progressive spirit and the same warmth of heart which characterized him in his chosen profession. His report for the year ending March 6, 1862, for instance, calls for a system similar to the kindergarten, long before the educators of the country took any steps in this direction. Mr. Bowers was the successful candidate of the Republican party for a seat in the state legislature in the closing year of the war. He was elected again the following year as an independent candidate indorsed by Clinton Republicans. Few ministers have been better fitted for such a position, for, to sound common sense

and native wit, he united a most thorough acquaintance with the questions of the day and the most intense patriotism.

We have already noted that John Burdett was elected deacon of the church as soon as it was organized. He died August 14, 1856, after working for the Baptist faith in Lancaster for more than half a century. In a church letter written a short time after, we read: "Most sorely did we weep when the good man died—not that we doubted his future reign with God whom he worshiped here—but we wept that we should see his face no more—that we should receive no more counsel from his holy lips—but more than all this, we wept because the sinner had lost a faithful friend, for there was no one among us who recommended the religion of Christ so earnestly to ungodly men."

William Walker, who became deacon April 30, 1848, died March 7, 1853. He is spoken of in the church manual as a man of "sterling character," and "true christian principle." William H. Gibson, who was chosen deacon March, 1851, died October 16, 1866, after being connected with the church as one of its most devoted and faithful members for nearly a score of years. George P. Smith was elected deacon September 3, 1852, and May 6, 1854, but declined to serve in both cases. Being elected again, however, December 4, 1857, he served until his resignation, May 19, 1865. He was admitted to the church by letter from Nashua, N. H., January 2, 1848. He received a letter of dismissal to the church in Bricksburg, N. J., May 4, 1868. He was a man of large means and generous heart, and was, during the twenty years he remained connected with the society, one of its most liberal supporters and active workers. The communion service now in use in the church was his gift. Benjamin Ring served as deacon from May 6, 1854, until August 6, 1858, when he received a letter of dismissal to join the church in Addison, N.Y. Joshua Thissell, Jr., John G. Heighway, Daniel B. Ingalls and Henry C. Greeley were chosen deacons May 29, 1867. The story of their devoted service

to the church and society must be left for the future historian.*

In the early days of the Civil War, steps were taken toward enlarging or rebuilding the meeting-house, but the depression and doubt that filled the minds of men at the time, rendered it expedient to postpone action to a later date. Soon after the war was over, on the 3d of October, 1866, the subject was taken up again. Deacon George Cummings offered the society "to pay one-half of all the expense of altering and enlarging the meeting-house, provided the society should accept the offer immediately." Of course the offer was accepted, and a committee which eventually consisted of Joshua Thissell, Wilson Morse, H. C. Greeley, Oliver Stone, Alanson Chace, D. B. Ingalls, G. P. Smith, G. W. Burdett and A. A. Burditt were chosen to look after the building. The work was pushed forward so that it was finished ready for dedication by February, 1868. The total cost as reported by the building committee was eight thousand four hundred and three dollars and ninety-three cents. The organ cost sixteen hundred more, and the money spent for furnishing brought the total up to about eleven thousand. Most of this was paid at the time, but a debt of three thousand dollars was left for some years. This addition of twenty-seven feet to the west side increased the number of pews by thirty-eight, so that the new building was capable of seating five hundred and twenty people. A new spire was built about the old one, twenty feet higher than that had been. A baptistry, a pastor's room, a "ladies' room," an enlarged vestry, and frescoing were among the improvements. The Bible now on the preacher's pulpit was at this time given by Mrs. Horatio S. Burdett of Brookline; the communion table was given by J. W. Converse of Boston. The dedication took place on the 6th of February.

* The history of the Baptist Church is extended somewhat beyond that of the other churches in order that the work of Rev. C. M. Bowers may be considered as a unit.

Even with the enlarged accommodations, the meeting-house was comfortably filled, for previous to its completion five hundred and sixteen members had united with the church since its organization. Of these, about half had died or moved away before this time, yet an active membership of more than two hundred and fifty was left. Among those who had joined the church during this period the names of the following appear frequently in the records of the church and society: Charles W. Walker, 1853; Joshua Thissell, T. F. Sibley, D. B. Ingalls, H. C. Greeley, Lucius Field, W. A. Macurda and John G. Heighway, 1857; S. H. Hosmer, 1858; Daniel Marsh, 1864; T. A. Leland, B. S. Walker, 1866; E. W. Burdett, G. A. Heighway, Abial Fisher, 1867. There were doubtless many others, both male and female, the equals of these in spiritual gifts, whose names do not so often appear on the records of the church and society.

While baptisms were of frequent occurrence during all these years, there were four periods when the religious interest was deeper than usual. These were in 1850-51, 1857, 1861 and 1867. The sacrament of baptism in the sixties was administered a few rods north of the Harris Bridge over Water Street. The Courant says that at one immersion in 1867 there were fifteen hundred people gathered to witness the solemn rites.

These additions to the church through conversion came largely from the Sunday School, which was from the beginning cherished by the church as the source of its growth. Among the superintendents who labored here most efficiently in early years, we may mention G. P. Smith, H. C. Greeley, A. A. Burditt, Daniel Marsh, Dr. D. B. Ingalls and Joshua Thissell. In 1854, the average attendance had reached about one hundred. In 1866, it was about one hundred and fifty. The church has always been deeply interested in missions, and has given a large proportion of the receipts to this purpose. Mrs. Bowers has been especially devoted to this work.

In 1866, Dr. Bowers' salary was increased to one thousand dollars; the next year, to twelve hundred. In 1871, he had a vacation of eight months for needed rest. The society, with the liberal aid of Caleb T. Symmes of Lancaster, paid his expenses for a trip to Europe and the Holy Land. He left New York on the seventeenth of January, and went as far east as Damascus. When he returned refreshed to his labors, at the request of the church he delivered a series of lectures on his travels. During his absence, the pulpit was filled by Rev. David Weston, principal of Worcester Academy.

In 1872, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the organization of the church and of Dr. Bowers' pastorate, was observed. The services were held at the meeting-house on the twenty-fourth of April. In the afternoon, there were among other exercises, a sermon by J. D. Fulton, D. D., of Boston, and a historical sketch of the church by the pastor. In this sketch he said, as reported by the *Courant*: "During its history, the church has not been called to great troubles, trials or conflicts; the choir have behaved handsomely; the deacons have conducted themselves discreetly; the sextons have not magnified their office above measure; and harmony has prevailed. The union of pastor and people has been of lengthy duration. * * * Ours is a small, quiet people, not given to discontent and change. Few pastors have been settled on such unsettled conditions. Although the prolonged courtship has not resulted in marriage, the parties have been engaged and re-engaged more than a score of times, yet each is still on its good behavior. Only one other Baptist pastorate in Massachusetts has extended over a longer period of time." In speaking of the fruits of his labors, he said: "During the existence of the church, there have been six hundred different members connected with it, four hundred of which number have been added by baptism."

In the evening there was a supper at which Dr. G. W. Burdett, who had served with little interruption as the clerk

of the church since its origin, presided as toastmaster. Many who had been connected with the church in the past, but had moved elsewhere, as well as those who still kept up their connection, recalled their experiences. The pastors of the local churches added their words of cheer. The joy of the occasion was heightened by the announcement that money enough had been raised to pay the church debt of three thousand dollars, and that the surplus in the treasury was sufficient to present a well-filled purse to the pastor. "Thus ended," in the words of the record, "one of the most interesting occasions ever enjoyed by the church and the like to which in all its features can hardly ever be enjoyed again."

But the work of the pastor was by no means finished. For fourteen years longer he continued to serve the church and people. He retained the vigor of his youth and united with it the experience of age. His final sermons as pastor were preached March 28, 1886. He had kept up the custom of an afternoon service as well as a morning service, after it had been abandoned in the other churches, on the ground that if anybody desired to hear an afternoon sermon there should be an opportunity to do so. He averaged at least two sermons a week during his ministry, or preached about four thousand sermons in all in Clinton, and perhaps five thousand in his ministry as a whole. This total amount of his pulpit production would equal fifty or more volumes of the size of this history.

After he resigned his position here in 1886, he continued his ministry, acting as pastor over the Baptist church in Spencer until he had completed in all more than half a century of service. Dr. Bowers is still living in Clinton, in 1896, and during the past year has several times occupied his old pulpit. The fruits of this long ministry are beyond all earthly reckoning.

CHAPTER XXIX.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

HENRY LEWIS, who came to this community in 1815, as an apprentice at comb-making for Nathan Burdett, became in after years, an earnest Methodist. His house on North Main Street was freely opened for Methodist meetings, and there for many years a little band of devout Christians were accustomed to gather at stated intervals, or whenever any special opportunity was offered of hearing the gospel preached. It is said that John H. Hall, a layman from Albany, New York, was the first to organize a class and preach here. This class numbered forty-one members and continued in existence for two or three years during the early thirties. Many of its members made great sacrifices to attend Methodist services elsewhere after the class was given up.

Among those who preached at the occasional services from 1834 to 1842, were: Rev. E. F. Newell, called Father Newell, who, after sixty-one years of preaching, died in 1867, at the age of ninety-one; Rev. Joseph A. Merrill, who began preaching in 1807; and Rev. Orin Scott. John Burdett, Junior, became as devout as a Methodist as his father was as a Baptist, and in these early days was among the foremost in the support of this form of worship.

In the autumn of 1842, the Methodists secured the use of the Brick School-house on Main Street for their Sunday services. Here, Rev. Joseph W. Lewis, who was then stationed in West Boylston, preached. This Rev. J. W. Lewis

1868-9, regularly stationed here as pastor, and passed his closing years of his life in town. There was so much objection to the use of the school-house for these meetings that after two weeks, they were held in private houses. As the number of Methodists increased with the growing population of the community, the meetings became more frequent and regular. In 1847, Rev. Horace Moulton preached here in the house of Mr. Coburn. Later, Rev. D. K. Merrill of Boylston organized a society. The following are the names of the original charter members of the Clinton Methodist Episcopal Church: Henry Lewis and wife, Charles B. Tinkham and wife, Leonard B. Tinkham and wife, Mary A. Harris and wife.

Mary A. Harris Butler is now living in New Hampshire. She is eighty-two years old. Revs. C. W. Ainsworth and Gardner Rice each preached here a few times. Class meetings were held at Charles B. Sherman's near the bridge on Center Street opposite the Quilt Mill, and at L. B. Tinkham on Nelson Street. The dining-rooms at the boarding-houses in East Village were also used for services. Miss S. Penney, who kept one of the boarding-houses, acted for a while as the leader of a class which met with her. In January, 1850, George E. Harrington came to Clintonville from Lunenburg. He opened a grocery store in the basement of Burdett's Block at the corner of High and Union Streets. He was a Methodist, and so effectual were his preaching and so inspiring his influence that it soon became possible to form a second class. He was the leader in singing among the Methodists while here. Mr. Harrington returned to the West some years later, and lived in Madison, Wisconsin.

Rev. Philip Toque, a local preacher, was sent by Rev. Asa Crandall, then presiding elder of the Worcester district, to preach in Clinton, in November, 1850. The services were held in the hall of Burdett's Block, at the corner of High and Union Streets, then known as the Attic Hall. At the same time, a Sunday School was organized. George E. Har-

rington was the first superintendent. In George H. Foster, who came here in 1850 and worked for Dea. James Patterson, and was then in the loom harness and belt business for himself, the denomination found another faithful and influential member. In January, 1851, George H. Foster, George E. Harrington and James Sherman were appointed stewards.

Rev. George Bowler, who had been admitted to the New England Conference in 1849, was sent to Clinton in the spring of 1851. Such was the growth of the society that a larger audience room was needed, and the Concert Hall in John Burdett's building opposite the site of the present Methodist Church, was hired. During the single year of Mr. Bowler's pastorate, more than ninety joined the church on probation. A church building had now become a necessity, as Concert Hall no longer accommodated the congregation. There was some talk of building near the Common in the vicinity of the other Protestant churches, and H. N. Bigelow is said to have offered the society a lot of land on condition that it would do so, but it seemed best at the time that the church should be nearer the business center, "so that sinners couldn't dodge the means of grace," as Rev. George Bowler is reported to have said. The present site of the church building was therefore purchased. The price was five hundred dollars. The first board of trustees was appointed October 5, 1851. The members were: Jonathan Weeks, George E. Harrington, Leonard B. Tinkham, George F. Goodale (secretary), Mark Andrews, Estes Wilson (treasurer), Francis A. Davidson. The Ladies' Benevolent Association was organized in 1851. Mrs. Bowler was the president during the first year.

In the spring of 1852, Rev. George Bowler was appointed to the church in Watertown. He was a very stirring man. He talked and preached with great vigor. In 1852-3, he served on the school committee. He carried from Clinton, as the *Courant* said, "the esteem of all with whom he had been associated here." He afterwards preached in East

Cambridge, Charlestown and Westfield. He withdrew from connection with the New England Conference in 1862-3.

It was during Rev. George Bowler's pastorate here in 1851 that James F. Maynard came to Clinton from Boylston and opened a grocery store. During the next thirty years of the history of the church, Mr. and Mrs. Maynard were among the foremost in every good work. In the funeral sermon preached by Rev. Albert Gould on the death of Mrs. Maynard, May 21, 1882, we find the following picture: "A beautiful symbol of her life as a helpmeet to her husband and a help to the church occurred in 1852, when the church edifice was built. Those were the days when our people were not only few here, but they were in great poverty. * * * Brother Maynard was confined to his store in the day-time and part of the evenings, and could therefore do no work in the building of the church unless it was done in the night after leaving the store. It was the time when they were putting in the foundation walls. When the store was closed for the night, he came here to work, * * * and his faithful wife was wont to stand near by him, holding a lantern so he could see how to lay the stones. That lantern in the hand of Sister Maynard, pouring its light upon the foundation stones as they went into their places by night, is a beautiful symbol of her life as related to that of her husband and also to the history of the church. Her light has been steadily shining within the walls ever since, a loving reminder of duty and a guide to its performance." Mrs. Maynard was especially devoted in her personal attention to the sick and the poor, while Mr. Maynard was one of the trustees of the society for many years after May, 1852, and was for eleven years, beginning in 1854, superintendent of the Sabbath School. In the first year of his superintending, the first Sunday School Library was bought at a cost of thirty-six dollars and thirty-two cents.

Although the building of a church edifice was planned during the pastorate of Rev. George Bowler, the actual work

of building was done during the following summer while Rev. T. Willard Lewis was stationed here. The pastor, with George E. Harrington and Francis A. Davidson, constituted the building committee. The cost was four thousand dollars. The work was completed by December, and the dedication services were held on Christmas, 1852. Daniel Wise, D. D., of Boston, editor of *Zion's Herald*, gave the sermon.

T. Willard Lewis was a native of South Royalston. He was born August 6, 1825. He was converted in 1842. He went to Fitchburg the same year to learn the scythe-maker's trade, and there he joined the Methodist Episcopal Church. In 1844, he began his studies preparatory to entering the ministry. In this, he was entirely dependent on his own exertions for support. He fitted for college in Wilbraham Academy, and then spent two years at Union College, N. Y. He did not graduate, but received in after years the honorary degree of M. A. He was licensed as a preacher in Schenectady in 1847. Having joined the New England Conference, he was appointed to Leicester in 1849, where he stayed two years. His next pastorate was in Hopkinton. Here, his wife died. He came to Clinton in the spring of 1852. During his first year here, his duties as the head of the building committee were added to his regular pastoral duties. He also built the house in the rear of the church as a parsonage and, as he married a second time in 1853, he was the first to occupy it. During his second year in Clinton, he acted as secretary of the school committee. One who knew him well has said of him: "Brother Lewis was endowed with a warm, tender heart, a large and active imagination and a good, sound judgment. * * * He was eminently social. * * Most people as they passed would pause and go off with grateful imagination, ever after remembering the man as a friend and brother. * * * He was an interesting preacher, seldom profound and never dull. Narration and description suited his power of invention more than abstraction or discussion. Some new comparison or witty remark would sur-

prise the hearer. * * * 'A lion cannot fight in a bag.' 'Let the children have a hen of their own to lay eggs for the Lord.' * * * He depended on the sympathy of his hearers. * * * He enjoyed to see their smiles or better their tears, to hear shouts and sobs." After leaving here in 1853, he had appointments in Marlboro, Waltham, Boston, South Boston, Hopkinton and Worcester.

In 1863, he took charge of the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church in South Carolina and Florida. We are told: "The work he laid out for himself * * * is prodigious to contemplate." Church after church was organized. In eight years, he saw the membership of his conference in Florida alone increase from nothing to thirty thousand with eighty-eight churches. He founded the Claflin University. Later, when he was in Charleston, 'his work was prosecuted with such unfaltering energy, that his colleagues in labor could with the utmost difficulty persuade him to abandon the fever-stricken city.' When at last he was forced to go it was too late to save his life. He died at Sullivan's Island, September 30, 1871.

"And many a poor man's blessing went
With him beneath the low green tent
Whose curtain never outward swings."

In 1854, Rev. Augustus F. Bailey received the appointment to Clinton. He had previously served the churches in Ballardville, Gloucester Parish and Topsfield. He remained in Clinton for only one year and then preached successively in Marblehead, Dedham, Townsend, Marlboro, Newton Upper Falls and Natick. He was elected as a member of the school committee for 1855-6, but, as he removed from town, he did not serve. In later years, he became a member of the Troy Conference. In this year of his pastorate, the society gained two valuable new members, John H. Rowell and Linus Fitts, both of whom were destined to serve the cause of Christ many years in this community.

Rev. A. F. Bailey was followed by Rev. Newell S. Spauld-

ing, a man of many pastorates. He had entered the ministry in 1822, and had received appointments to Lyndon, Vt., Lancaster, N. H., Mansfield, Mass., Little Compton, R. I., New London, Ct., Stonington, Ct., Warren, R. I., Somerset, Falmouth, Marblehead, Newbury, Ipswich, Topsfield, Saugus, Dorchester, Newton Upper Falls, Gloucester Harbor, Salem, Ashburnham, Oxford, Saxonville, Sudbury, South Belchertown and Ware Village. He had been placed upon the "superannuated" list twice before he came to Clinton and, although he was but fifty-five, yet his health was broken. During his stay of two years, the membership of the society decreased, but, notwithstanding, the approaching hard times, a vestry was finished off for social meetings. A tenement was made in the basement of the church. After leaving here, Mr. Spaulding preached in Oakdale, Sutton and Gloucester. He was then in 1861 reckoned again as superannuated, but continued in the ministry at large until 1884, when, after sixty-two years of faithful labor, he was called to his reward.

In 1857, Rev. Daniel K. Merrill was placed over the church in Clinton. Although a much younger man than his predecessor, he was in poor health and had already been once placed on the superannuated list. He had preached in North Reading, East Boston, Salem, Winchendon, West Boylston, Dudley and Charlton, Rutland, Charlmont, East Longmeadow and Monson. After eight months' service here, his failing health forced him to seek rest. He was able on the following year to resume preaching, and served in later times in Jenksville, Coleraine, East Cambridge, Waltham, and Heath.

Rev. Willard F. Mallalieu, a native of Sutton, who had graduated at Wesleyan University in the summer of 1857, filled out the remaining four months of the year. Even then, he gave ample promise of the ability which was to make him one of the leading men of his denomination. His qualities and life have been thus summarized: "Inheriting

intellectual vigor and fine moral qualities from Puritan and Huguenot ancestors, he sought the best gifts of culture, and uniting consecration and energy with eloquence and enthusiasm, he has become a recognized power for good in every community he has served." He preached in Grafton; Bellingham Street, Chelsea; Lynn; Charlestown; Bromfield Street, Boston; Walnut Street, Chelsea; Worcester; Broadway, Boston; Walnut Street, Chelsea; Bromfield Street, Boston; Walnut Street, Chelsea. In 1882, he became presiding elder of the Boston District, and in 1884, was elected to the bishopric. His episcopal residence has been in New Orleans. During the present year (1896) it has been fixed in Boston.

During 1858 and 1859, William J. Pomfret was pastor in Clinton. He was in the first years of his ministry. His only previous pastorate was in North Brookfield, from 1856 to 1857. The hardness of the times required that the salary paid the pastor should be reduced from six hundred dollars to five hundred in 1858, but in the following year it was raised again to five hundred and fifty dollars. There was a slight increase in the membership of the church during the pastorate of Mr. Pomfret, and when he went away in 1860, there were seventy-one names of members reported in the minutes of the New England Conference. He afterwards preached in West Brookfield, Coleraine, Ludlow, Williamsburg, Monson, Webster, Newton Upper Falls, Woburn, Marlboro, Fitchburg, Southbridge, West Quincy, West Medford. The average length of his pastorates has been greater than that of any other minister of the denomination who was stationed here previous to 1865.

Rev. Thomas B. Treadwell, the next incumbent, entered the ministry in 1853, and came to Clinton in 1860, after serving in Marlboro, Saxonville, Woburn, Townsend and Monson. During the year in which he was here, the membership of the church was increased to eighty-six and fourteen more were on probation. The salary of the pastor was increased to five hundred and seventy-five dollars. In later times, Mr. Treadwell was in Charlton, Ct., and Weston.

E. P. Whittaker came to Clinton in 1860, and at once became one of the most efficient members of the church. In later days, he served as trustee and as a superintendent of the Sabbath School.

Rev. Albert Gould became pastor of the church in 1861. He was born in East Woodstock, Ct., February 21, 1832. His childhood and youth were spent on a farm in Southbridge, Mass. He was converted when about fifteen and joined the Southbridge church. An overpowering desire to become a foreign missionary took possession of him and he sought an education with this end in view. He went to Wilbraham in 1850, and to Wesleyan University in 1856. He remained in college two years. He entered the New England Conference in 1858. He first preached in South Royalston, where he married. "During the preaching of his first sermon in Clinton, the bells were rung to call the ladies together to fit out their brothers or sons for the war." Mr. Gould was one of the most patriotic clergymen of those trying times. Duty to country was often the theme of his discourse. Many members of his society entered the army. Hence there was a decrease of membership. The society was very poor at this time, and it was only by the greatest self-sacrifice that even a meagre support could be given to the minister. No man could have been better fitted than Mr. Gould to keep up the heart of his people under such circumstances, for he was utterly unselfish and always inclined to look at the bright side of things. His social nature led him to make many friends outside of his own society, and he thus gained the love of his fellow-townsmen as a whole. The fact that he was appointed to a second pastorate in Clinton in 1882 makes evident the strength of the attachment which bound him to this society.

All of those who have sat under his preaching will appreciate the truth of the following characterization which appeared in the minutes of the New England Conference at the time of his death: "Brother Gould was a man of com-

manding presence, but of pleasing address and of great social attractiveness. His manliness of character and the strength of his friendship bound him strongly to those who commanded his confidence. He loved truth and hated shams. His cultivated and thoughtful mind and sound judgment were devoted to the one work of Christian ministry. Deliberate in pulpit utterances, he was yet strong and sometimes almost majestic in the fervor and power of his mighty argument, urgent appeal and persuasive tenderness. His love of music and his rare gift of song were of great service in his ministry. He was wise and judicious in administration, a faithful pastor and successful in leading many into the fold of Christ."

He held in all fifteen pastorates. Among the most important of these were Lynn, Gloucester, Chicopee, Cambridge and Cambridgeport. He was acting as chaplain at the Deer Island Reformatory at the time of his sudden death, November 18, 1890.

In 1863, Rev. J. P. W. Jordan was appointed to the Clinton church, but, as he did not serve, the pulpit was filled by Rev. John P. Coolidge who was on the superannuated list during this year, and Rev. William G. Leonard, who subsequently served as a chaplain in the army. In this year, the membership of the church went down to sixty-three, the amount of money raised for salary to four hundred and fifty dollars. The next year, the church was again unfortunate, since the appointee, Rev. J. N. Mars, who had just been admitted to the New England Conference on trial, failed to fulfil his appointment, but was transferred to the Washington Conference. Rev. E. F. Hadley supplied the pulpit. It is said that he afterwards died at Brooklyn. There seems to be no record that he was ever a member of the New England Conference. During this year, thirty-two were received into the church on probation, so that during the following year the membership reached ninety. Meanwhile the receipts of the church were estimated as only three hundred and thirty-five dollars.

In 1865, Rev. E. S. Chase, a young man who had preached only two years previously, one at North Brookfield and one at Warren, came hither. With his coming a new era of spiritual and financial prosperity began in the church.

The story of most of the leaders in the church has been told in other connections, but the story of John H. Rowell seems to belong here rather than elsewhere. John H. Rowell was a native of Mason, New Hampshire, where he was born October 18, 1824. He was descended from the first settlers of the town. His father, Artemas Rowell, was a farmer. The boy worked on the farm and attended the district school. He moved to South Royalston, Mass., where he became a section-hand on the railroad. He married Hannah D. Lewis, a sister of Rev. T. W. Lewis, May 18, 1848. He came to Clinton in 1854 as a section-hand on the Worcester and Nashua Railroad. He held this position for ten years. He then worked on the construction of the Boston, Clinton and Fitchburg in the same capacity for two years. He was afterwards engaged in jobbing. He was a road commissioner for three years, and superintendent of streets for four years. Since 1857, he has lived in the cottage back of the church which was built by his brother-in-law, Rev. T. W. Lewis. He has been a class leader. He was a trustee for about thirty years and a steward from 1854 to the present time. The inquirer in regard to matters connected with the Clinton Methodists is constantly referred to Mr. Rowell, both by persons in his own society and outside of it, with the statement, "Mr. Rowell knows more about the church than anybody else. No one here has been connected with it longer or has loved it better or lived more closely according to its principles."

No adequate idea of the history of the local Methodist Church can be reached unless one becomes intimately acquainted with the spiritual life as it has been manifested in the devotional meetings. While pastors were constantly changing there were many consecrated men and women

within the church who worshiped together with exhortation and prayer and song through many years until their souls became as one in the Lord. The fervor of those meetings cannot be told. Now, under the leadership of George E. Harrington or Daniel Houghton the song of praise burst in unison from every heart. Now, the voice of Brother Foster or Maynard or Rowell was heard, urging the sinner to turn from the error of his ways and seek the joys of salvation. Now, the prayers of Ephraim Hunt or Francis A. Davidson were rising to the throne of grace. Nor did the men alone give utterance to their spiritual emotions and aspiration; the women, too, found voice as the spirit moved, with no less freedom. In addition to the wives of the members we have mentioned, Betsey Cutting, Mary Ann Eveleth, Lucy Sawyer, Betsey Flood and Carrie Bixby are remembered as women of great spiritual gifts. Here, in the devotional meetings was the real life of the church; here, sorrow-stricken hearts found peace; here, doubts were laid at rest; here, souls were born anew.

In a paper published at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the church, in 1877, the outline of the history of the church is summed up as follows: "This church, like all others, has experienced many vicissitudes in its history. Sometimes circumstances have been unfavorable and discouragements have seemed almost unsurmountable. But a few faithful, heroic ones pushed on amid the gathering gloom, till, with the blessings of the Lord, they came out of the cloud into the sunshine of prosperity." One whose position as presiding elder afforded him an opportunity for observation, said: "This society contains some of the most noble, liberal and self-sacrificing members that can anywhere be found. It has been noted from the commencement for the liberal and energetic ladies connected with it. But few instances can be found of equal devotion to the church and determination to sustain its institutions.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH OF CLINTON.

THE Unitarian Church in Clinton is the child of the Unitarian Church in Lancaster, and as such may claim closer connection with the original ecclesiastical institutions of the mother town than either of our other churches. There was never a time from the first settlement within our borders to the establishment of the Unitarian Church in Clinton, when the pastor of the old church in Lancaster was not recognized as the pastor of a considerable portion of our people here, and the modification of the creed of the church did not cause many to withdraw until the coming of the Bigelows. When religious conviction and pecuniary advantage led to the establishment of other forms of worship, many yet continued to worship under Rev. E. H. Sears and Rev. G. M. Bartol in the old Brick Church. By 1850, services were held in Burdett Hall. These were conducted by Rev. George M. Bartol of Lancaster. Mr. Bartol was born at Freeport, Maine, September 18, 1820. He fitted for college at Exeter, N. H. He graduated from Brown University in 1842, and at Cambridge Divinity School in 1845. He came to Lancaster, and was installed August 4, 1847. He preached here in Clinton for a number of months, coming over after holding two services in his own church. He has remained in Lancaster for nearly half a century, and during all that time he has frequently exchanged with the Unitarian pastors of Clinton. He has also officiated at many funerals and weddings here, and has been so closely associated with the

life of our Unitarians, that he has seemed to many of its members as one of their own pastors.

On July 29, 1850, a society was legally organized.* At this meeting, Ezra Sawyer was chosen moderator and Charles S. Patten, clerk. Ezra Sawyer, William Stearns and A. P. Burdett were chosen assessors and standing parish committee. Sidney Harris was made treasurer and collector. Steps were taken toward securing the use of Clinton Hall as a place for holding Sunday services. Franklin Forbes and C. W. Worcester were elected to act in conjunction with the standing committee in choosing a name for the society. At an adjournment of this meeting, held October 7th, it was voted to adopt the name, "First Unitarian Society of Clinton."† Rev. G. M. Bartol was invited to preach on October 13th in the Clinton Hall, which had been hired at a rent of two hundred dollars per year. James A. Weeks had charge of the music. A seraphine was hired. From October 20th to April, the cost of preaching was two hundred and twenty dollars.

April 7, 1851, it was voted to invite Rev. Leonard Jarvis Livermore to preach for one year. His salary at first was ten dollars per Sunday, then at the rate of six hundred dollars a year, then at the rate of seven hundred dollars per year. It should be remembered that there were two regular

* The members of this society were Ezra Sawyer, William F. Conant, Camden Maynard, William Stearns, Joshua C. Jewett, Nelson Whitcomb, Thomas Wellington, Henry Butterfield, Eliphas Ballard, Jr., H. N. Sweet, Augustus J. Sawyer, Simeon Bowman, Alfred Knight, Charles D. Dowse, Sidney Harris, Charles Holman, Jonas B. White, Frederic Flagg, William E. Frost, John P. Merrill, Levi Harris, Charles Colburn, Charles S. Patten, J. W. Willard, James A. Weeks, Josephus Wilder, A. P. Burdett, A. L. Fuller and Franklin Forbes.

† During the first year, the following gentlemen, in addition to those whose names have been given, were appointed on various committees: C. W. Blanchard, Aaron Weeks, James Needham, Joshua Thissell, B. R. Cotton, Edward E. Harlow, B. E. Sampson, Jerome S. Burdett, F. C. Messinger, John V. Butterfield.

preaching services each Sunday at the Unitarian as well as all the other churches, during the whole period covered by our history. Mr. Livermore was born in Milford, New Hampshire, December 8, 1822. His grandfather, a clergyman, and his father, a lawyer, were both graduates of Harvard. He followed in their footsteps, as his son did after him. Thus, in the course of one hundred and nineteen years, from 1756 to 1875, four successive generations studied in the same classic halls. Leonard J. Livermore received his diploma in 1842. He took a three years' course in the theological school, from which he graduated in 1846. The following year he was settled over the East Boston Unitarian Church, where he remained until he came to Clinton. While here, he built the main part of the house on Water street, since known as the Palmer house, and here he lived during the last years of his residence in Clinton. It is said that the house had originally belonged to his wife, and that it was taken to pieces and brought here and set up again. We have seen him as the editor of the *Courant*. He also served from 1853 to 1856 as a member of the school committee. At one time, he taught for a few weeks when an emergency demanded it. He was a man of large heart and very much beloved in his pastoral relations. Those who were children then recall how they used to love him and delight to visit his home. Few of our Clinton ministers have had such a wide acquaintance or exerted such a wholesome influence on the community at large. He was not especially brilliant as an orator. His theology was that of the old school Unitarians. He was "sound" and never erratic. His manner of delivery was quiet and sincere, and there was no straining after effect. Such was the depth of his reverence, the power and the charm of his presence, the benignity of his countenance and the visible purity of his character, that one of his parishoners said that it did him more good to see Mr. Livermore in the pulpit than to hear any other man preach.

Rev. C. M. Bowers has said of him: "By social gifts, by

his courtesy, affability, spirit of helpfulness, ready fellowship and pleasantry, he (Mr. Livermore) had an admirable outfit for large usefulness. He was a piece of sunshine. Kind words dropped from his lips like healthy breathings. He had a vein of wit, but it was never tinged with a purpose to sting. His heart had in it a good deal of fellowship with all hearts. In his public discourses he did not try any of the ambitious exaggerations of eloquence, knowing, as once was said by a sharp literary critic, 'when a man begins to be eloquent he begins to lie;' nor did he ever carry his hearers into what has been declared the popular distinction of one of our living tongue performers, 'flights of fancy, oratory and metaphor which are almost bewildering at times,' but his preaching was a kind of more easy conversation with his people, full of good counsel for daily use, and distinguished by sound, practical sense. He did not effect the profound in unprofitable discussions, but taught the wisdom of Scripture as related to human responsibility and life. He noticed with pain the trivialities and small ambitions that enter so generally into social conditions, and his ministry was marked by a special effort to lift the people into the larger relations of true being."

Before the close of 1851, some consideration was given to the subject of building a church. The Courant of March 20, 1852, said that it was proposed to build a Unitarian church north of the Clinton House. This must have been the corner now occupied by Brimhall's Block. But the matter passed out of the hands of the society into those of a corporation known as "The Proprietors of the First Unitarian Meeting-house in Clinton." The original applicants for organization were William Stearns, Alfred Knight, Nelson Whitcomb, Charles Holman, George F. Howard, Camden Maynard, Augustus J. Sawyer, Eliphas Ballard, Jr., Franklin Forbes, P. L. Morgan and James A. Weeks. The preamble to the by-laws adopted June 12, 1852, states: "Persons belonging to the First Unitarian Society of Clinton having

determined to erect a meeting-house for the public worship of God, the subscribers have organized themselves into a corporation for the more effectual management of business." One of the by-laws states: "Each share of twenty-five dollars shall entitle the holder to a vote in all meetings of the proprietors; provided that no proprietor shall be entitled to more than ten votes." The house several years after was reckoned, according to the accounts, to have cost six thousand one hundred and twenty-five dollars. The land, valued at seven hundred dollars, was given to the proprietors by Henry P. Fairbanks, on certain conditions, among which was the erection of a building for the use of the Unitarian Society of Clinton. The original debt incurred by the proprietors was twenty-six hundred dollars. The use of the meeting-house was given to the society for the interest on this amount or one hundred at fifty-six dollars per year. The debt was gradually decreased by subscription to stock until, in 1865, it amounted to only nineteen hundred and five dollars, and the rent decreased proportionately. November 26, 1866, the proprietors voted to convey the property to the Unitarian Society. The society assumed the debt of eighteen hundred and thirty dollars, which was soon paid off. The original church has since been raised and thoroughly renovated.

The frame of the church was put up September 16, 1852, the building was completed at the beginning of the following year and dedicated February 2, 1853. Rev. L. J. Livermore preached the dedication sermon. Rev. George M. Bartol gave an address to the society and church. Rev. T. P. Allen of Sterling, Rev. F. T. Gray of Boston, Rev. C. Lincoln of Boston, and Rev. Washington Gilbert of Harvard took part in the dedication service. April 30, 1853, the mother church in Lancaster presented to this church part of its old silver, hallowed by sacred memories, for communion service.

Rev. L. J. Livermore remained as pastor until 1857. In September of that year, he went to Lexington to preach. There, he remained nine years. Ill health forced him to re-

sign his pastorate. After resting a year, he became pastor of the Unitarian Church in Danvers, where he continued to preach, with several interruptions on account of ill health, until his death. He was for a time assistant of the American Unitarian Association, and afterwards secretary of the Sunday School Society. This work he carried on in connection with his regular pastoral duties. He was the compiler of the "Hymn and Tune Book" so commonly used in Unitarian churches. He died in Cambridge in May, 1886. Mrs. Livermore is still living in Cambridge.

After Rev. L. J. Livermore went away, the pulpit was occupied for several months by Rev. William Cushing. He was a brother of Mrs. Franklin Forbes, and was the son of Hon. Edmund Cushing of Lunenburg. William Cushing was born May 15, 1811. He graduated from Harvard College in 1832. He taught school in Fitchburg. He graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1839. He was ordained at Calais, Me. He also preached in Saco, Me., and at Bedford, Mass. In 1843, he formed the first Unitarian Society in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In the same year, he married Margaret Louisa Wiley. He lived for many years on a farm in the southern portion of the town on the banks of Mine Swamp and Spring Brooks, near the point where they enter the river. He served on the school committee from 1863 to 1868. In the latter years of his life, he was assistant librarian at Harvard University. He published several volumes bearing on library work, of which his "Initials and Pseudonyms" is the best known. He died in Cambridge, August 27, 1895.

April 4, 1858, Rev. Jared M. Heard was engaged to preach. He belonged to the Heard family which is so prominent in Wayland. He graduated from Brown University in 1852. On account of ill health, he was obliged to give up his studies for a time, and he made a journey to India. He did not fully recover his health, however, but was always subject to physical infirmity. He graduated from the

Divinity School at Cambridge. He was not ordained until August 25th. His salary was fixed at eight hundred dollars. Rev. Edmund H. Sears, the former pastor of many of the members of the society, preached the ordination sermon. His closing words contain a reference to the earlier life of Mr. Heard: "More than all the glittering prizes of wealth and ambition are the satisfactions that await you if only the living Christ be the soul of your endeavors; for that will make all your burdens light and turn your work into song."
* * * Having known through what struggles, trials and disappointments you have persevered unto the end, and finally brought your powers as a whole offering to this work, I may utter this word of hope and gratulation. May the aspirations of years, often baffled, be realized now. And may the blessing be yours, my brother, which always waits on singleness of purpose in the highest work which God has committed to man."

Mr. Heard lived at the house on Water Street afterwards occupied by J. T. Dame, Esq. Mrs. Heard, whose maiden name was Balch, came originally from Providence. They had one child. Both Mr. Heard and his wife were people of a high degree of social and intellectual culture, and their presence in the community was an inspiration to attainment in these directions. He is also spoken of as "a great lover of nature, acquainted with all her secrets." Mr. Heard was a tall, slim man of nervous temperament. He was intensely enthusiastic in whatever he undertook. He was a man of great eloquence, and many who were not regular parishioners went to hear his sermons. He was a leader in moral reforms. In the early days of the Civil War, he was so full of patriotism that he could hardly be restrained from enlisting in the ranks, and he was anxious to find a place as chaplain. But it was agreed by all that he could serve his country best by staying at home and keeping alive the fires of patriotism by his stirring appeals. He served this district in the legislature in 1862. He resigned his pastorate in 1863, for, as one

of his parishioners said: "he was too big a man for the place." He accepted a call to the church in Fitchburg. There he entered into his work with his accustomed energy. After a few months, he had an attack of diphtheria from which he died. His wife soon followed him to the grave.

Again we quote from Rev. C. M. Bowers: "Rev. Jared M. Heard was a man of positive, strong personality. If it had a moderate element of bluntness in it, there was no lack with it of a real manly heart. He was richly endowed with intellectual force, and had his life been spared to a full maturity he would have ranked among the best minds of his denomination in all this region. In early youth, he passed through the excitement of a Methodist experience, but his more advanced thinking carried him over to what he regarded as a truer philosophy of religion. * * * Mr. Heard gave free, honest utterance to his convictions, never for a moment supposing that the liberalism he rejoiced to represent meant any trimming, uncertainty, indistinctness or withholding of his real belief. * * * He did not think loud and then speak low, but his strongest thought took its strongest word to express it." George A. Torrey said of him in an article in the *Christian Register*: "Deeply imbued with Christian principles, he was not satisfied with teaching them from the pulpit, but endeavored to show them in his daily walk and conversation. Of strong religious views, he was practical and earnest, without a particle of hypocrisy; zealous in the faith, he was yet without bigotry, but embraced the whole brotherhood of man in the bonds of Christian fellowship."

September 8, 1864, the society voted to call Rev. James Sallaway at a salary of nine hundred dollars. He was born in Queen Anne's County, Maryland, May 21, 1828. His father, Henry Sallaway, was a carpenter. His mother's maiden name was Elizabeth Faulkner. James Sallaway spent his childhood in Maryland and Ohio. When he was not at school he worked upon the farm and in a grist-mill,

He prepared for college at Oberlin, Ohio. He graduated at Antioch College during the presidency of Horace Mann. He also graduated from the Divinity School at Cambridge, Mass. He preached in Billerica, where he married Nellie S. Bacon. The earnest call of the society in Clinton and Mr. Sallaway's desire to preach to a large and growing parish led him to come to Clinton.

He was installed November 9, 1864. While here, he served on the school committee. He lived in one of the corporation houses on Chestnut Street. Here, in the later days of his stay in town, a most sad accident happened, for one of his children was burned to death. The responsibilities of his office weighed heavily upon him and gave an intense earnestness to his bearing. He lost no opportunity to rebuke sin and point out the path of duty.

After leaving Clinton, he preached for sixteen years in Boston. On account of nervous prostration, he was then obliged to give up preaching for awhile. He spent some sixteen months in Europe and the Holy Land. His health was thus partially restored, and he supplied the pulpit in Mendon for two years, that in Bath, N. H., for one year, that in Brooklyn, Ct., two years. Since then, he has not been well enough to assume the charge of a parish, but has preached occasionally. He is now living in Bedford, Mass.

But little has been said in this account of the Unitarian Society, of the devoted men and women who were connected with it. There have been two reasons for this omission. Most of the leading Unitarians have been so prominent in other directions in the life of the community that it has seemed necessary to dwell upon their biography elsewhere. If the stories of these men* were all told here, many

*The clerks of the society have been Charles S. Patten, 1850-54; Augustus J. Sawyer, 1854-55; Henry Bowman, 1855-61; George W. Weeks, 1861-65. In addition to names already given these also appear prominently during the first fifteen years of the existence of the society: W. H. Harrington, A. A. Jerauld, George F. Howard, Absalom Lord,

chapters would be required for the completion of our subject. Any one who wishes to study the history of the society in connection with the work of its members, by reference through the index, may be able to understand somewhat of the important part they played in the history of the town. Another reason for dwelling lightly upon the records of these men and women under the head of their religious affiliations, is their own reticence in regard to religion. They preferred that their religion should be known through their deeds rather than through professed creeds, by fruits rather than by words. By this standard, let the religion of Franklin Forbes, Gilman M. Palmer, the Harrises and others like them, devoted servants of God and their fellowmen, be measured.

There was one man, however, whose life was peculiarly associated with that of the church who should be spoken of here: William Stearns, the son of Josiah Stearns and Ruth (Hunt) Stearns, was born in Leominster, November 18, 1812. His father was a farmer. The boy received a common school education. With the exception of a few years in Stow, his childhood and youth were passed in Leominster. He learned the trade of harness maker. At the age of twenty-one, he went to Lowell, and four years later to Lancaster. July 12, 1838, he married Mary Ann Brown of Sterling. They had four daughters and one son. He moved from Lancaster Center to Clintonville in 1846. He immediately built the harness shop now standing as No. 43 Church Street. He continued the harness business there for nearly forty years, seldom missing a day's work until the last year of his life. He built his residence, now No. 55 Walnut Street, in 1855. He died October 21, 1884. He was

Dr. P. T. Kendall, Joshua R. Brown, W. H. Wellington, E. A. Harris, Eneas Morgan, Milton Jewett, G. M. Palmer, C. C. Stone, R. J. Finnie, C. D. Davis, W. E. Warren, W. T. Freeman, Alfred Clifford, D. A. White, E. S. Fuller, James A. Colburn, Gilman J. Babcock, James Logan, F. E. Carr.

made deacon of the Unitarian Church in Lancaster in 1843. He continued in this office till 1853, when he became one of the original founders of the Unitarian Church in Clinton. He was the only deacon of this church from that time until his death. In his theology, he belonged to that school of which Channing and Sears were the leaders. Simplicity, purity, integrity, brotherly kindness and all the christian virtues found their fullest expression in his character. All who knew him felt that such a life as his, running so gently through the history of the town sweetened and elevated the whole community.

The Unitarian Benevolent Society from the beginning has taken a most active part in the work of the parish. The objects of the organization, as presented in the preamble to constitution, are: "to improve ourselves and do good to others." The first recorded annual report was for 1852-3. This report shows that the ladies took upon themselves the burden of furnishing the new meeting-house, and raised for this purpose five hundred and sixteen dollars and sixty-three cents. The work of making the pew cushions was also done by the ladies. From a great tea party held during the year, they realized over one hundred and ninety dollars. The first recorded president was Mrs. L. J. Livermore. Mrs. Levi Harris was vice-president. Mrs. William Stearns was secretary and treasurer. Mrs. Simeon Bowman, Mrs. Daniel Haverty, Mrs. Eliza Stone and Mrs. S. Pease were directresses. There were thirty members and thirty-one meetings during this first year.

The meetings were held during the whole period with which our history deals at the houses of the members. From 1861, they were in the evening, although some of the ladies gathered to work in the afternoon. There were often forty present at the evening meetings. The recorded presidents of the society in the following years were: Mrs. Levi Harris, 1854-60; Mrs. P. T. Kendall, 1860-61; Mrs. Franklin Forbes,

1861-62; Mrs. Sidney Howard, 1862-63; Mrs. William Stearns, 1863-65. Mrs. L. J. Livermore and Mrs. J. M. Heard, the wives of the ministers, served as secretaries during most of this time. Social intercourse, support of parish institutions, and miscellaneous charity were the chief results attained by the ladies previous to 1861. During the next three years, the needs of the soldiers claimed a large share of their attention. Box after box was prepared and sent either directly to our Clinton soldiers in the field or to the Sanitary Commission. Thus, in whatever direction there was the most need, whether at home or abroad, the society was always ready to devote itself with the deepest sympathy and greatest efficiency.

Several of the citizens of this community were connected with the Universalist Society of South Lancaster. This Society was organized in 1838, although there seems to have been some preaching before that time. At a meeting held January 16, 1838, we find that Sidney Harris was one of a prudential committee of three to raise funds for Universalist preaching. Mr. Harris did not, however, belong to the society when it was definitely organized. On the constitution, which was signed April 30, 1838, are the names of William, James and Lucinda Pitts, Nancy and Eliza A. Dorris, and Luther Gaylord. Meetings were held in private houses, the Town Hall and the Academy building until 1848. In that year, a meeting-house was completed and dedicated April 26th. It was situated in South Lancaster. Services were held here for seven years. Rev. John Harriman, 1841-3, and Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, 1843-54, were the principal ministers. In 1858, the building was sold to the state and moved to the grounds of the Industrial School, to be used as a chapel. In 1850, Luther and Laura Gaylord, William, Seth G. and Susan B. Pitts were members of this church.

By 1853, there were Universalist meetings held in Clinton Hall. Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, the novelist, was one of the

preachers. There was some attempt at a permanent organization, but although there were occasional meetings for many years, the organization never became strong enough to build a meeting-house or support a resident pastor.

The Second Adventists also held meetings in Clinton, in the Deacon John Burdett's Hall. Their meetings were characterized by great fervor, but the Adventists did not attain sufficient numbers or financial strength to build any house of worship.

The Episcopal Society was of later origin.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE history of the Catholic Church in Clinton is so closely connected with that of our citizens of Irish descent, **that** it is impossible to consider the one apart from the other. **It is** peculiarly unfortunate in this portion of our narrative, **that** the close of the Civil War has been fixed upon as the **end** of our work, for, while before the Civil War the Catholic Church in Clinton was still in its mission stage, since the war **it** has had a development that seems almost marvellous. **The** growth in wealth, in culture, and in influence among our citizens of Irish descent during the last thirty years, is the **most** remarkable fact in the history of our town, a fact that **no** one would have dared to prophesy from those small **beginnings** of earlier times. The development of later years **renders** the story of these beginnings of the utmost importance.

Tradition states that the Larkins, whose military record **in** the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars has been the subject **of** comment, were of Irish descent. Although the Larkin **homestead** was within the present limits of Berlin, yet some **members** of that family doubtless resided within present **Clinton** limits. Philip Larkin, the original settler, is said to **have** left Ireland about 1716, to avoid service in the English **army**. Tradition says further, that he was a Catholic, and **that** when he became an old man, in order that he might die **within** the arms of the mother church, he went to Baltimore, Md. In confirmation of this tradition, his grave is said to

have been found at Poolesville, Md., in 1862. The records of the old Lancaster Church show that his children were baptized as Protestants. Through frequent intermarriages with neighbors of English descent, the family must have soon lost any distinctive race characteristics which it may have originally possessed.

It is said that the first family of Irish descent that worked in the mills of this community, was named Quinn. A M. Quinn was employed by Poignand & Plant, or their successors, the Lancaster Cotton Manufacturing Company, in the twenties. The family lived in a little building called "The Laundry," on Main Street, north of the house now known as the Parker house. Little reliable information can be gathered of this man or his family.

When the Clinton Company enlarged its plant in 1845, a considerable number of Irish immigrants were employed on the wheel-pit and canal. The christian names of these men are not given on the books. The family names are Barry, Fahey, Durkin, Cummings, Moran, Cain, Finnerty, Donahoe, Burke, and McDermott. Timothy Moran is entered as a dyer during the same year. About the same time, men of Irish birth were employed in preparing for the building of the Lancaster Mills. Within the next few years the number of immigrants from Ireland who had settled in Clinton, reached several hundred.

In order to understand this immigration, we must glance for a moment at the condition of affairs in Ireland. Among the causes which led so many of the inhabitants of that island to leave their native land, was the desire for religious freedom. Through the efforts of the great agitator, Daniel O'Connell, Catholic emancipation had been won in 1829. But, although by this act the Catholics were admitted to Parliament and to civil and military office, yet they were obliged to pay tithes for the support of the established church, and the increase in the property qualification for voting disfranchised six-eighths of the former electors.

Certain laws affecting the inheritance of property or leases by Catholics also tended toward injustice.

In the landlord system, we find the second great cause for emigration. A large portion of the people of Ireland were tenants holding leases under landlords who seldom resided on their estates, and who, from difference of race, had little sympathy with or understanding of their tenants. Under such circumstances, the incentives to industry were small, since the fruits of labor were not secure to the toiler and every avenue to progress was closed. In attempts to collect tithes for the church and rents for the farms from a people impoverished and smarting under a sense of injustice, force was frequently used, and thus the bitterness of feeling was deepened.

The cold, wet seasons from 1845 to 1847, caused repeated failures of the potato crop, which was the chief source of support for the Irish people. A terrible famine came upon the land. Although Ireland at this time was exporting wheat and other food products, yet the laws of trade and the condition of the people kept them from securing the necessities of life. Thousands died of starvation; "the survivors were like walking skeletons, the men gaunt and haggard, stamped with the livid mark of hunger; the children crying with pain; the women in some of the cabins too weak to stand." W. E. Foster, an English eye witness, still further says: "As we went along, our wonder was not that the people died, but that they lived, and I have no doubt that in any other country the mortality would have been far greater; that many lives have been prolonged, perhaps saved, by the long apprenticeship to want in which the Irish peasant had been trained, and by that lovely, touching charity which prompts him to share his scanty meal with his starving neighbor." Famine was followed by an epidemic, that alone destroyed two hundred thousand of the people.

Of course, there was every endeavor on the part of the English government to relieve the distress by public

work, and from England and America food was sent to the starving;* yet before the three years of famine was over, the population of Ireland had decreased from eight millions to less than six millions. Landlords, especially those who lived in Ireland, were forced by the involved condition of their affairs to dispose of their estates. The new landlords took every means to eject the tenants whom the famine had made paupers, and thus another cause was added for the great exodus. Many sought homes in England; a hundred thousand went to Canada in a single year, but most of the emigrants found a home in the United States.

The passage across the ocean was scarcely less destructive than the famine at home. The ships were not subject to sanitary inspection, and they were crowded oftentimes to the utmost degree by men, women and children already worn out by the sufferings they had passed through. It is said that in many cases one-fifth of the steerage passengers died on the voyage, and many more soon after landing. Coming under such conditions, it is evident that the great body of these immigrants had little or no property when they landed on our shores. There were among them a few blacksmiths, a few layers of stone, and a few makers of linen, but in general, they had had no opportunity to learn a trade, and were, therefore, at first obliged, for the most part, to take the position of unskilled laborers. The contrast which may be drawn between the state of these immigrants at the time they became Americans and their present state, affords most conclusive evidence of the hardness of the conditions under which they formerly lived, the progressive character of the people, and the blessings of free government.

Soon after the Catholics began to settle here in any considerable numbers, provision was made for satisfying their spiritual needs. Rev. James Fitton was appointed by

*A large subscription for this purpose was sent from Clintonville and Lancaster Center.

Bishop Fenwick to visit the Catholics in Worcester in 1834. At first, he said mass there only once a month, but in 1836, a church had been completed, and he became a resident priest in May of that year. In 1837, St. James Seminary was established. In 1842, this was presented to Bishop Fenwick, together with sixty acres of land. Here, on June 21, 1843, the corner-stone of Holy Cross College, where so many Clinton boys have received their higher education, was laid. Father Fitton was followed by Father Williamson the same year. Father Williamson remained only two years. There may have been a very few Catholics in Clintonville who sought spiritual guidance from these Worcester pastors before 1845, but we have no authorized record to that effect.

In 1845, Rev. Matthew Gibson became resident priest in the Worcester parish. He was of English descent, and was born in Hexham, England, May 5, 1817. He was a man of great enterprise and unbounded zeal. He soon laid the foundation of a new and much larger church edifice in Worcester, and extended the mission work into all the towns of the county and its borders where the Catholics had settled in any numbers. In 1845, he said the first mass in Clintonville. As he had so many other mission churches to attend to, he was not able to come here oftener than once each month. The services were held in private houses. Father Gibson remained in Worcester until 1856. He afterwards served his church in Wisconsin, in England and in New Jersey. He has died within a few years. In an ode written to his memory we read:

The hearts that knew him, loved him,
The eyes, that missed him, wept
When resting from his labors
In Death's cold arms, he slept.

In November, 1847, Father John Boyce became an assistant to Father Gibson. The mission work was divided between these two priests, and the Clintonville mission soon came under the charge of Father Boyce. The division of

the work, and the subsequent appointment of resident priests at Fitchburg and elsewhere, enabled Father Boyce to visit Clintonville twice a month, and finally, after some years, mass was said every Sunday. Although most of the Catholics in Clintonville were so poor that few of them had yet provided suitable homes for themselves, yet it was decided to build a house of worship, and devout followers of the church were ready for the self-sacrifice that this implied. There was some difficulty in getting land, but at last a lot on South Main Street was secured for a church building and a lot west of Sandy Pond for a cemetery. A church was built at once, and was dedicated October 4, 1850. The inclosure of pine trees which today makes the former location of the church conspicuous, was set out under the direction of Father Boyce. At first, this church was much more simply furnished than in its later days. The galleries, the pews, the organ and the furnace were put in as the means of the people increased.

John Boyce was born at Donegal, in the northwest of Ireland, in 1810. He received his education and became a priest before he left his native land. He was a man approaching middle age and had already gained much experience before he was appointed to the Worcester Church in 1847. Father Boyce was deeply loved by his people. One who was acquainted with his life has written: "He was like the Good Shepherd, and ever true to the teachings of the Great Master. His wonderful charity was unlimited and unceasing. He wanted and kept nothing for himself. No one knew his good works, prompted by the innate nobleness of his nature, and executed so secretly that they were found out, now and again, only by accident. His greatest pleasure was to make others happy, and human suffering in any form touched his kindly heart. In king and beggar alike he saw the stamp of immortality, the seal of the Divine Creator. On more than one occasion, the good priest is known to have given the coat off his back to some poor wretch, who

appeared to need its warmth more than he. Extremely refined and artistic in his tastes, he combined in his character the courtly gentleman and the saintly priest." His parishioners in Clinton speak of his broadmindedness, his moderation and his calmness, which were shown in the restraint he exercised over his people during the intense excitement of the "Know Nothing" times.

He was a natural orator, an excellent musician, and a man of literary ability. He wrote under the pseudonym of "Paul Peppergrass," "Mary Lee; or, the Yankee in Ireland," "Shandy Maguire; or, Tricks upon Travellers," a story of the North of Ireland; "Spaewife; or, the Queen's Secret," a tale of the days of Elizabeth, are his chief works. In a review of "Shandy Maguire," Dr. Brownson, the well known critic, says: "We recognize in its author a robust and healthy mind, true manliness of thought and feeling, and genius of a high order. It is brilliant, full of wit and humor, and genuine tenderness and pathos. With his rare genius, uncommon ability, rich cultivation, brilliant yet chaste imagination, warmth of heart, mirthfulness, poetic fancy, artistic skill and dramatic power, the author cannot fail, if he chooses, to attain the highest excellence in the species of literature which he has selected." His devotion to parish work kept him from winning that literary fame which might otherwise have been his. The labor which he took upon himself proved too much for his constitution, and January 2, 1864, he was called away. His grave in Worcester was made under the shade of the pines which he had planted, and the pines which he set out about the church which he built and for which he labored so faithfully here, in their unchanging freshness may serve as a type of the memories of him that live in the minds of his parishioners.

While Father Boyce was in Worcester, he was assisted by Rev. Patrick Thomas O'Reilly. Patrick Thomas O'Reilly was a native of the County of Cavan in the east of Ireland. He was the son of Philip and Mary O'Reilly, and was born

December 24, 1833. He received his elementary education in his native land. He came to America in his youth, and with the aid of his uncle, who lived in Boston, he studied at St. Charles College, Ellicott City, Md., and at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. He became a priest August 15, 1857. He then came to St. John's Church, Worcester, to assist Father Boyce. He is described as being at this time "tall and well proportioned, dark haired, high browed, beautiful of face, gentle of soul, and with that undefinable charm that marks one of God's noblemen." He served in Worcester for five years with Father Boyce. During this time, he frequently officiated at St. John's Church in Clinton. During one year, he was here every second Sunday. Those who remember Father O'Reilly's work in Clinton speak of him with the deepest love and reverence. In 1862, he was called to Boston, where he organized St. Joseph's Parish. Two years later, he followed Father Boyce in Worcester.

Previous to 1870, there had been but one Catholic diocese in Massachusetts. Then the diocese of Springfield was created, and Rev. Patrick T. O'Reilly was made the first bishop. He was consecrated by Archbishop McCloskey on September 25th of that year. As St. John's Church in Clinton belonged to the diocese of Springfield under the new organization, the Catholics here again came under the spiritual guidance of their former priest. Of the work of Rt. Rev. P. T. O'Reilly, D. D., we are told: "Churches of great architectural beauty have arisen where humble structures once stood. Convent and school and orphanage and hospital and temple lifted their heads at his bidding, until from every vale and hill, gleams the sign of salvation. His was a busy life. Here and there about his diocese, he went, ordaining priests, administering confirmation, laying corner stones of church and chapel and school, counselling priests and people and kindling them with zeal and devotion, born of his own. During these visitations, he confirmed nearly eighty thousand persons and dedicated forty-five churches." He died May 28, 1892.

The first resident parish priest over St. John's in Clinton was Rev. John J. Connelly. He lived on Franklin Street. It is said that he had formerly been in Quebec, and that during the ravages of the ship fever in that city, he had stood by his post ministering to the suffering, while others had fled in fear of contagion. Father Patterson, who was acquainted with Father Connelly in Montreal, speaks of the excellence of his scholarship, and especially the purity of his French diction. When he came here, he was in poor health and soon became unable to perform the duties of the parish. He went from here to the Carney Hospital, where he died.

Father James Quinn assumed charge of the parish in 1863. He lived on Main Street opposite the foot of Winter. He also was a man of infirm health, and after five years of service was obliged to give up his parish. He never served elsewhere, but died after a short time.

He was succeeded in Clinton by Rev. Dennis A. O'Keefe in May, 1868. Dennis A. O'Keefe was born in the County of Cork, Ireland, in July, 1840. His father, Daniel O'Keefe, was a farmer. The family came to America in time of the great famine, having just money enough to yet them across the ocean. The children were educated in the Boston schools. Dennis A. O'Keefe studied at St. Charles's College, Ellicott City, Md., and at St. Mary's Seminary. He became a curate in Worcester under Father P. T. O'Reilly, and then took charge of a mission church in Whitinsville, Uxbridge. The church in Clinton had grown rapidly during the years that followed the war, and the old church was no longer large enough for the congregation. Father O'Keefe was laying plans for a new church, and one day as he was gathering funds he took a sudden cold, and after a brief illness he died October 19, 1868. Although Father O'Keefe had charge of St. John's parish but five months, yet he had won the highest respect of the whole community, and was regarded with the greatest love by his own people. The Courant says of his

funeral: "During the remarks of Father Bapst the emotions of the audience were uncontrollable. Men, women and children sobbed with grief." Thirty priests were present at the ceremony, and twenty-five hundred people followed the remains of their beloved pastor to the grave. Only the week before his death he had bought an addition of eighteen acres for the cemetery, and here his body was laid. A massive monument surmounted by a cross marks the spot.

For one year longer the people continued worship in the old church, but November 21, 1869, they occupied their new temporary church on Pleasant Street. In 1874, the old church, hallowed by so many memories, was demolished.

Here, just at the point where the phenomenal development of the Catholic Church in Clinton begins, our story must end. Thus far in this little consecrated building on the hill, with its humble congregation, we have had only the chrysalis of that which was to be. The future historian will have the privilege of showing how our Catholic Church burst from its narrow confines, and with new beauty and new strength brought spiritual food from heaven to earth. He will show how during the year after the coming of Rev. Richard J. Patterson from Pittsfield, in November, 1868, a new place of worship on Pleasant Street had been consecrated with accommodations many times as great as in the former building; how the people, still unsatisfied, on the 3d of August, 1875, laid the corner-stone of a new edifice of much greater proportions, and how, after eleven years of untold sacrifice for the cause which lay so near their hearts, this temple, massive in its structure and beautiful in its interior decorations, was dedicated June 27, 1886, to the worship of the Lord. Such a historian will dwell upon the establishment of the parochial school, the purchase of the new parochial residence with its choice location and ample grounds; he will give fitting praise to the executive ability of Father Patterson, by whom all this work was inspired and directed; he will trace the growth of organizations connected

with the church and its people; above all, he will show the people themselves, growing so wondrously in power and in wisdom. Yet, we may justly claim that the germs of all these things are to be found in the nature and consequent work of those early immigrants, and that it was only through their self-sacrifice for the good of their children that the present results were made possible.

If we were to treat of the individual members of the Catholic Church from the standpoint of their devotion to religious interests alone, we might find here as elsewhere the most saintly characteristics among those who have been most humble. Many of the women especially have excelled in piety and self-sacrifice, but as they did not do this for earthly fame, their story may be left to other records. Our history would be sadly incomplete, however, without some mention of individuals among those of Irish descent for, although few of them became prominent before 1865, which has been fixed upon as the close of our work, yet, since that time, their progress has been unsurpassed and we must seek in these earlier lives the roots of their present success.

While it would be impossible within the limits of this work to give any account of all the original immigrants of Irish birth who either in themselves or through their children have rendered notable service to the community and to the world at large, yet a few may be taken from many to illustrate their progressive characteristics. These few have been selected especially from those families of which members have held the most prominent offices in this town or elsewhere. All have been excluded whose families were not in town before the close of the Civil War.

One of the first of our citizens of Irish descent to hold local office was John Sheehan. He was the son of Joseph and Dora Sheehan, and was born in Ireland in 1825. He was educated in the national schools and worked on his father's farm. He came to America on account of the sad condition

of affairs in Ireland. In 1846, he came to this section of the country. He married Ellen Gallagher in 1852, and settled on the South Meadow Road just within the limits of Lancaster. He had four children. When they began to be large enough to attend school, he was anxious to have them attend those of Clinton. His residence required that they should attend in Lancaster. One day, one of his sons appeared in a Clinton school and was noticed by a member of the school board and told that he did not belong here, as his father lived in another town. He replied: "No, sir; he lives in Clinton." It was found upon inquiry that Mr. Sheehan had moved his house across the line in order that his children might have the privileges of our schools. Mr. Sheehan was a selectman of Clinton in 1876-7, and a road commissioner in 1879-82. He died January 8, 1887. One of his sons became a successful merchant in Philadelphia, and one of his daughters was for years a Clinton teacher.

Felix Nugent was born in Monaghan, County Ulster, Ireland, March 23, 1825. His father was a land steward. Besides looking after the farm, he had charge of a little grist-mill and prepared flax for linen manufacture. His uncle was pressed into the English army at the time of the Napoleonic wars. Most of the schools in Ulster were under Protestant control during his early childhood, and he was obliged to get his elementary education in night schools. After 1835, there were unsectarian national schools which gave good instruction, and the boy attended one of these. His father's cottage was made of stone, with thatched roof. It had an earthen floor; there was a loft that was used as a sleeping room. He worked with his father after leaving school, but, when his father died in 1844, he resolved to try his fortunes in a new country where men could hold property in their own right, uncursed by the landlord system. He first went to New York, then to West Boylston in 1845. In 1853, he came to Clinton and became a grocer, first in the building now known as the Kelly building on Church Street,

then in the Blood building, then he purchased the Kelly building and moved back there. He built the house which he still occupies on South Main Street. In later years, he has been a coal dealer. He was an assessor of the town for six years, and has been overseer of the poor. He was one of the organizers and chief workers in the St. John's Temperance Society. His sons are well known business men. One of them, William Nugent, has served the town as a member of the board of selectmen.

Patrick O'Connor was born in Ireland, June 17, 1822. His father, Thomas O'Connor, was a farmer. The boy spent his youth in his native land, and was educated in the common schools. He came to this country to better his condition. He located in Clintonville in April, 1848. He worked at the Clinton Foundry. He built a house on Summit Street. He married Mary O'Brien in June, 1855. The fact that strikes the observer most strongly in the life of Mr. O'Connor is the value he set on education. Although his income was by no means large, yet his children received the full benefit that the schools of the town could give them, and two were sent to college. His son, Dr. Thomas H. O'Connor, is one of our best known physicians, and has been a member of the board of selectmen, of the board of health, and of the board of library directors. He is medical examiner. Three of the daughters of Patrick O'Connor are teachers. He died May 26, 1891.

John J. McNamara, the father of our postmaster, was born in Mayo, County Connaught, Ireland, in 1815. His father, Timothy McNamara, was a farmer, and the son was brought up to work at his father's business. In the winter, he added to his income by fishing off the west coast of Ireland. He obtained a good general education and added some Latin to the common branches. In the time of the great famine, as the outlook for the future was very poor in Ireland, he determined to emigrate. In December, he set out from Liverpool in a sailing vessel loaded with railroad

iron. The ship was wrecked after a tempestuous voyage and driven upon the Island of St. Thomas, one of the West Indies. There, the vessel was refitted, and then the voyage was renewed. Fourteen weeks were spent between Liverpool and Boston. Mr. McNamara resided in Worcester and West Boylston for some time, and then came to Clintonville in 1849, to work in the Lancaster Mills. He was one of the original purchasers of land on the Acre from the Lancaster Mills Corporation. He built two houses on Oak Street. He had a family of nine children. There were five boys, all of whom survive. Mr. McNamara died July 29, 1889.

Martin Murphy, the present chairman of the board of selectmen, and Thomas Murphy, the chief of police, are children of Lawrence Murphy. The brothers, Lawrence and Martin Murphy, were born in Nut Grove, County Galway, Ireland, the former, October 1, 1822, the latter, November 10, 1824. Their father, Patrick Murphy, was a farmer, and the sons spent much of their childhood and youth at work with him. Lawrence Murphy came to Clintonville in 1847, and his brother came three years later. Both learned the trade of the stone mason, and either as employees of Edmund Harris or as independent contractors, have done a considerable portion of the stone-work of Clinton and the surrounding towns. Martin Murphy built the first house on Franklin Street in 1866, and Lawrence moved a house which he had bought to the same street in 1867. Both had large families. Lawrence Murphy died December 29, 1884. Martin Murphy is still living, in an honored old age.

Patrick Heagney, the father of William F. Heagney, so well known as a druggist and as a treasurer of the town, was the son of Thomas Heagney of County Galway, Ireland. He came to this country and to Clintonville in 1848, to join members of his family who had come hither before. He worked in the Lancaster Mills. He married Ellen Burke in May, 1856. He moved to Canada, and had a farm in Mel-bourne, P. Q., where he died July 18, 1880.



Michael Harrity, the father of the present town treasurer, was born in County Mayo, July 3, 1826. He was the son of Michael and Mary Harrity. He attended the village school and worked on the farm. He married Hannah Grady in 1844. He has two sons and three daughters now living. He came to Clintonville in 1847, and was a dyer in the Bigelow Carpet Company mills for thirty years. He built the house on South Main Street where he now lives.

Thomas A. McQuaid, who was partly of Scotch and partly of Irish descent, was born at Dundee, Scotland, May 29, 1844. His father, Patrick McQuaid, was for many years superintendent of the Stevens Linen Bleachery, Dudley, Mass. Thomas A. McQuaid and his younger brothers attended the public schools and the Nichols Academy, Dudley. He gave up his trade as machinist in 1864, and came to Clinton and opened a grocery store in Kendall's Block. Here, he remained until 1875. He was subsequently in the clothing business. He married Mary L. Carney, June 15, 1871. The family lived on School Street. He died November 3, 1881. Mr. McQuaid had a genius for political organization, and it was under his leadership that the Democratic Party of Clinton became the equal of the Republican Party in power. He was our first prominent town officer of Irish descent. He served on the board of selectmen, 1872-4, and was chief of fire engineers in 1880. His brothers, Samuel and John, who came to town later, were each prominent business men, and each served on the school committee. John McQuaid was also our postmaster.

William Roche was born at Cork, Ireland. He passed his childhood in his native land, and received a good elementary education there. He learned the trade of a mason. He lived at Utica, New York, in 1844. He came to Clintonville in 1848, to work at his trade on the new mill buildings. He was an expert mechanic. He lived on Main Street. He was a resident of Clinton for twelve years. He died in 1876. His sons attended the public schools, con-

tinuing their course into the High School. They have attained eminent success in business and professional life. Dr. Thomas F. Roche was for a time our town physician. John A. Roche, who was born at Utica, New York, August 12, 1844, has gained a national reputation. While in Clinton, in addition to attending school, he worked in the mills and the bakery. After leaving Clinton, he studied mechanical engineering at the Cooper Institute in New York City. He served an apprenticeship at the Allair works, New York. Later, he was with James R. Robinson of Boston; then in New York again, and with the Corliss Steam Engine Company, Providence. In 1867, he went to Chicago. He married Emma M. Howard of Clinton, in Chicago, June 22, 1871. He has been a merchant, manufacturer and real estate owner in that city. He is at present a manufacturer of machinery. He put into operation the Lake Street Elevated Railroad, and has been prominently connected with the development of the systems of sewers, water-works and the canal for Chicago. He is now building the Technical Institute in that city. He is a Republican in politics. He was a member of the Legislatue of Illinois from 1876 to 1878. He was mayor of Chicago from 1886 to 1888, as the representative of a great reform movement. The efficient manner in which he carried out the purpose for which he was elected gave him a national reputation.

The one man among our Clinton citizens who above all others has represented the progressive character of his race, is John William Corcoran.

James Corcoran was born in Athlone, County Roscommon, Ireland, in 1820. He received a good common school education. He came to Clintonville in 1846, about the same time that John Sheehan settled in Lancaster. These two men were very intimate friends. He worked for the Lancaster Mills for a little while, and was for years in charge of the cemetery. In his later life, he was a local ticket agent for the steamship lines between England and

America. He married Catherine Donnelly. He lived for a short time on Chace Street, next to the house of Edwin A. Harris. In his later years, he bought a plastered house, which is still standing, on the road leading from the Acre to Caleb Carruth's. He paid the mortgage on this house gradually, from a limited income. The education of his children he always looked upon as a prime necessity. He died February 27, 1872, and his wife followed him to the grave in November of the same year. His son says that nothing would have been further from his father's desire than to seek political office, for he hated the contention connected with it. His neighbors remember him as a sturdy man, full of rugged common sense.

John William Corcoran was born at Batavia, New York, June 14, 1853, while his father was temporarily engaged in railroad construction there. After a few months, his father returned to Clinton, and the boy passed his childhood and youth here. He attended the public schools, first in the old building on the Acre, then in the brick school-house above the Lancaster Mills' Bridge, then in the Grammar school-house on Walnut Street. He entered Holy Cross College February 17, 1868. He pursued his studies there and at St. John's, Fordham, and then at Holy Cross again. The death of his mother, quickly following that of his father in 1872, made him the head of the family and put an end to his classical studies. He received the degree of L. L. D. in 1893 from St. John's, Fordham, and a similar degree from Georgetown University in 1895. His responsibility for the younger members of the family which he assumed at so early an age, although fulfilled with the greatest carefulness and sympathy, did not hinder him from carrying out his plan of studying law. He read for a short time in the office of D. H. Bemis, Esq., who had a large practice here in the early seventies. He graduated from the Boston University Law School in 1875. He immediately opened an office in Clinton in the Burdett and Fiske Block. Here, he remained until

the building of the Bank Block, in 1881. He opened an office in Boston in 1889. He was very successful in his practice in Clinton, and has attained the same success on a larger scale in Boston.

He married Margaret J. McDonald of Boston, April 28, 1881. In 1884-5, he built his residence on Cedar Street, on a site commanding a beautiful view of the upper valley of the Nashua. Soon after he settled in practice here, he became the recognized leader of the Democratic party in Clinton. In 1876, he was elected a member of the school committee, an office which he has continued to hold since that time. He has received for this office the votes of many of the Republicans, who have recognized his broad-mindedness and the inspiring power of his example upon the younger generation. He has been chairman of the board since 1884. He was made town solicitor in 1883, and held the office, with the exception of one year, until he resigned in 1892. He was influential in the movement which led to the introduction of water into Clinton. He especially advocated that the system should furnish an immediate supply for domestic purposes. He has been water commissioner since the organization of the board in 1881, serving at first as secretary and treasurer, and as chairman, since the death of Jonas E. Howe.

He was appointed receiver of the Lancaster National Bank, January 20, 1886, and through his able management the depositors were paid one hundred and nine cents on the dollar with its accrued interest, and the stockholders received a larger amount than was expected. He was president of the local board of trade in 1886-7. He has been twice nominated as representative to the lower house of the General Court, and twice as state senator. His political influence soon began to reach far outside of local bounds. He received the nomination of his party as attorney general in 1886, and again in 1887. For four years, 1888, '89, '90 and '91, he was candidate for the office of lieutenant-governor. He was

appointed judge advocate general in 1891 and in 1892. In May of the latter year, he resigned to accept the position of associate justice in the Superior Court. His work as a judge won the highest encomiums from his associates, and his retirement from the bench November 22, 1893, was universally regretted. But he found his law practice more lucrative and more adapted to his energetic nature. In 1893, he was president of the Massachusetts board of managers of the World's Columbian Exposition.

In 1884 and 1888, he was sent as a delegate to the Democratic National Convention from the Ninth Congressional District. In the latter year, he was chairman. In 1892 and 1896, he was delegate at large, and in the latter year, he again acted as chairman. He was a member of the Democratic State Committee in 1891, 2, 4, 5, 6, and during the last three years under Cleveland's administration, much of the Federal patronage passed through his hands, as chairman. He is a vice-president of the Young Men's Democratic Club of Massachusetts. He has been for years one of the foremost speakers in the political campaigns of the state. The votes which he has received and the offices which he has held are sufficient proof of the high regard in which he is held by his party and the people of the state at large. His genial social nature has always won him many friends, even among those who were his political opponents. He is a member of the Algonquin and Papyrus Clubs, and is the president of the Clover Club.

All analysis and eulogy must be left for the future historian, but the mere record of facts already given shows him to be our best known citizen and the one who has received the highest honors.

CHAPTER XXXII.

VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS.

TRINITY LODGE of Free and Accepted Masons* was organized under a charter dated January 30. 1778.† This

* For the facts herein recorded we are indebted to "History of Old Trinity Lodge of Lancaster, Mass.," by Jonathan Smith, and to a chapter on Masonic History, written by the same author for the "History of Worcester County."

†[L. S.] JOS: WEBB G. M.
MOSES DESHON D. G. M.

To all to whom JOSEPH WEBB ESQ Grand Master, of Antient Free & Accep. duty authorized, & Appointed, in Ample form Installed, together with his Grand Wardens, Sendeth GREETING:

WHEREAS a Petition has been presented to us by Michael Newell, Edmund Heard, James Wilder, Jonas Prescott, & Richard Perkins Brethren, All Antient, Free & Accepted Masons, resident in LANCASTER, in the County of Worcester, in Massachusetts STATE, in New England, Praying, that they, with such others as may think proper to join them, may be erected, and constituted, a regular Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, under the name, Title & designation, of the TRINITY LODGE, with full power, to enter apprentices, pass Fellow Crafts, and raise MASTER MASONS, which Petition, appearing to us as tending to the advancement of Antient MASONRY, and the general good of the Craft, have unanimously agreed, the Prayer thereof should be granted.

KNOW YE, therefore, that we, the Grand Master, & Warden, by virtue of the power and authority aforesaid, & reposing special Trust & Confidence in the prudence, fidelity & Skill in Masonry, of our Beloved Brethren above named: Have constituted, appointed, and by these Presents, Do constitute & appoint them the said Michael Newell, Edmund Heard, James Wilder, Jonas Prescott, & Richard Perkins Brethren.

the fifth charter granted by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts.

Michael Newhall, whose name appears first on the charter, was doubtless foremost in starting the order in Lancaster.

a regular Lodge, of Free & accepted Masons, under the name, Title & designation of Trinity Lodge:—

Hereby giving and granting, unto them, & their Successors, full power and authority, to meet & convene as Masons, within the Town of Lancaster, aforesaid; to receive & Enter Apprentices, pass Fellow Crafts, & raise Master Masons, upon the payment of such moderate composition for the same, as may hereafter be determined by said LODGE; also to make choice of a Master, Wardens & other Office Bearers annually or otherwise as they shall see Cause; To receive & collect Funds, for the relief of Poor & decay'd Brethren, their widows or Children, & in general to transact, all matters relating to MASONRY, which may to them appear to be for the benefit of the Craft, According to the Antient Usages & Customs of MASONS; And we do hereby require, the said constituted Brethren, to attend at the GRAND LODGE or Quarterly Communications, by themselves, or their PROXIES (w^{ch} are their Master and Wardens for the time being), and also to keep a fair and regular record of all their Proceedings, & to lay the same before the GRAND LODGE when required.

And we do hereby enjoin upon our said Brethren, to behave themselves respectfully & obediently to their superiors in office and not to desert their said LODGE without the leave of their Master & Wardens;— And we do declare the Precedence of the said Lodge, in the GRAND LODGE & elsewhere, to commence from the date of these presents, & require all Antient Masons, Especially of those holding of this Grand Lodge, to acknowledge & receive them & their Successors, as Regular Constituted FREE & ACCEPTED MASONS, and treat them accordingly.

GIVEN, under our hands & the seal of the GRAND LODGE affixed, at BOSTON, New England, this Thirtieth day of Jan^y in the year of our Lord 1778, and of Masonry 5778.

THOMAS URANN G S^d
WINTHROP GRAY G. T.
JOHN SYMMES G. S. B.

THOMAS CRAFTS S. G. D.
EDWARD PROCTER J. G. D.
SAMUEL BARRETT S. G. W.
PAUL REVERE J. G. W.

Received Nine pounds for the fees of this Charter.

JOHN LOWELL G. T.

Received one P^d ten shillings for drawing this Charter & record of the same.

JAMES CARTER G. Sec^y P. T.

Jonas Prescott* is the only one of the charter members who had his home in this community. March 5, 1779, thirty-nine men had become members; in 1783, as many as seventy. At first, the jurisdiction of the Lodge was very extensive, but the formation of new lodges in Worcester, Framingham, Ashby and Groton reduced it nearly to its present territory. It is not known where the meetings were held during the first year, but by the beginning of the second, a hall had been fitted up in a building which stood where Daniel M. Howard's residence now stands. From 1796 to 1799, the Lodge probably had its hall in a house on Main Street in North Lancaster. This house is now owned by William Powers. Quarters were afterwards occupied successively in the Merrick Rice house, in the Lancaster House, and over John G. Thurston's store. These early halls were furnished much more simply than those of today. Until September, 1787, the meetings were held on the first Monday of each month, from four to eight o'clock P. M. Then, meetings were held on the first Tuesday of alternate months, beginning at six P. M., until February, 1790, then, every month from six to ten until 1792, and then, the hour was again set at four P. M.

Of these meetings, Mr. Jonathan Smith says: "Among Masons it needs no vivid imagination to picture the character or the delights of those gatherings among men bound together by masonic ties and imbued with the fraternal and social principles of the order. Coming from their scattered and isolated homes, from the hard toil of their farms and shops, they found that satisfaction and pleasure which men craving close and friendly intercourse with each other could easily find within the charmed circle of brethren bound to one another by the fraternal chords of the mystic tie."

There was a special observation of the festival of St. John the Evangelist in December, and also of the feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24th. The latter was public, and an appro-

* See further account of his life by aid of index.

priate sermon was given by some clergyman. The Masons of these earlier times looked upon Washington with the deepest reverence, and his death was the occasion of an impressive memorial service, February 22, 1800. In addition to Jonas Prescott, there were four other men from this section who were members of the Lodge. These were John Prescott, 5th, Benjamin Gould, John Hunt and Thomas W. Lyon. Elisha Wilder may also have been a resident of the community east of the river at the time of his membership. Levi Greene became a member of this old lodge in the last years of its existence. The masters were as follows: Michael Newhall, 1778; Edmund Heard, 1779-83, 1789-92 and part of '93; Timothy Whiting, Jr., 1784, '85, '87, part of '93, '94 and '97; Ephraim Carter, 1786; Abijah Wyman, 1788; John Maynard, 1795, '96, 1801; Abraham Haskell, 1798; Moses Thomas, 1799; Amos Johnson, 1800; Joel Pratt, Luke Bigelow, John G. Thurston and Calvin Carter subsequently held this office.

No records of the old Trinity Lodge were kept after 1800, and therefore we know little of its history from this time.

The "Morgan" trouble created less excitement in this region than in some other sections of the country, yet it caused the society to become unpopular, and after 1832, no more meetings were held. Mr. Smith says: "Though as an organization it had come to an end, the principles of masonry which it taught, had not suffered. These never decay nor become obsolete, their meaning never changes, their influence, when practiced, never ceases to impress and enoble the character. Their foundation is truth; they enjoin the cultivation of friendship, brotherly love, morality, and universal benevolence; their result, when incorporated into life and conduct, the perfect man."

At a meeting held at Harris Hall, over C. W. Field's tenement, September 8, 1858, the first formal steps were taken for reviving the old lodge or establishing a new one. Henry Bowman, Alfred A. Burditt and George L. Thurston were leaders in this movement. Since it was found to be the

opinion of the secretary of the Grand Lodge that old Trinity Lodge could not be revived, it was voted at a meeting held one week later, to ask for a dispensation for a new lodge in Clinton, to be called Trinity Lodge. This dispensation was received and accepted September 29, 1858. E. Dana Bancroft of Ayer was chosen Worthy Master. The charter was dated September 8, 1859, and received September 21st. The charter members were Henry Bowman, Alfred A. Burditt, Daniel Marsh, George L. Thurston, Charles W. Odiome, Luke Bigelow, Levi Greene, Josiah H. Vose and Henry Eddy. The first list of officers under this charter were as follows: Henry Bowman, W. M.; Alfred A. Burditt, S. W.; George L. Thurston, J. W.; Josiah H. Vose, Treas.; Henry Eddy, Secy.; Samuel T. Bigelow, S. D.; Daniel Marsh, J. D.; John T. Buzzell, S. S.; Amos A. Pevey, J. S.; Gilman M. Palmer, Marshal; Levi Greene, Tyler.

Harris Hall was leased and continued to be the meeting place of the order until April 6, 1869. The masters of the lodge who have come within the scope of our history have been: E. Dana Bancroft, 1858-9, under dispensation; Henry Bowman, 1859-60; Alfred A. Burditt, 1860-61-62, 1863-64, 1873-74; Josiah H. Vose, 1862-63; Levi Greene, 1864-65-66; Daniel Marsh, 1866-67; George W. Burdett, 1867-68; Henry N. Bigelow, 1868-69; Charles W. Ware, 1869-70; Charles F. Greene, 1870-71 (died in office); Daniel B. Ingalls, part of 1871, 1872-73.

The Lancaster Lodge, No. 89, I. O. O. F., was instituted August 29, 1845. The charter members were John B. Atkinson, John M. Pratt, William A. Tower, Calvin Maynard, Steven H. Turner, Lory F. Bancroft, Elisha Turner, George Fred Chandler, Horatio N. Sweet, J. C. Parsons, A. L. Sawyer and Daniel Haverty. No one took a deeper interest in the new organization than J. B. Atkinson, our Clintonville tailor. Hon. Charles G. Stevens and Dr. George M. Morse were members of this early society. The first list of officers

was as follows: John B. Atkinson, N. G.; John M. Pratt, V. G.; W. A. Tower, Secy.; Calvin Holman, Treas.; Elijah Sawyer, Warden; G. W. Howe, Conductor; A. L. Sawyer, O. G.; J. C. Parsons, I. G.; S. H. Turner, R. S. N. G.; L. F. Bancroft, L. S. N. G.; G. F. Chandler, R. S. V. G.; Elisha Turner, L. S. V. G.; Horatio N. Sweet, R. S. S.; J. S. Carr, L. S. S.

The first year, the meetings were held in a hall connected with the hotel in North Lancaster. September 2, 1846, Nashua Hall in South Lancaster was dedicated. The Lodge was financially prosperous and prompt in paying its sick and funeral benefits. The spirit of charity which prevailed in the order often found occasion for expression.

On October 15, 1851, the Lodge having abandoned Nashua Hall, held its first meeting in Harris Hall, Clinton. Regular meetings were held here during the next year; but in October, 1852, it was found desirable to surrender the charter. The final meeting was held in Nashua Hall, October 16th. The Lancaster Lodge was not reinstituted until October 4, 1871.

In the early years of our community the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage was well nigh universal. It was as customary for the farmers and millwrights to lay in their regular stock of cider, as it was to secure the winter's supply of vegetables and meats. New England or West India rum was as common an article of merchandise as molasses. Intemperance found many victims on account of this indulgence. Even before the Washingtonian Movement began, there were a few earnest temperance men in District No. 10 who recognized the need of reform. In the early thirties, the first recorded temperance society of Factory Village was organized by a body of young men who felt that association would make it easier for them to resist the drinking habit. Eben Howard was the president of this society. E. K. Gibbs was next in office. James Pitts and Robert Phelps were among the members. Most of the original sign-

ers of this pledge worked at the comb shop of Asahel Harris. For a time this society held meetings in the school-house of District No. 10, but finally was forced by the "rum men" to seek other quarters, and after a short time regular meetings were given up.

The Clintonville Mechanics' Total Abstinence Society was more permanent in its organization and broader in its purposes. It first came into existence about 1844, but as its records have been lost, and there was no local paper at the time to report its doings, the history of the earlier meetings has not been preserved. In 1846, it was a vigorous society with a large membership and great influence. The following pléde was taken by all who joined the organization: "We, the undersigned, do agree that we will not use distilled spirits or intoxicating liquors, such as ale, porter, strong beer and cider as a beverage, nor traffic in them; that we will not provide them as an article of entertainment or for persons in our employment, and that in all suitable ways we will discountenance their use throughout the community."

At the annual meeting held January 5, 1847, the following list of officers was elected: President, Dr. G. W. Symonds; vice-presidents, Samuel Belyea, E. K. Gibbs; secretary and treasurer, I. H. Marshall; executive committee, Alvan Hall, J. B. Parker, Camden Maynard, Sidney Harris, J. D. Otterson, Charles Ryder, Levi Greene; circulation committee, R. W. Holbrook, W. W. Parker, J. H. Stone, J. N. Johnson, Charles Chace. The meetings were at this time held in the chapel.

At a very enthusiastic meeting, January 25, 1850, the ladies were asked to organize for temperance work, and a committee of ten was appointed "to remove the nuisance at Sandy Pond." Ezra Sawyer, H. N. Bigelow, Samuel Langmaid, J. D. Otterson, Haskell McCollum, J. R. Stewart, J. B. Parker, Camden Maynard, Samuel Belyea and Sidney Harris were the members. Sidney Harris was the leading spirit in this total abstinence society, as well as in the later organizations for the same purpose. In the March town meeting of this

year, the temperance party re-elected the board of selectmen who sought the overthrow of the liquor traffic in Lancaster. There were occasional meetings throughout the year, with addresses from outside talent.

Although the Courant claimed that the society had kept the community free from the grog-shop during the year, yet only eight out of three hundred and thirty-three members attended the annual meeting in January, 1848. During that year, there was a reaction from the enthusiasm of 1847. In 1849 and 1850, George N. Bigelow was president of the society, and there was greater activity and more effective work. Among others, Gilbert Greene, James Field, William N. Peirce, John Lowe, Jr., A. L. Fuller, J. W. Willard, James Kittredge, Nathan Burdett, Jr., and J. H. Vose were officers of this organization.

The Clinton Division, No. 67, of the Sons of Temperance was instituted May 22, 1850. The preamble to the constitution states that the society is formed "to shield us from the evils of intemperance, afford mutual assistance in case of sickness, and elevate our characters as men." The pledge says: "No brother shall make, buy, sell or use as a beverage any spirituous or malt liquors, wine or cider." Among the "Worthy Patriarchs" of the order were W. P. Holder, Nelson Whitcomb, L. Bruce, Sanborn Worthen, J. C. Smith, Darius Tucker, W. N. Peirce, C. C. Stone, J. N. Johnson, Charles Ryan, J. R. Stewart, David H. Fanning, A. L. Fuller, E. B. Kittredge, Dr. G. W. Burdett, Sidney Harris, J. H. Wilder, Rev. George Bowler, H. B. Howe, G. M. Lowrie, G. H. Foster, G. S. Thomson, Rev. T. W. Lewis, Rev. W. D. Hitchcock, Rev. A. F. Bailey, Ephraim Hunt. Among the other names that appear in the list of members are: Dr. Jeremiah Fiske, Samuel Beaven, C. H. Bridge, William Goodale, Charles Holman, Joseph T. Sawyer, E. K. Gibbs, Nathan Burdett, Nathan Burdett, Jr., H. C. Greeley, O. H. Kendall, F. T. Holder, G. E. Harrington, Jonathan Groby, Amos Stearns and Amos E. Stearns. The last name was entered June 9,

1856, but this date does not mark the end of the society, for it continued a feeble existence for some months longer. The best work was done previous to 1854. The meetings were held in the hall over C. W. Field's tenement. Sidney Harris is said to have built this hall for the use of this society. There was a division in Sterling at the same time that this was in existence, and many visits were paid between the two.

The children were gathered in a "Band of Hope," and were educated to carry on the temperance work.

The Everett Lodge, No. 31, Independent Order of Good Templars, was not organized until February 13, 1865. There were one hundred and seventy-five initiations the first evening. The long-continued work of this society lies after the period covered by this history.

While the Bigelow Library Association and the Courant were the two chief local educational institutions outside of the schools and the pulpit, yet there were many minor institutions whose work tended in the same direction. The Young Men's Rhetorical Society was among the most important of these. In 1855-6, it assumed the task of sustaining a course of lectures after the Library Association had given it up in discouragement. This society gave opportunity for drill in debate and for dramatic culture. Among the prominent members were Henry Bowman, George W. Weeks, Daniel B. Ingalls, John H. Ring and Josiah H. Vose. There were other debating societies, both in earlier and in later years. There were also numerous literary and social clubs.

There were many opportunities for musical culture in the community during the period of development, and musical enthusiasm and ability were never more marked in Clinton than during the fifties. The church choirs, which we have already considered to some extent, were the center of musical education. There were also general singing schools like those of Osgood Colleston, David Chase, Alexander Stocking

and L. B. Tinkham. Those of Collester, held in Clinton Hall, were especially noteworthy. In addition to the concerts given by these schools our people had many opportunities to attend those given by outside talent. The Hutchinson Family and Barnabee were very popular.

The Brass Band was another center of musical interest. It was organized under the leadership of David Chase, the photographer, who came hither from Grafton. Among the members were H. T. Goodale, S. S. Welch, G. S. Nicholas, Abel Halliday, Monroe Halliday, C. H. White, A. J. Gibson, T. Thomson (not the present leader of the band), J. N. Johnson, Dr. Jeremiah Fiske and D. A. White. The first public appearance was at the Methodist Levee which preceded the dedication of the new church in December, 1852. They gave a concert in February, 1853, at Clinton Hall. In the numerous celebrations of this and the following years, the band took a conspicuous part. Changes in population caused this band to break up after about three years. In 1856, three of its members, David Chase, Abram J. Gibson and Daniel A. White were in the famous Fiske Band of Worcester, led by Arbuckle. About 1858, the Clinton Brass Band started up once more, this time under the leadership of D. A. White. It participated in some of the stirring scenes in the opening year of the Civil War, but disbanded in 1861 on account of the enlistment of some of its members. David Chase and D. A. White were in the band of the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts, led by Gilmore. In 1865, the Clinton Brass Band was organized once more, under the leadership of D. A. White.

As early as 1851 there was some talk of forming a military company in Clinton. Companies had been formed in many of the neighboring towns, and the military spirit was abroad in the land. Although our young men were eager that something should be done in this direction, no decided action was taken until the spring of 1853. On May 12th of this year, Colonel Upton of the Ninth Regiment of the State

Militia, organized a company of fifty men here. This company was known as the Clinton Light Guard. Gilman M. Palmer was made captain, and Andrew L. Fuller, Henry Butterfield, Henry Eddy and A. E. Smith, lieutenants. The Clinton House Hall was used as an armory. William Warren of Lancaster drilled the company three evenings per week. Uniforms were at once procured, and on July 4th, came the first parade. In September, the Light Guard attended its first muster in Springfield, and on the 19th of October, took a leading part in the great Clinton "Cornwallis," which its officers had been chiefly instrumental in preparing. In January, 1854, a grand military ball was given. Thus, the company during the first year of its existence was a center around which gathered the spirit of display and the social enthusiasm of the young community.

Gilman M. Palmer having become lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Regiment in the spring of 1855, Andrew L. Fuller was made captain of the Light Guard and Henry Butterfield, Henry Eddy, Albert A. Jerauld and Christopher C. Stone, lieutenants. During this year, the armory was moved to the basement of the Bigelow Library Association building, which had been fitted up for that special purpose. The services of the company cost the town between four and five hundred dollars annually, besides the rent of the armory, or a total of about six hundred dollars. September 4, 1855, the Ninth Regiment had a drill in Clinton.

The interest in the company began to decline somewhat after the first newness wore away, but it still continued in existence and performed its routine duties. In 1857, Henry Butterfield was promoted to the rank of captain, while Albert A. Jerauld, Christopher C. Stone, Leonard Carter and James N. Johnson were promoted to that of lieutenants in the order given. In 1858, the officers were as follows: Captain, Christopher C. Stone; lieutenants, James N. Johnson, L. G. Morse, Leonard Carter, J. D. Brigham. C. C. Stone became major of the regiment July 5, 1860. As the time of

the Civil War approached, there was renewed interest in the Light Guard, and its later history belongs with the records of that struggle.

The celebration of July 4, 1853, was a notable event. There was a morning parade by the Light Guard and a large company of "Continental's." The latter were led by Jeremiah Barnard. These companies had a dinner with speeches at the Clinton House. There was a grand Sunday School gathering of seven hundred children on the grounds of H. N. Bigelow. A. S. Carleton was marshal. There were fireworks in the evening on Burditt Hill.

This year did not close without still another celebration more notable yet. This celebration, like that of July 4th, may have had its origin in the Light Guard, or rather in the same spirit which caused the organization of that company. On the 19th of October, a Cornwallis was held in Clinton. The Light Guard, marching to the music of the Cornet Band from Worcester, and the Continentals, under Captain Jeremiah Barnard, preceded by the Clinton Brass Band, were on duty from an early hour receiving the visiting companies as they arrived at the station and escorting them to their assigned positions. Artillery companies came from Groton and Leominster, the Rifles from Marlboro, while Westminster, Berlin, Sterling, Oakdale and West Boylston sent their infantry. Barnard's Continentals were reënforced by companies from Lancaster, Harvard, Shirley, Leominster, Bolton, Marlboro, Rockbottom and Westminster. A company of Indians from Berlin was the most unique organization present. Sewall Richardson of Leominster, in the character of General Washington, commanded the Continentals. Colonel Upton of Fitchburg, as General Cornwallis, led the militia companies which, with the Indians, represented the British army. "There was marching and countermarching with colors flying and drums beating," and then both forces had a parade on the open field to the east of the common. There, at noon, all of the fifteen hundred, except their officers and



assertion of unity, and it may justly be claimed, that the services of its citizens, in maintaining the Union, were given by the town as a whole. Our purpose then in presenting the history of Clinton in the Civil War is to show the community in its corporate capacity, through various organizations, military and civil, and, especially, through the individual deeds of its citizens, acting as an organic unit, for the salvation of the country.

A knowledge of the general outline of national history must be taken for granted, and Clinton must be considered as one of ten thousand strands in the cable that held our Union together. This strand was often hidden by others, but, at times, it came to the surface.

It was perhaps a matter of accident, rather than an outgrowth of an extreme anti-slavery sentiment that Clinton furnished two men for the struggle for Kansas, and one for John Brown's raid. Henry C. Latham, who had left his position as station agent in Clinton, June 28, 1855, was murdered in Kansas in December, 1857. Charles Plummer Tidd was a native of Palermo, Maine. He moved to Massachusetts in 1856. Although other members of his family settled in Clinton, he could not have stopped here long as he joined Dr. Cutler's party of emigrants for Kansas. In 1857, we find his name in the letters of John Brown, by whom he was sent as a trusted agent for securing funds. A price was set on his head, yet he stood by his leader at Osawatomie and assisted him in getting slaves from Missouri to Canada. In the plan of John Brown for his foray into Virginia, Tidd is mentioned as one of the six captains, who were to be placed over the companies of recruits whom they hoped to gather from the slaves and from northern sympathizers. October 16, 1859, when Brown led his eighteen followers to Harper's Ferry, Tidd and Cook were at the head of the line. After the place was taken, Tidd, as his most trusted officer, was put on duty at the school-house about a mile from Harper's

Ferry to receive recruits and supplies. Thus, he was not present when his leader was captured, and he escaped.

In February, Tidd was in Clinton with his sisters. At first, it may be, he lived under the assumed name of Plummer, but soon, openly. His friends were not slow to give him "a generous and healthy grip," notwithstanding the "danger of being summoned to Washington by the investigating committee" as "accessories after the fact."

We find him mustered in the Twenty-first Regiment as sergeant, August 23, 1861, as from Wisconsin, under the name of Charles Plummer. He died on the steamer *Northerner*, February 7, 1862, and was buried in North Carolina.

As we turn from this episode to the political history of the town, we find that during the summer, even after the nomination of the presidential candidates, the people were spoken of as in a state of political "apathy." But in the autumn, when the election was close at hand, the town was seething with excitement. The interest centered chiefly on the congressional election. The outcome of this campaign proved that Clinton was the banner town of the district in her opposition to Eli Thayer, the representative of Squatter Sovereignty. The study of the vote at the presidential election and of the discussions that preceded it, shows that Clinton was in sympathy with anti-slavery ideas, and overwhelmingly in favor of the maintenance of the Union and independence of southern control.

The Republican Party of the town had inherited its sentiments, as well as the larger portion of its voters, from the old Whig Party. It is peculiarly noticeable, in contrast with the record of some other towns, that scarcely one of our volunteers has given his feeling toward slavery as a cause for enlistment, while almost all assert that they enlisted to help save the Union. Thus, while Clinton felt as every town in the North must have done, the mighty moral upheaval in the anti-slavery movement, it cannot be claimed that it was one of the centres of this upheaval. The town

has always been rather conservative in ideas, but progressive in action. It has produced few theorists, but many workers.

During the winter which followed the election of Lincoln, the same intensity of feeling prevailed in Clinton which characterized the rest of the country. If we had listened to the talk of the men as they gathered at the noon hour in the mills or in the evening on the street or in the grocery, we should have found that secession and what would come of it was the chief topic of conversation. The local paper, which in former years had been somewhat inclined to shun politics, was now crowded with editorials, contributions and selected articles on the one all-engrossing theme. Ministers preached upon it, and school-boys discussed it with equal zeal. Few believed that the people of the South would act as they had talked. In one thing, almost all were agreed, the Union must be preserved at all hazards.

The eagerness to be ready for action, which we have already noted as the most marked characteristic of Clinton, centered about the Light Guard, or Company C, Ninth Regiment. This local militia company was re-organized August 19, 1860, with Henry Bowman as captain. Many of the foremost young men in town served among its officers or in its ranks. By the 1st of February, while Buchanan was still in office, the company voted "to hold itself in readiness for all demands that might be made upon it by the government." Captain Bowman reported to Governor Andrew, that the company was "not only ready, but anxious to enter the service." It was not the fault of the Light Guard that Clinton men were not the first in the field. The men little knew the nature of the conflict upon which they were about to enter, but, even if they had, their enthusiasm would not have been diminished. For the greater the danger that threatened the country, the stronger would have been their desire to serve it.

The town in its corporate capacity was no whit behind its

individual citizens and its militia company in readiness for practical action. At the regular town meeting of March 4, 1861, it was voted: "That one thousand dollars be appropriated for the benefit of the Clinton Light Guard, to be placed in the hands of the selectmen, and to be paid out upon order of the officers of the Guards. Said money to be for the express purpose of purchasing a new uniform for the Guards." By this vote, Clinton, according to the report of the adjutant-general, was the first town in Massachusetts to appropriate money in anticipation of a call for troops. The town may well glory in the fact that it was the foremost town in the foremost state to take financial measures to support the government. As it afterwards appeared that the town had no authority to make such an appropriation under the powers delegated by the state, special action of the legislature was invoked, and the following act was passed April 2d:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows: The town of Clinton, in the county of Worcester, is hereby authorized to appropriate the sum of one thousand dollars for the purpose of purchasing a suitable uniform for the members of Company C, Ninth Regiment of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia; provided, however, that at a public town meeting, legally held for that purpose, two-thirds of the voters of said town present and voting thereon, shall vote to make such an appropriation."

At a meeting, held April 23d, the sum of one thousand dollars for uniforms was appropriated in accordance with this act.

On the 13thth of April, news of the fall of Sumter was received. So intense was the feeling that prevailed in the community that business practically ceased. Then came Lincoln's call for seventy-five thousand men, and five Massachusetts regiments were hurried forward. Still the Ninth Regiment, to which the Light Guard belonged, was not called

out. The lieutenant-colonel, Gilman M. Palmer, and the major, Christopher C. Stone, both displayed that eagerness for immediate action which characterized the town to which they belonged, and urged that the regiment should go at once to the front, but as some of the companies of the Ninth Regiment were not full, it had to wait behind, while the whole regiments went on. On the 19th, came the news that the Massachusetts Sixth was fighting its way through Baltimore. While the hearts of all were still burning, on the 21st, a dispatch was received from Governor Andrew ordering the Light Guard to be ready to go forward at twenty-four hours' notice. In the *Courant* of April 27th, the following article appeared in the editorial columns:

"Last Sunday was a day that will be remembered by us and our children. At noon, Captain Bowman of the Clinton Light Guard, received word that in all probability his company would be called out within forty-eight hours. Notices had been read in the churches in the morning, requesting our women to assemble at the vestry of the Baptist Church, on Monday morning, to make the flannel shirts for the soldiers; but neither our wives, daughters, or those who have neither father, mother nor kindred residing in town, thought it prudent to wait until Monday morning, and within one hour and a half the vestry was filled and crowded with workers, so that many resorted to the vestry of the Orthodox Church. Every yard of suitable flannel in town was soon cut and a messenger despatched to Worcester for more."

The church services in the afternoon were thinly attended as nearly all felt that there were other duties of greater importance. Subscription papers for revolvers were circulated and met ready response. Men were despatched to Worcester for these revolvers, who returned about midnight bringing seventy-five with them. Perhaps, that Sunday afternoon was the one time during the whole struggle, when the people were all swept away with the greatest enthusiasm. No one

knew what war meant; its dread realities had not yet frozen the souls of men or crushed the hearts of women. On later occasions, many of the most patriotic young men were in the field and many sad and anxious faces might have been seen among the men and women who remained at home, but then the zeal of all knew no bounds. All were blindly hopeful and eager to do their utmost for their imperilled country.

On Monday morning, the citizens held a meeting in the Clinton House Hall. H. N. Bigelow was chosen chairman and H. C. Greeley, secretary. Speeches boiling over with patriotism were made by the chairman, Rev. J. M. Heard, Rev. C. M. Bowers, Rev. W. W. Winchester, C. H. Waters and others. A subscription of two thousand dollars was raised for the good of the Light Guard. The physicians, through Dr. G. M. Morse, agreed that during the absence of the soldiers, their families should be attended free of charge.

At a town meeting, held on Tuesday, the 23d, in addition to the appropriation for uniforms already mentioned, the following resolution presented by J. T. Dame, Esq., was unanimously adopted: "Whereas, the Clinton Light Guard, most of whose members are citizens of Clinton, are awaiting orders to march to the defence of the national government, and, during the contest now begun, others of our citizens may be called into the service of their country, the families of all of whom should be under our care and protection during the absence of their natural protectors; therefore resolved, that the selectmen be requested to furnish any assistance that may be needed by the families of those who shall be called from this town into actual service, and for this purpose to draw orders upon the town treasurer from time to time, to any amount not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars."

No orders came for the company during the week and, on the following Sunday, union services were held in the Congregationalist Church. "The house was packed and the services throughout were very impressive." Rev. C. M.

Bowers presented each member of the Guard with a pocket Testament, purchased by private subscription.

With hearts sick on account of hope deferred and with the fear, which seems so strange to us now, that the conflict might be over while they were staying ingloriously at home, the members of the Light Guard waited two long, weary months before the final summons came. Meanwhile, fifteen of their fellow-citizens were mustered into service. One of these enlisted for three months in the Third Battalion of Riflemen. This was James McNulty, who was mustered May 19, 1861. He may therefore be considered as the first citizen of Clinton to actually enter the service of the United States, although many others had sought this privilege in vain for a long time before. The fourteen others enlisted for three years.

May 1, 1861, some of the women, "that they might work for the soldiers to better advantage," organized themselves into a society for this purpose. The opening clause of the constitution reads as follows: "Whereas, the present condition of our country requires all who have enjoyed the blessings of its government to unite in contributing to its support and defence, the undersigned agree to form an association for the purpose of rendering such assistance as lies in our power towards furnishing clothing and other means of health and comfort to the soldiers, called into service." * * * The society held regular meetings and employed their time at first in making havelocks. Afterwards, cloth slippers were prepared for the soldiers, and mittens, with one finger separate from the rest for convenience in handling rifles.

At last, the suspense of the Light Guard was brought to an end; the company was ordered to report at Worcester on the 28th of June. On the evening of the 27th, a meeting of the company was held and the men were addressed by their former commanders, Colonel Palmer and Major Stone, who, although hindered by circumstances from accompanying their fellow-citizens to the seat of war, promised to do their

utmost for the good of those in the field and those whom the soldiers left behind them. The final departure is thus described in the *Courant* of June 29th:

"The departure of the Clinton Light Guard for Camp Scott, was unquestionably one of the grandest, and at the same time, peculiarly, one of the most touching, incidents that ever transpired in Clinton. At about half-past eleven, the citizens began to gather in the street opposite the armory (Clinton Hall), and in the space of an hour, the way was completely thronged with people, all eagerly but patiently awaiting the appearance of the soldiery. At a quarter to one o'clock, under escort of the Clinton Cornet Band and a procession of citizens, the Guards proceeded from the armory, followed by the cheering multitude, and mid the booming of cannon marched to the time of a lively tune to the station. The company was then drawn up in line upon the platform to await the arrival of the train and to bid adieu to their friends. It is hard to part with friends, especially friends whom we love—harder still when we may never see them again. And, as it is somewhat uncertain whether they will return before proceeding to the seat of war, the parting was indeed very affecting. As friend after friend gave and received the affectionate shake of the hand or the farewell kiss, tears gathered in the eyes of those to whom weeping was a thing before unknown. But the train soon arrived, and with cheers, music and cannon they left us—all to return again, we trust."

The town, at a meeting held on July 9th, the earliest date possible after the summons came, took the families of the soldiers under its charge by the following action: "Voted, that the selectmen be authorized and instructed, if in their discretion it is necessary, to apply to the aid of the wife and of the children under sixteen years, of any one of our inhabitants who, as a member of the volunteer militia of this state, may have been mustered into or enlisted in the service of the United States, and for each parent, brother or sister or

child, who at the time of his enlistment was dependant upon such inhabitant for support, a sum not exceeding one dollar per week for the wife, and one dollar per week for each child or parent of such inhabitant, who at the time of his being called into the service of these United States was dependant upon him for support; provided, that the whole sum so applied shall not exceed twelve dollars per month for all the persons so dependant upon any such inhabitant.

"Voted, that the selectmen be requested to furnish any further assistance that may be needed by the families of those inhabitants of Clinton who, as members of the Clinton Light Guard, shall be mustered into the service of the United States, and that, for this purpose, they are authorized and instructed to draw orders upon the town treasury from time to time to an amount not exceeding two thousand dollars.

"Voted, that the town treasurer be authorized to borrow a sum not exceeding five thousand dollars to carry into effect the above votes."

On the 12th of July, the Light Guard ceased to exist as such, and was mustered into the service of the United States as Company C, Fifteenth Regiment.* This regiment was recruited from Worcester County, and bore the same number as the county regiment so noted in the Revolution. The other companies of the regiment came from Leominster, Fitchburg, Worcester, Oxford, Brookfield, Grafton, Webster, Northbridge and Blackstone. The regiment was placed under the command of Col. Charles Devens of Worcester, formerly major of Third Battalion of Rifles. George H. Ward of Worcester was made lieutenant-colonel, and John W. Kimball of Fitchburg, major. William G. Waters of Clinton was commissary sergeant. The remaining men of Company C, in addition to the sixty-three from Clinton, were for the most part recruited from Northboro, Lancaster

*For list of Clinton men in the Fifteenth, see Individual Record.

and Worcester. There were three other Clinton men in the regiment. The average age of the Clinton men was about twenty-five years. Most of them were unmarried. They were not men of property. Andrew L. Fuller was the only one among them who paid a tax of forty dollars for 1861. Most of them, however, were employed in lucrative trades and received much better incomes than they could expect to get from military service. It is evident that, in general, they entered the army from patriotic motives and, in the Grand Army Memorial Record, we have the assertion to that effect of all who are now living in Clinton.

During the six weeks they spent in Camp Scott, Company C, under the strict discipline of Captain Bowman, acquired a high reputation for skill in military tactics. In morality, they were surpassed by none. William J. Coulter, upon whose correspondence we shall largely rely for information of the company during the next year, writing to the *Courant* on July 17th, says: "Not one member of the company has been confined in the guard-house." The boys frequently received delicacies from their friends at home, which added relish to their coarse, but plentiful rations.

The uniforms and equipments were slow in arriving, and were not all distributed until the company had been more than a month in camp. A flag was presented to the regiment by the ladies of Worcester, on August 7th. As Company C was the color company of the regiment, the men of this company had the honor of carrying this flag, and one of its members said: "It is their firm purpose, if called upon to defend the flag that floats over them, to do it to the death." Willis A. Cook was color sergeant. At last, on the 8th of August, the regiment left Worcester for the front. The *Worcester Spy* says: "The long array of muskets borne by a thousand stalwart men presented a novel spectacle to the multitudes who thronged the sidewalks and filled almost every window and balcony on the street." The train of twenty-four long cars left the Common amid the parting

cheers of the vast throng that had gathered to bid them farewell.

While the Fifteenth was encamped in Worcester, the disastrous battle of Bull Run had been fought on the 21st of July, in answer to the importunate demand of the North for action. The defeat of the Union troops under McDowell, had taught the people of the loyal states, what the leaders of the army had before fully realized, that thorough discipline and organization were essential to success. On the day after that battle, George B. McClellan had been summoned from the scene of his successes in western Virginia to take command of the Army of the Potomac. When the Fifteenth was ordered forward, McClellan was devoting all his energies to changing a loose mass of raw recruits into an effective army. We must think of the Fifteenth, like all the other troops in the Army of the Potomac, as undergoing during the next six months such discipline as seemed to the commanders best fitted for making it a part of a smoothly-working machine.

The regiment was at first stationed at Camp Kalorama, which was some three miles from Washington. In about two weeks it was ordered to Poolesville, Maryland, to join General Charles Stone's "Corps of Observation." The march of thirty-five miles was made in two days and a half. The heat was intense and, as the men were unused to marching, they had a hard time of it. On the 29th of August, two days after their arrival, Company C, with Company A of Leominster, was ordered on picket duty on the banks of the Potomac, a few miles below Harper's Ferry. They were thus engaged for ten days. Although there was some firing across the river, no one was injured. Oftentimes, conversation was carried on with the rebels, and once tobacco and papers were exchanged. Company C obtained a "contraband," "a right smart nigger," who having escaped from his master, was taken in charge by the company. He was nicknamed

Tom Clinton, and made lots of fun. He was afterwards brought to Clinton and attended school here.

In the middle of September, the morning report shows that fifteen members of the company were sick. Every Sunday, religious services were held. Chaplain Scanlon had for his platform a flat box with a red cloth thrown over it. His pulpit was a drum fastened to a stack of muskets. On his right hand, floated the flag of the regiment, and on his left, the banner of the state.

As the regiment had received no pay for services since the date of muster, the question most frequently heard in the camp, was, "When are we going to be paid off?" After long waiting, the paymaster came around, and each private received twenty dollars. One-half of this was sent home in charge of Lieutenant Andrew L. Fuller, who had resigned his commission October 7th on account of ill health. One of the men wrote home in September: "We find it rather dull here, and it is the earnest wish of the regiment that some forward movement may soon be made, as it is very desirable to have this 'little quarrel' closed up as soon as possible." This wish for action was to be gratified far too soon.

October 20th, a general reconnoissance was made by the order of General McClellan. Thinking that this reconnoissance and the movement of General McCall, by which it was covered, might lead the enemy to abandon Leesburg, McClellan ordered General Stone "to keep a good lookout" and possibly make "a slight demonstration" upon that place. Company H of the Fifteenth, had sometime before taken possession of Harrison Island, which lay in the middle of the Potomac at a little distance above Edwards' Ferry. Four other companies of the Fifteenth, A, C, G and I, crossed to this island on the afternoon of Sunday, October 20th. Even at this time, there was trouble about the transportation, on account of the lack of suitable boats. During the evening, a reconnoissance was made by a squad of Com-

pany H, who brought back the report that it had found a small encampment of the enemy about a mile from Leesburg. The five companies on the island were ordered to cross, to break up this encampment, and take observations. So poor were the means of transportation, three row-boats, one capable of carrying not more than forty men and the other two, four each, that it took from midnight until day-break to get three hundred men across.

After climbing up a bluff "as steep as Lover's Leap above the Dark Road," through the woods, a little opening was reached. Company H was sent forward as a skirmish line during the forenoon, and met a small detachment of the enemy. Firing ensued, and two men of Company H were killed and thirteen wounded. The other companies were not in this engagement, as they were held in reserve or were skirmishing in other directions. The men of Company C were standing in pale suspense, expecting that it would be their turn next, when the first wounded man was brought to the rear. It was a ghastly sight, but one of the fellows in nervous excitement cried out in the slang phrase of the day: "Oh, Lord! but I have seen whole families taken that way," and a laugh all along the line broke the suspense of the men.

The enemy were reënforced during the forenoon, so that, since his troops were greatly outnumbered, Colonel Devens retired to the bluff near the river. Meanwhile, Lieutenant-Colonel Ward had led over the rest of the Fifteenth Regiment, and Colonel Lee had come with a portion of the Twentieth as a supporting force. Later in the morning, General Stone had given the command to Colonel Baker, leaving it to his discretion whether he should withdraw the troops already across the river, or reënforce them there. He decided to do the latter, and managed to get over about a thousand men of his brigade, making about eighteen hundred troops in all. The rebels had gathered a greatly superior force.

In the early afternoon, the Fifteenth was on the right, in

the edge of the woods. Two mounted howitzers and one piece of the New York Battery, together with the Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts Regiments occupied the centre, just at the back of the small open space, and the California regiment, with a portion of the New York Tammany, were on the left. The enemy in greatly superior numbers were in front and on both flanks; the river was in the rear. The position was a most perilous one, for while the rebels might hope for constant accessions to their numbers, the Union troops, on account of the scanty means of ferriage, could neither hope for any considerable reinforcements or for safe retreat.

The enemy drove in the skirmish lines from the right, left and centre, all at once, but the main attack was directed against the centre. The howitzers could not be used to advantage, as it was sure death to approach them, but the field-piece at first proved more effective. The struggle was kept up fiercely for twenty minutes, and many fell, among them Colonel Baker. Then the enemy retired for a little while. As Company C was near the howitzers it suffered severely in the attack, yet the right wing stood firm. Colonel Baker told Colonel Devens before he died: "If I had two regiments more like the Fifteenth, I would advance to Leesburg."

The Fifteenth was now ordered to move from the right to the front. Colonel Devens says: "The battle was hopelessly lost before Colonel Baker was killed, yet the cool manner in which the regiment, half an hour later, marched from the right of the line to protect the left, would have won for it a historic name if it had been done on one of the battle-fields of Europe." As the battle began again, one of the rebel leaders rode from the woods and shouted, "Come on, boys; we have them now." Just as these words left his lips, he fell dead. But the rebels came on with irresistible force. Parke Godwin said: "The Fifteenth Massachusetts, penned in between a crib of fire, yet were as solid as a mass of granite when they were as free to move as the winds that blew

over them." The Fifteenth stood the charge nobly and was the last to retreat. The rebels sang out: "Give it to them d——d regulars!" but the lines remained unbroken. Not a man left his position until the orders for retiring had been given. Then, down the steep hill they went in the midst of a storm of leaden rain. Notwithstanding this disaster, the colors of the regiment were saved. Joshua Freeman acted as color-sergeant on that day, and through his efforts they were carried across the river.

Just as the retreating troops reached the bank, a company of the Tammany Regiment arrived to reënforce them. The Courant correspondent writes: "As they left the boat, the wounded near by who were able, commenced to get into it, as also did those who were anxious to save their lives. The boat was overloaded and down it went with nearly a hundred persons on board, about thirty of whom were drowned. But a few moments before, I had stood on the battle-ground and witnessed a score or more brave men fall by the bullet, but I was not so much affected as when I saw that boat go down with its living freight."

Meanwhile, the bullets of the enemy were pouring on the men and Colonel Devens ordered each one to save himself as best he could. Some hid in the thick woods along the river bank, but all who could swim and dared trust themselves to the stream, threw away their guns, stripped off their clothing and, while the bullets struck around them "like hail-stones," struggled to cross to the island. Some succeeded, but many sank to rise no more, while others, finding that their strength was all too small for the effort, returned to the place from which they started. About dark, some of the men sent Willis A. Cook with a flag of truce to the rebels. They agreed to stop firing, if the Union troops left on the bank would lay down their arms and surrender. As there was no alternative, they were obliged to accept these conditions. Some of those, who reached the island, crossed that night to the mainland, but most, though they

had little or no clothing, remained there until morning. From the exposure suffered here, many contracted diseases, which never left them. Two surgeons had crossed to the island and they cared for the wounded as best they could where so little shelter and light could be found.

Colonel Devens reported three hundred and ten killed, wounded and missing, out of the six hundred and twenty-five men of the Fifteenth, who took part in the fight. The morning report of Company C, October 21st, shows that there were fifteen officers and sixty-two privates present for duty. As First-lieutenant Fuller had resigned and Second-lieutenant Johnson was ill, Captain Bowman was the only commissioned officer in the company who took part in the battle. Forty-three Clinton men were on the field. Of these, John Kirchner and William Walker, both natives of Germany, were supposed to have perished in trying to cross the river, as they were seen upon the bank after the battle. It was thought that a body discovered some months after, belonged to one of these men. These were the first Clinton men who perished in the war. J. D. Brigham, B. M. Daboll, D. O. Wallace, A. D. Wright and Frank Graichen were wounded. Fourteen Clinton men were taken prisoners: Captain Bowman, Sergeants Alden Fuller, W. A. Cook and H. A. Putnam; Corporals J. D. Brigham, J. A. Bonney and D. O. Wallace; Privates R. K. Cooper, J. P. Chenery, H. O. Edgerly, Henry Greenwood, J. O. Howard, A. S. Jaquith and John Smith.

These prisoners were taken to Richmond and suffered severely from the hardships of the journey. They were without food from Sunday noon until Tuesday. They had little clothing and the weather became very cold. Many date chronic diseases from these exposures. They were packed into cattle cars so closely, that if they lay down one could not turn unless all the rest did. Ten of them were confined in Mayo's Tobacco House and the others in a neighboring building. The Richmond Examiner says of the pris-

oners from the Fifteenth Massachusetts: "They are the most cleanly, decent and orderly of all that have been brought here." The story of these prisoners is best told in the words of Henry Greenwood, one of their number:

"RICHMOND, VA., November 13, 1861.

*"Friend Ballard: * * ** We are stationed in one of the large tobacco warehouses. This building was used exclusively for the manufacture of 'navy tobacco' for the United States Government, before the present war broke out. The building is three stories high, with a basement. We are confined in the upper story, which is occupied by members of the Fifteenth, and the lower story is occupied by the Twentieth Massachusetts Regiment. ** * ** We arise at daylight, and after washing, we read the Testament, the morning papers,—which we can get as long as our money holds out,—and such other reading as may come to hand. At ten o'clock, we have our breakfast brought to us, which consists of half a pound of wheat bread, with the same amount of fresh beef. After breakfast, we pass the day as best we can. We have our supper brought to us about six in the evening, which consists of the same amount of wheat bread, with soup instead of meat. After supper, we take about two hours' exercise, until bed-time, or rather *board* time, as we have not been supplied with bed-ticks as yet. Towards morning, we have to build up a fire to keep those warm who have no blankets, three-fourths of the prisoners being so situated. If our friends could send us some blankets, shoes, and such wearing apparel as we shall need, we will be quite comfortable. The most of us have no clothes but what we had on at the time of the fight. Our shoes and stocking are worn out, and the rest of our clothing is fast leaving us.

"We are very strongly guarded. The building is entirely surrounded by a chain of sentinels, who, if we are imprudent enough to put our heads out of the window too far, remind us of our presumption by sending their compliments in the

shape of a bullet. There has been one shot fired into this building and two into the other building, which is near ours, in which Chenery is confined."

Those of the Fifteenth Regiment, who returned to camp, were daunted neither by their sufferings nor their losses. The night after the battle, the regiment was called out to meet an expected attack of the enemy. As the arms and equipments were insufficient to go round, each member of Company C strove to be the first to be ready to get in line, lest he might lose his chance for the fight. The first parade after the Ball's Bluff disaster was held on the 28th of October. The men were formed in a hollow square and Colonel Devens addressed them. "Soldiers of Massachusetts," he said, "men of Worcester County, with these fearful gaps in your lines, with the recollection of Monday fresh upon your thoughts, with the knowledge of the bereaved and soul-stricken ones at home, weeping for those whom they will see no more on earth, with that hospital before your eyes, filled with wounded and maimed comrades, I ask you now whether you are ready again to meet the traitorous foe? * * * Would you go next week? Would you go tomorrow? Would you go now?" "Yes!" came the thrilling response from every man in the line.

At home, as soon as the news of the battle was reported, the most intense excitement prevailed. White lips asked: "What of my husband?" "Have you heard anything of my boy?" In many cases, long days passed before any answer came, except that he was among the missing. Every means was used to secure information and relieve the suffering. Lieutenant Fuller, who had just returned on account of ill health, hastened back with all the speed he could, laden with great cases of clothing and hospital stores which loving hands had provided. J. H. Vose accompanied him, in behalf of the town committee, with instructions to find out the needs of the members of Company C and supply them.

The statement made by J. H. Vose in the *Courant* of November 2nd, shows that no tidings of the missing men had yet been received. All that the wives and mothers knew was that their loved ones had been in the battle and had not been heard from since.

The call made by Mr. Vose and Colonel Devens for supplies, helped to ease the agony of waiting by furnishing work that might be of use. The *Courant* of November 9th, says: "We learn that the committee sent a box to our boys on Tuesday last, containing a full supply of undershirts, drawers, soft leather gloves, and a general assortment of stationery. A large supply of pamphlets and magazines were also sent, and sundry packages from relatives of the members of our company, the Light Guard." Blankets were also sent in great numbers.

It was the middle of the month before definite information came in regard to the prisoners, and then the women, inspired by hope, worked harder than ever to provide for the needs of those confined in Richmond. Early in December, Chaplain Scanlon visited Clinton. He gave an address in Clinton Hall, and eloquently told the story of Ball's Bluff. Four recruits were sent from Clinton to Company C during December to help fill up the depleted ranks.

The Fifteenth passed the winter quietly in camp. Although the men suffered somewhat from exposure, yet they were in a fair degree of health. The absence of Captain Bowman caused a serious relaxation of discipline at first, and the men who had sometimes complained of his strictness longed to be under his command once more. Finally, Richard Derby of Boston, an excellent officer, was put in command of the company. During the long winter, the men found camp life "dull," "wearisome," "monotonous," "an eternal grind."

Meanwhile the prisoners passed life in a reasonable degree of comfort in Richmond. Captain Bowman, with several other commissioned officers, was kept in close con-

finement in retaliation for treatment of Confederate privates, but though "treated the same as persons charged with crime," they did not suffer seriously. J. P. Chenery, John Smith and H. O. Edgerly were carried to Salisbury, N. C., on December 21st, where they had to undergo more hardships than those who were left behind in Richmond. As the prison surgeon at Richmond was in need of help, Sergt. W. A. Cook was detailed at the request of Union officers to aid in caring for the sick among the prisoners. Those confined in Richmond were paroled during the last of February and reached Clinton March 1st. A great crowd welcomed them at the depot, and a reception was tendered them March 7th. A sword was presented to Captain Bowman, and Franklin Forbes spoke as follows:

"Captain Bowman and Soldiers of Company C:

"In the name of the citizens of Clinton, I bid you welcome home! After the tedious preparation of the camp, after dangerous experience on the fields of battle, after irksome captivity in the prisons of insolent rebels—welcome, thrice welcome home! When, last July, you marched at your country's call, the citizens of Clinton adopted you as the representatives of their feelings and principles. After these eight months of trial, during which our anxious eyes have watched your every motion and vicissitude, we welcome you back as men who have honored their constituency. Your good behavior in the exercises of the camp culminated in the glorious discipline and courage displayed at Ball's Bluff. Whatever may have been the purpose or issue of that awful fight, the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, and with it you, Captain Bowman and soldiers of Company C, Clinton's representatives, have gained immortal honor. That record is already in your country's history, and whatever may have been your sufferings, mental and corporeal, in the prisons of your enemies, the sympathies, praises and prayers of every Clinton true heart were

for you. Again I say, welcome home! Welcome as soldiers and sufferers in the cause of freedom, as supporters and defenders of the constitution and laws of our country, as foes of rebellion, secession and slavery, as friends of 'Liberty and Union, one and inseparable, now and forever.'"

Captain Bowman was not exchanged until August 2nd, '62, and never rejoined his regiment. The Salisbury prisoners were released May 22nd.

The enlistments were not confined to the Fifteenth and the other regiments thus far mentioned, but were kept up with varying degrees of enthusiasm during the summer and autumn of 1861. Sometimes, these enlistments were the result of organized effort, sometimes they came from individual inclinations. Race associations often caused men to enlist in particular companies and regiments.

Four men of German race enlisted individually between July 18th and September 4th in the Twentieth Regiment. This was done so quietly that the local paper took no notice of it at the time. The regiment started from its camp at Readville, September 4th. It was assigned to General Stone's Corps of Observation, and took a conspicuous part, as we have already noted, in the battle of Ball's Bluff. We have no reason to suppose that either of the Clinton men suffered in this engagement. Like the Fifteenth, the Twentieth remained in camp near Edward's Ferry during the winter. Five others enlisted in Henry Wilson's famous regiment, the Twenty-second. On October 8th, this regiment went to Washington amid a constant series of ovations inspired by the fame of its commander. It went into camp at Hall's Hill in the division under Fitz John Porter.

Before the spring campaign opened, there was a thorough reorganization of the Virginia army. The Fifteenth was assigned to General Gorman's Brigade. This was the First Brigade of Sedgwick's Division of the Second Army Corps,

which was commanded by General Sumner. In the same division, in the Third Brigade, were the Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts Regiments, in which six Clinton men had enlisted. The two men of the Nineteenth had been mustered in January, 1862. In the Third Corps, under General Heintzelman, were the Twenty-second, Ninth and Eleventh Regiments, in which twelve other Clinton men had enlisted. In the Fourth Corps, under General Keyes, in General Couch's Division, was the Seventh with its two Clinton men. Thus ninety men from the town had enlisted up to this time in the regiments which constituted General McClellan's army, seventy of these being in the Fifteenth and twenty in other regiments. Probably there were not more than fifty of these on actual duty at any one time during the spring.

In March, Gorman's Brigade moved westward toward Winchester, and the Fifteenth was engaged in a skirmish with the rebels at Berryville. On the 29th, we find the regiment at Alexandria, ready to embark with the rest of McClellan's grand army for the Peninsular campaign. It is not necessary to enter into the details of this campaign. The Clinton men in the army took part in the siege of Yorktown, May 1-3. Those in Sedgwick's division were sent to the support of Franklin in his flank movement on West Point, where the Union troops were held in check by an attack made by the rebels on the 7th of May. In the latter part of the month, they were again with the main body of McClellan's army in the pestilential swamps of the Chickahominy. At Fair Oaks, they helped repulse the attack of Johnston. During the battle, the Fifteenth, with four other regiments, was ordered to charge on the enemy. General Walker says: "Our men at first advanced firing, but they gathered inspiration as they went, and when within fifty yards of the position where the foe still sullenly held the ground outside the woods, they broke into a cheer. A sharp clatter along the line told that the bayonets were

fixed, and the five regiments in one long line sprang forward." Here, Alexander Lyle was wounded. General Gorman, writing of this contest to Governor Andrew, said: "Now that the smoke of the battle-field has cleared away, I cannot forbear taking the opportunity to testify to the gallant, soldierly conduct of the Fifteenth Regiment of your troops in our late contest,—the bloodiest in the war. It was their fortune to be participants in a real, not imaginary, bayonet charge, made upon the most intrepid and daring of the rebel forces, at a critical moment for our cause. Most nobly and gallantly did they honor themselves and their gallant state." One of the Clinton boys wrote home: "The night after the battle, the regiment rested on their arms in the woods where the rebel dead and wounded were lying."

During the month of June, our Clinton men breathed the miasma of the river bottoms, while McClellan was waiting for more troops and trying to make up his mind what to do next. From here, one of our Clinton men wrote that he had climbed a tree and seen the city of Richmond less than ten miles away. They were, alas, destined to come no nearer to the object of their longing for many weary months! They joined that most "masterly" retrograde movement, when the union of Jackson with Lee forced McClellan to change his base to the James. In this movement, they fought at Gaines' Mill on the 27th, when the Ninth and Twenty-second were with Porter in his desperate struggle with Jackson. They fought at Savage Station June 29th, where Magruder found "No thoroughfare written in letters of fire at every point of brave Sumner's line." They were in the struggle at Glendale, June 30th, where the Nineteenth and Twentieth Massachusetts won the greatest glory, and they were at the final victory of Malvern Hill, July 1st, by which the security of McClellan's new position was assured. Here, Charles Duncan of the Ninth fell, the first of Clinton heroes known to have been killed on the battle-field. While at Harrison

Landing, William Diersch of the Twentieth was accidentally killed on July 4th. They lingered near the James for five weeks, until the defeat of the Union armies under Pope recalled McClellan, and then with sad hearts they followed their leader to the defense of Washington.

During all of the Peninsular Campaign, not one Clinton man in the Fifteenth was killed or seriously wounded, notwithstanding the valor they had displayed on many hard-fought fields and the considerable losses experienced by the regiment as a whole. Many of them, however, were on the sick list, and the hard work done in fortifying and in repairing roads, the foul water, the exposure and the air of the swamps, rendered more deadly by decomposing bodies, were more destructive than the shot of the enemy. Many contracted diseases from which they never recovered, and two, Francis E. Smith and Sergeant Edward W. Benson, passed away before the summer was over. The former died July 23d at the hospital on David's Island, New York. The latter died August 3d, while at home on a furlough, from a relapse of fever. Meanwhile, others had been discharged or were missing, so that of the sixty-six who had started out from Worcester the year before, fifteen were gone from the regiment never to return, four having been removed by death, five discharged for disability incurred in the service. Of the others, two had resigned, one had been transferred, one was discharged with the band, and two were missing. Some others were on detached service, partly on account of disability. Most of those who had been prisoners did not rejoin the regiment until after the battle of Antietam, as they were paroled, but not exchanged. In August, seven more recruits were received, who were mustered in on the 12th.* These, with the four recruits of December, '61, give eleven recruits as a set-off to the fifteen lost, leaving a remainder of sixty-two out of the total of seventy-seven enlisted, who were still members of the regiment.

* See Individual Record.

Out of the twenty who had enlisted in the other regiments attached to the Army of the Potomac, only six remained. This gives a possible total of sixty-eight Clinton men still in McClellan's army when it returned from the Peninsular Campaign, with probably less than forty on actual duty.

Although General McClellan brought from the Peninsula a sadly diminished army, yet it was an army of far greater effective force than it was when he had taken command of it a year before. The loose aggregation of troops under his admirable system of discipline and through hard experience had become one of the most perfect armies the world has ever seen. Our Clinton men, who had endured the service up to this time, must henceforth be looked upon as hardened veterans.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CLINTON MEN IN NORTH CAROLINA, AND THE VOLUNTEER RECORD.

THE Twenty-first Regiment received a large number of recruits from Clinton.* Many of these were of Irish birth. The enlistments, though numerous, do not seem to have been the result of any organized effort on the part of the people of the town. The only mention given to the subject in the Courant is a list of the officers of the regiment. As will be seen by consulting the individual record, there were eighteen Clinton men in the regiment, mostly in companies B and E. The average age of the men was about twenty-three, or two years less than that of the men in the Fifteenth. The muster was somewhat informally conducted at the Agricultural Fair Grounds at Worcester, from August 16th to 23d, 1861, and more formally repeated in Maryland on the 17th of September following. The colonel of the regiment was Augustus Morse; the lieutenant-colonel, Albert C. Maggi; the major, William S. Clark.

Without delaying in Worcester, the Twenty-first set out for the seat of war on the 23d of August. It was in camp at Annapolis and Annapolis Junction for four months. During this time, nothing of any great importance occurred to break the regular routine of camp life. In December, it was assigned to General Reno's Brigade.

The Twenty-fifth received a larger number of recruits

* See Individual Record.

from Clinton than any other regiment, except the Fifteenth. The total number was thirty-nine, although there were only twenty-nine at first. During the last of August, Louis Wageley of Worcester, met the Germans of Clinton in an open field back of the school-house near the Lancaster Mills Bridge. He told them of his plan of organizing a company of Germans to join the Twenty-fifth Regiment. He persuaded twenty-three men, nearly all of them operatives in Lancaster Mills, to serve under him.* The other members of Company G, of which Louis Wageley was captain, were mostly from Worcester. The average age of the Clinton men, which was over thirty-one, is especially noticeable as compared with that of the men who enlisted in the Fifteenth and Twenty-first. The other six men were in Companies A, C and E and in the band.

The Twenty-fifth was mustered in at Camp Lincoln, on the Agricultural Fair Grounds in Worcester, during the month of October. Edwin Upton of Fitchburg, was made colonel; Augustus B. R. Sprague, lieutenant-colonel, and Matthew J. McCafferty, major. The regiment was fortunately supplied at once with Enfield rifles. On the 29th of October, Colonel Upton was ordered to report to General A. E. Burnside at Annapolis, Maryland. The following day, Governor Andrew reviewed the regiment. The battle of Ball's Bluff was then present in every mind, and the Governor charged the Twenty-fifth to take righteous vengeance for the Massachusetts blood that had been shed in that unequal contest. On the 31st, after a farewell of more than usual sadness, since those left behind could now realize, as they could not have done before Ball's Bluff, the dangers to which their loved ones would be exposed, they started for Annapolis. When they arrived, they went into quarters at Camp Hicks, near the city. In December, the regiment was organized in a brigade under General John S. Foster, with

* See Individual Record.

the Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth and Twenty-seventh Massachusetts Volunteers and the Tenth Connecticut Volunteers. The Twenty-third contained three Clinton men, all in Company H. This regiment was organized at Lynnfield, and on the 16th of November went into camp on the outskirts of Annapolis. The Twenty-fourth had one Clinton man. Abraham Childs of the Twenty-seventh, re-enlisted as from Clinton.

General Foster's Brigade was made the First Brigade of the Coast Division; General Reno's Brigade, containing the Twenty-first Massachusetts, the Second, and General Parke's, the Third. Thus, the division contained fifty-one Clinton men. This Coast Division under General Burnside had the following work marked out for it during the winter and spring of 1862: Capture Roanoke Island and all the posts north of it; capture Newbern and the railroad going through it as far west as Goldsborough; reduce Fort Macon and open Port Beaufort; seize Raleigh, and destroy the Wilmington & Weldon Railroad.

The regiments embarked January 6th, but lay at anchor in the harbor until the 9th. The fleet was perhaps the largest that has ever been gathered in American waters, and must have formed a most imposing spectacle as it moved from the harbor. The Twenty-first, under Lieutenant-colonel Maggi, as Colonel Morse remained at Annapolis, was on the transport *Northerner*, and the Twenty-fifth on the *New York*. As it was desirable that the points to be attacked should not be known to the rebels, lest they should be reënforced, the destination of the fleet was kept secret until it was well under way. Passing by Fortress Munroe and skirting along the shores of Virginia and North Carolina, the fleet rounded Cape Hatteras in a strong wind on the 12th. Hatteras Inlet, which had been taken by a Union expedition under Commodore Stringham some months before, is a small opening into the sea from Pamlico Sound.

It was at this time passable only under favorable circumstances. Here, in the midst of terrible storms, causing severe sea sickness and constant danger of shipwreck, the larger transports lingered for two weeks. The water gave out, the food became unfit to eat. Altogether, the troops had a most miserable time. At last, on the 26th, the Northerner got through, and on the 31st, the New York passed into the open water of the Sound.

It was the 5th of February before the fleet advanced to the attack of the rebel fortifications on Roanoke Island. "Eighty vessels started up Pamlico Sound with every flag flying, moving in precise order and with well-dressed lines." It was at this time that Sergt. Charles Plummer Tidd died. He had just been selected to take command of a band of sixty scouts. "Every man of the sixty was a good shot, fearless and strong, and Tidd the strongest and bravest of them all." On the 7th, Fort Barton, a rude fortification, was silenced by the gunboats. Then, the troops landed just at night, struggling through the deep water and mud to the shore. The next day, an advance was made, the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts taking the lead. The central redoubt of the enemy was reached and an engagement took place at a distance of about two hundred yards, which lasted for three hours. When the ammunition was exhausted, the regiment was commanded to withdraw and did so in good order. Later in the day, this regiment stayed a panic by its steadiness, when the New York Zouaves by mistake fired upon a Connecticut regiment. Three Clinton men of the Twenty-fifth were wounded during the day: Christian Lindhardt, in the hand; Ferdinand Schwam, in the hand; George Vetter, in the arm and breast.

At last, General Reno advanced with the Second Brigade with the Twenty-first Massachusetts in the front. When the enemy had been driven in and they were near the redoubt, Reno ordered a bayonet charge. "The Twenty-first Regiment now came rapidly into line of battle and started for

the battery with a shout of exultation. The rebel garrison and reserves firing one more volley, turned and fled before our strong, unwavering line, and we poured into the battery, captured the rebel flag and planted our state colors on the parapet." Thus the key to the enemy's position was seized, and the island was surrendered with all the rebels who had failed to escape in the boats. Some two thousand six hundred and seventy-seven prisoners were taken. The rebel flags captured were ordered by the Massachusetts House of Representatives to "be displayed during the present session in the hall of the House as memorials of the heroic valor and energy of the men of the Twenty-first, Twenty-third, Twenty-fourth, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-seventh Regiments. The Speaker of the House said of the Twenty-first: "Led in their impetuous charge by a soldier of Garibaldi, they had plucked one of these trophies of victory from the very crest of battle." Patrick J. Dickson was the only Clinton man of the Twenty-first wounded in the engagement. Lieutenant-colonel Maggi resigned soon after this battle, and Major Clark took command of the Twenty-first. The Twenty-third Regiment took part in the battle of Roanoke Island, but with no casualties, as far as is known, to the Clinton men. The Twenty-fourth was not engaged until the very end of the conflict.

On the 12th of March, the fleet moved once more and entered the Neuse River on its way to Newbern. On the 13th, in the midst of a heavy rain, the Twenty-fifth landed. The men marched forward and passed the night, having come within range of the enemy's guns, lying on the ground, while the rain fell incessantly. The attack on the outworks began on the 14th. The First Brigade made the attack on the left of the enemy, where the fort and batteries were, while the Second and Third Brigades were to turn their right wing. The Twenty-fifth was exposed to a severe fire for some time, as the men fought on the edge of the wood before the fortifications of the enemy, where the main body of the

enemy was massed, but as they heard a cheer given by the advancing forces on the left, they became uncontrollable and, as Colonel Upton said: "The Twenty-fifth Massachusetts sent up a hideous yell and sprang forward." The enemy were panic stricken, although outnumbering their assailants, and, without waiting to meet them, fled. The Twenty-fifth pursued and captured some two hundred prisoners. Meanwhile, on the left, the Twenty-first was severely engaged, and, as General Burnside reported, "from its exposed position and the daring of its officers and men, suffered the greatest loss." Four companies of this regiment charged on a battery of flying artillery and took the first gun from the enemy. Patrick J. Dickson was again wounded. The Twenty-third was not severely engaged at Newbern, but the Twenty-fourth lost heavily. There were no casualties among Clinton men. The rebels left Newbern and our troops entered the city. General Burnside said of his troops in this battle: "After a tedious march, dragging their howitzers by hand through swamps and thickets, after a sleepless night passed in a drenching rain, they met the enemy in his chosen position, found him protected by strong earth-works, mounting many and heavy guns, and in an open field themselves, they conquered. With such soldiers, advance is victory."

On the 17th of April, five regiments, among them the Twenty-first Massachusetts, under General Reno set out to make a demonstration on Camden. The Twenty-first landed at Elizabeth City at seven o'clock in the morning on the 19th and marched in an intense heat through deep mud to South Mills, a distance of some seventeen miles, reaching there about noon. The men were then sent round a considerable distance through underbrush to flank the line of the rebel fortifications, and there they fought a brisk battle, lasting until nearly night, and drove the rebels from the works. Having accomplished the object of the expedition they returned the seventeen miles to their boats, reaching them at five the next

morning. A march of thirty-four miles and a sharp battle in twenty-two hours is a remarkable record. Thus ended the important work of the Twenty-first in North Carolina, as it was ordered to Virginia in the summer. Notwithstanding its difficult work, it carried back with it the seventeen or eighteen Clinton men with whom it had sailed from Annapolis in January.

General Foster was made military governor of Newbern. Company G of the Twenty-fifth, being especially musical, took a prominent part in the many entertainments the boys gave in the city, and, on the whole, led a happy and easy life. The men were not free from disease, however. On July 9th, George Vetter died in Newbern, the first Clinton man lost from this regiment. August 6th, John Gordon of Company E was discharged for disability, to die at home on the 6th of the next month. Two other Clinton men were discharged for disability. Meanwhile, the regiment had received nine Clinton recruits. One more was added in August. This gives a total of thirty-five in the regiment at the close of the summer. Of the three in the Twenty-third Regiment, Jonathan Sawyer was discharged May 9th, and died at home May 29th. One was discharged in August for disability, leaving only one at Newbern. There was also one Clinton man in the Twenty-fourth, thus making thirty-seven in all, in the city.

The history of the Twenty-fifth and its companion regiments, which remained in North Carolina for the next year and a half is an uneventful one. They took part in several expeditions and fought in a number of minor battles, such as Kingston, Whitehall, Goldsborough and Gum Swamp, but we have no record that any Clinton man was injured in these battles, although Francis A. Bowers lost his right arm while on garrison duty at Hill's Point. The regiment did not, however, escape disease, which is generally more destructive among soldiers than the bullets of the enemy. November 3, 1862, William F. Klein died at Newbern, N. C. Eight were

discharged for disability. This left twenty-five Clinton men in the ranks.

The last man from Clinton left in the Twenty-third, was discharged for disability, August 14, 1863. One, Edward Maloy, remained in the Twenty-fourth, but, as he died at home of consumption, April 19, 1864, he must have left the regiment while it was in North Carolina. The Fifth and Fifty-first, nine months regiments, joined the Twenty-fifth in North Carolina. In each of these, there were two Clinton men. As these men were mustered in September, 1862, their term of service expired in June, 1863. Thus there were only twenty-five Clinton men in all, in North Carolina, September 1, 1863. This number remained unchanged until the spring of 1864.

In September and October of 1861, three Clinton men enlisted in the First Massachusetts Cavalry. This regiment went into camp at Readville, and the companies in which the Clinton men served, during the spring of 1862 were in the Department of the South at Hilton Head, Beaufort and near Charleston. It took part in no serious engagement before September, 1862, when it joined the Army of the Potomac. One was mustered into the Twenty-eighth Infantry Regiment, which also served in the Department of the South until it was assigned to the Ninth Corps and joined its fortunes with those of the Twenty-first under Pope.

THE lack of success in Virginia convinced the authorities at Washington that more troops would be needed, so that the recruiting, which had been unwisely stopped, was begun again. Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand more troops on July 2d caused a deeper excitement in Clinton than had been felt since the disaster of Ball's Bluff. Patriotism on the one hand, and the fear of a draft on the other, inspired all to use every effort to see that Clinton's quota should be filled up by volunteering.

July 10th, a meeting of citizens was held to devise meas-

ures for raising the desired number of men. A committee, consisting of Franklin Forbes, H. C. Greeley, J. H. Vose, J. T. Dame and Josiah Alexander, Jr., was chosen to take the whole matter into consideration and report on Monday, July 14th. The posters for the meeting of Monday, said: "Our country and humanity call us. Let us show by our response to their demand for men and means, that we are not forgetful of our obligations to preserve the inheritance bequeathed us by our fathers; that we have hearts to feel for those who have braved the perils of battle and have felt the rebels' lead and steel." The meeting proved a very enthusiastic one. The committee reported on the authority of the adjutant-general that no draft need be feared for the present and that, if any such draft should occur in the future, all the men that Clinton furnished would surely be placed to her credit. "It is," said Mr. Forbes, "the voluntary marching forth of free men in defence of the government and the laws which protect them and of the flag which they love and which they will never suffer to be hauled down, much less trampled upon by rampant rebellion or braggart slavocracy." A committee was appointed to assist the selectmen in recruiting, and various recommendations, tending in the same direction, were voted on. In recommending a bounty, Mr. Forbes in behalf of the committee, said that it was not given with the idea of "paying men in full for services rendered, nor as an offset for hardships and dangers to be undergone, nor as a stimulant to doubtful patriotism or reluctant courage, but as a fraternal help, a facility to aid them to go forth speedily to the battles, which the love of their country, or for the country of their adoption, urges them to fight."

On the 22d, a town meeting was held with the following result: Voted, "that the sum of six thousand dollars be appropriated for the payment of bounties to such soldiers, inhabitants of this town, as may be enlisted for the war.

"Voted, that the town pay the sum of one hundred dollars to each inhabitant thereof, volunteering for the war, to

form the quota called for by the adjutant-general, such bounty to become due and payable to such soldier on his acceptance and taking the requisite oaths as a volunteer.

"Voted, that any inhabitant of this town, who as such inhabitant has already enlisted under the President's call for three hundred thousand men, been accepted and taken the requisite oaths, shall be entitled to and receive the same bounties as those hereafter enlisting.

"Voted, that no inhabitant of Clinton enlisting into the service of the United States be considered as entitled to the bounty, who does not cause his name to be entered on the muster roll as such inhabitant."*


Great amounts of hospital supplies were prepared and forwarded. The ladies, feeling that some permanent organization for the relief of soldiers and their families was needed, held a meeting July 31st. August 1st, a second meeting was held, the organization completed and the following board of

* This advertisement appeared for some weeks in the *Courant*:—

"Citizens of Clinton TO THE RESCUE! Sixty-nine Recruits Wanted! \$100 Town Bounty! Sixty-nine Recruits are wanted from this Town to fill up Regiments already in the field, and as an inducement, the Town of Clinton offers a bounty of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, to be paid to each man on his being mustered into the United States service. They will also receive \$25 BOUNTY, ONE MONTH'S PAY IN ADVANCE, AND \$75 AT THE END OF THE WAR!

"Young men, now is your time! Come to the call of your country!

"The Selectmen are authorized by the Commander-in-Chief to raise the above-named number. Also, in connection with the Selectmen, the following named gentlemen are authorized to recruit in Clinton: Col. G. M. Palmer, Edwin A. Harris, Lieut. A. L. Fuller, Donald Cameron, G. W. Beck, F. Forbes, E. K. Gibbs, J. H. Vose, Henry N. Bigelow, Maj. C. C. Stone, J. T. Dame, Felix Nugent, J. Alexander, Jr., H. C. Greeley, D. B. Ingalls, H. Eddy.

" An office is opened in the Bigelow Library Building, where some of the members of the Committee will be happy to wait on all who wish to enlist. Also, at the Store of J. F. Maynard, on Union Street.

"PER ORDER OF SELECTMEN.

"Clinton, July 19, 1862."

directors elected: Franklin Forbes, president; Gilbert Greene, treasurer; H. C. Greeley, secretary; Mrs. J. F. Maynard, Mrs. J. M. Heard, Mrs. C. W. Field, Mrs. C. G. Stevens. The balance of the fund collected for the Light Guard, some three hundred and fifty dollars, was given to this association. This circular was issued: "Every inhabitant of Clinton, young and old, male and female, is constituted a member, and is invited to coöperate. No conditions of membership are required except a heart in sympathy with the cause." The following is the constitution of the society, adopted at a public meeting of the citizens of Clinton, held at Clinton Hall, August 1, 1862:

"We, the people of Clinton, hereby organize ourselves under the name of the 'Clinton Soldiers' Aid Society,' for the purpose of furnishing assistance and relief to Union soldiers and the families of all such in Clinton, during the present war. The whole power and authority of our association shall be vested in seven directors, three gentlemen and four ladies, who shall choose from their own number a president, secretary and treasurer, and may select and appoint any other officers, committees and agents at their discretion. They may also make regulations for their own conduct, and are empowered to fill all vacancies in their own board."

The circular continues: "A room in the Bigelow Library building is opened every day from two to five P. M., for the meeting of all interested in the welfare of our brothers, who are fighting in our behalf for the cause of liberty and law. To this may be carried all articles intended for the soldiers' use, whether in camp or hospital, and here, all information respecting the soldier, his wants, his wishes, and his history can be received and imparted, and all measures for his good and for the good of his family can be presented, discussed and forwarded. The directors will keep a record of all articles sent in and of their donors, and will hasten them to their destination. The articles indicated by the United States Sanitary Commission as most wanted, are shirts, drawers,

towels, handkerchiefs, pillow-cases, socks, sheets, pillows, quilts, bed-ticks, cushions, lint, bandages, old muslin, old cotton cloth, old linen, second-hand pants, coats and vests." The rooms were opened August 8th, and daily meetings were held.

August 11th and 15th, a Drill Club was organized with Franklin Forbes, Maj. C. C. Stone and G. W. Weeks as directors. Sixty-two names were enrolled at the second meeting.

Meanwhile, private patriotism and generosity helped on the work. Franklin Forbes offered ten dollars each to the first ten men who would enlist from Lancaster Mills, with the promise that they should have their places in the mill on their return. To the same ten men, Donald Cameron offered five dollars apiece more. On Sunday, August 10th, a war meeting was held in the Baptist Church, at which Rev. C. M. Bowers offered a copy of the Scriptures, costing twelve dollars, to each of the first four, who would enlist from his congregation.

August 4th, occurred the funeral of Sergt. Edward W. Benson. This was the first public funeral of a soldier that had taken place in town. The services were conducted by Rev. J. M. Heard, assisted by Rev. Mr. Fairchild of Sterling, and were of the most impressive character. Various organizations followed the body to the cemetery. The military band of the Thirty-fourth Regiment played the funeral dirge and a military salute was fired above his open grave. The funeral as a whole was not only a solemn honor paid to the dead soldier, but it was also an appeal to "the devotion and patriotism of the surviving, to fill the broken ranks."

As a result of all this depth of feeling and a vast amount of individual work, fifty-eight were enrolled during July and August. As a whole, the class of men that enlisted was surely not inferior to those who had enlisted under the first call for troops. It was, however, a very different thing to enlist, when all the horrors of war were fully realized, from what it was when those, who went forth, did not know what was be-

fore them. No simple money inducement could have counted for much in comparison with the dangers to be met and the labors to be undergone. Even with the bounties given, the wages of the men were very small compared with what most of them received at home. There is no doubt that it required as much personal patriotism to enlist in 1862 as in 1861.

We have already noted that eight of the new recruits enlisted in the Twenty-fifth Regiment and seven in the Fifteenth. Two entered the navy. There were three who received town bounties at this time, of whom no record of service has been found. In the Thirty-fourth Regiment, eleven Clinton men were enrolled. Two other men, who were connected with Clinton, but enlisted elsewhere, joined this regiment. This Thirty-fourth Regiment was provided for by Governor Andrew's order of the 29th of May, 1862, before Lincoln's call for three hundred thousand more troops was issued. The first recruits arrived at Camp Gen. John E. Wool in Worcester, as early as June 13th, and the *Courant* of June 14th, speaks of recruiting being carried on in Clinton and vicinity. It was not, however, until the first of August, that the last of the eleven Clinton men were mustered into the regiment.* George D. Wells of Boston was made colonel; William S. Lincoln of Worcester, lieutenant-colonel; and Henry Bowman of Clinton, major. The latter had not yet been exchanged, and, before the exchange was made, he had received another commission, so that he never served in the Thirty-fourth. The regiment left Worcester for Washington August 15th, and went into Camp Worcester, three miles from Alexandria. It took little part in any of the exciting scenes of the next few months, as it belonged to the forces to which the defence of the capital was assigned as a special duty. As Horatio E. Turner had been editor of the *Courant*, the people of Clinton were kept thoroughly informed of the doings of the Thirty-fourth through his interesting letters.

*See Individual Record.

The Thirty-sixth Regiment received thirty of the Clinton recruits,* twenty-five of whom enlisted in Company G. The regiment was organized in Worcester at Camp John E. Wool during the month of August. At first, the office of colonel was offered to Lieutenant-colonel John W. Kimball of the Fifteenth, but it was not thought best to separate him from the regiment, with which he had been so long connected, at so difficult a crisis. Much to the joy of the Clinton men, Henry Bowman was made colonel, and James H. Barker, major. S. Henry Bailey of Northboro was made captain of Company G. On August 30th, soon after Colonel Bowman arrived in camp, he received orders to have the regiment in readiness to set out September 2d. Furloughs had been promised the men before they left for the front, but they had not been granted. They were now hastily given and eagerly taken, yet nearly every man was ready to start on the morning of the appointed date. As had become customary, a flag was presented to the regiment. The friends of Colonel Bowman in Clinton presented him with a fine horse and its equipments.

The regiment embarked at Boston on the Merrimac, and reached Alexandria on the 6th. The following private letter, received from Colonel Bowman, shows the first movements of his command:

"CAMP FORBES, NEAR LEESBORO, MD.,
September 10, 1862.

"My Dear Mr. Forbes:

"Here I am temporarily located with my regiment, in one of the most benighted places that it is possible to imagine. While at Alexandria, where we remained Saturday night, I was ordered to report to General Burnside at this place. On my arrival here, I found that the general, with his command, had left for a point some miles beyond. I go forward in the morning, leaving my command here, to

* See Individual Record.

report, which will probably result in joining the general's command. The distance from Washington here is about eleven miles, over a road which was so dusty that I could not see the distance of three companies. We were on the road from half-past five o'clock in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon, the men marching with their knapsacks. It is considered here a great march for men who have so recently taken the field, * * * and I really think it is grand for our first attempt. The rear guard, which is made up of the left flank company, and which always comes after the baggage train, was saved the disagreeable duty of picking up the first thing in the form of equipments, or any article belonging to the men.

"Our train is made up of one ambulance and four baggage wagons. Our motive power consists of eighteen green mules, who never saw a harness until last Monday morning; they were taken from a lot consisting of some three hundred. The catching and attaching them to the wagons was the most laughable performance I ever witnessed. * * *

"I have taken the liberty of an order to the regiment naming this camp which we now occupy, and all camps which we may hereafter occupy, after yourself, trusting that it will meet with your approval.

"My experiment of giving furloughs to the men just before leaving the state, was a perfect success, my first morning report giving only five short for the whole regiment — quite as small a per cent as regiments will average." * * *

Notwithstanding the large number of enlistments, the quota of Clinton for the call of July 2d was not quite full, and there was much fear of a draft, although Clinton had sent, before the call was made, far more than her proportionate share of troops. This draft was ordered by the President for September 3d. C. G. Stevens was the commissioner for Worcester County. As this date approached,

there was a remarkable increase in age among a certain class of people. One man, it is said, lived fourteen years in a single night; another, ten. Diseases before unheard of, began to abound. It was the worst season for chronic complaints ever known in our history. Anything to escape the draft! There were one hundred and forty-three exempts in Clinton. The fatal date arrived, but the draft was postponed to the 17th. It was again postponed to October 1st, and again to October 15th, and finally Clinton* escaped it altogether for a season.

At the same time, a vigorous effort was made to fill up the quota of nine months' men asked for under Lincoln's call for troops, August 4th. At a town meeting held August 23d, it was voted: "That the selectmen be authorized to pay the sum of \$100 to each inhabitant of Clinton, who shall volunteer and be mustered into the service of the United States as part of the quota of Clinton, for the nine months' service called for by the President, August 4, 1862, to the number of one hundred." At a citizens' meeting, held August 28th, at which C. G. Stevens presided, C. L. Swan offered ten dollars in addition to the bounty to the first five men who would enlist. J. H. Ring offered five more. J. H. Vose, who had been authorized by the selectmen to recruit a company for a Worcester County regiment, made the principal speech of the occasion. During the afternoon of September 6th, all places of business were closed in Clinton, cannons were fired, bells were rung, and the people gathered in H. N. Bigelow's grove, at the head of Church Street, in a grand patriotic meeting. Hon. A. H. Bullock gave an address. Thirty-five nine months' men enlisted before October from the town which had seemed already depleted of all its able-bodied young men.*

It may be well to pause here, and see how the record of Clinton up to this time compares with that of other towns

*See Individual Record.



THE TOWN HALL, WITH SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

in the state. It must be remembered that the Clinton of today is a much larger town than the Clinton of the war. In 1860, the population of the town was three thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine. In 1862, the total number of enrolled citizens liable to military duty was four hundred and forty-six, of whom one hundred and forty-three were exempted on examination for the draft, leaving a total of only three hundred and three liable to military duty. The quota of Clinton, according to the report of the Adjutant-general, was one hundred and fifty-five, and the number of three years' men furnished previous to 1863 was two hundred and sixteen, figures that agree practically with those which have been given, if we make allowance for some eight men who enlisted from other states and were credited to Clinton. The town had thus furnished about one hundred and thirty-nine per cent. of her required quota. Natick, according to the same report, had furnished one hundred and forty-one per cent. of her required quota, but Natick furnished only two nine months' men, while Clinton furnished thirty-five. (The adjutant-general allows the town thirty-seven.)

If we say, then, that Clinton had furnished up to this time two hundred and fifty-two men, this gives the town a record of one hundred and sixty-one per cent. of her quota, or, if we reduce the time of service of the nine months' troops to a basis of three years' service, one hundred and forty-five per cent. This gives Clinton a slight excess over Natick, and not another town in the state at this time approached these two. Natick's large enlistment came from the great enthusiasm awakened in raising the regiment of her famous citizen, Henry Wilson. For those who understand them aright, these figures are wonderfully eloquent. They show that Clinton in the time of the country's greatest need gave the service of her sons more freely than any other town of the Old Bay State, a state whose patriotism was surpassed by none.

Although the honor due to those who entered the army

cannot be overestimated, yet we should err greatly, if we deemed this glorious record of our town due solely to their self-sacrificing patriotism. Patriotism must be inspired, directed and organized before it can act. If the state of Massachusetts places among the foremost on the roll of its war heroes the names of John A. Andrew, Charles Sumner and Henry Wilson, the town of Clinton may well find a place on its rolls for the names of those who kept the fires of patriotism burning and by their efforts made it possible for so many men to leave their homes and enter the army.

We are told that corporations have no souls. But during the war the Lancaster Mills corporation did have a soul, a soul instinct with patriotism, and that soul was Franklin Forbes. Every man in the mills knew that the volunteer would be specially honored; that, if possible, his place would be kept for him until his term of service was over; that every facility would be given to his family for securing support, and that if the worst came to worst, his dear ones would never suffer from want while the blood ran warm in the heart of the agent. Not only in the mills, but throughout the town was his potent influence felt. How often did his ringing words arouse men to action; how often did his generous gifts inspire to patriotic charity; how often did his sagacious counsels lead in the paths of wisdom. Franklin Forbes had many characteristics in common with Joseph Warren of Revolutionary fame. He had the same broad-minded patriotism, fed through liberal culture from all the glorious examples of history; he had the same philosophic mind which sees the principles underlying facts and can forecast the future from the experience of the past; he had the same executive ability which can change ideas into realities; he had the same burning zeal, ever forgetful of self. We are told that he was scarcely able to be restrained from going to the front where, like Warren at Bunker Hill, he would gladly have laid down his life for his country. Since then he worked no less zealously and no less effectively for the good

of the country than the bravest and ablest who entered the army, let us find some place for his name upon our roll of honor.

And not for his alone, for there were many other men who were obliged to stay at home, who gave without stint of their means and energies. And the women! What sacrifices they patiently endured, nay, eagerly sought! Sacrifices as great as those made by their soldier husbands and brothers. The very air of Clinton was electric with patriotism. Currents passed from soul to soul, and the zeal of each drew strength from the zeal of all. Hence our glorious record.

CHAPTER XXXV.

FROM ANTIETAM TO GETTYSBURG.

IN the early autumn of 1862, we find the Clinton troops gathering from various quarters to the banks of the Potomac to help repel the threatened invasion; the men of the Twenty-first from their successes in North Carolina; the men of the Fifteenth and its companion regiments from the disappointed hopes of the Peninsular; the new recruits of the Fifteenth, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth fresh from their northern homes. In all, there may have been a hundred Clinton men on actual duty in the converging forces.

The great drama opened with the defeat of the Army of Virginia under General Pope. When Jackson gained the victory of Cedar Mountain, the Second Regiment with its three Clinton men, was in the discomfited army of Banks. The cautious Halleck, who was then in command at Washington, diverted Burnside's reënforcements intended for the Army of the Potomac to the aid of Pope, and ordered McClellan to hasten to the defence of the capitol. McClellan's withdrawal from before Richmond, gave Lee his opportunity to join Jackson and thus unite the rebel forces in Virginia against Pope before McClellan's troops could join him.

When the blow fell at Manassas Junction on August 29th and 30th, the Twenty-first was present. Under the command of General Reno, this regiment, with the Fifty-first Pennsylvania and Fifty-first New York, formed the rear guard, and at the close of the second day ably repulsed three successive charges by large forces of the enemy, and thus

saved the retreat from being turned into a rout. It was here that Corporal John Quinn was wounded in the arm.

Two days after, our Clinton men of the same regiment were among the victims of the terrible blunder at Chantilly. The Fifty-first New York had been commanded to advance a short distance into the woods and wait for further orders. A little later, the Twenty-first Massachusetts was ordered to follow. As the early darkness was being hastened by a thick thunder cloud, the Twenty-first lost its way and passed by the New York regiment. After struggling through the woods with broken lines, the men suddenly found themselves within twenty yards of a large body of troops. They speedily formed the lines, doubtful whether they had met friend or foe. "Then," says one of their number, "while most of our poor fellows were standing with their guns at the shoulder, one of the deadliest volleys ever fired rolled upon us from our right and front. In the sudden anguish and despair of the moment, the whole regiment seemed to be lying bleeding on the ground; indeed, almost every man who had stood in the more open spaces of the wood, did fall; yet there still was a Twenty-first, and a Twenty-first that could fight; some standing still in line, some from behind the trees, we opened fire on our brutal enemy." The rain, however, hindered the use of their guns, and they were obliged to retire. On the list of wounded, we find the names of William Cohen, Patrick Malony and Patrick Meehan of Company B, and it was here that John McRobie lost his arm. The Second Regiment, though present at Manassas and Chantilly, had little fighting to do, and no Clinton names appear in the list of those who suffered.

Pope's disasters, and the evident need that all movements should be directed by a single head, forced the authorities at Washington to place McClellan in command. He at once began to bring order out of confusion.* When

* In the army of McClellan, as organized September 14th, we find from Clinton: In the right wing, Ninth Army Corps, Second Division,

Lee passed into Maryland, McClellan, through his own delays and those of Franklin, lost the opportunity of destroying the rebel army in detail, presented to him through his knowledge of Lee's plans. Having fought with only a doubtful degree of success the two battles of South Mountain, in which the Twenty-first and Seventh were engaged, without casualties to Clinton men, he finally met the reunited troops of Lee on nearly equal terms at Antietam.

In this battle, all that remained of the Clinton troops the Second, Seventh, Ninth, Eleventh, Fifteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first, Twenty-second, and Twenty-eighth Massachusetts Regiments were engaged. Although these numbered ninety-three on the rolls, yet it is probable that not more than sixty were on the field, as Company B of the Twenty-first was detailed for duty elsewhere on that day, and many of the Ball's Bluff prisoners from the Fifteenth were not yet exchanged. The First Cavalry, with its three men from Clinton, was present, but not severely engaged. The Thirty-sixth, with its thirty men from Clinton, was near at hand, and was prevented from being in action by a mistake of Colonel Bowman's. On the 15th of September, he received a scrap of paper with an order scrawled upon it in pencil, purporting to come from General McClellan, commanding all the troops to go forward as

Second Brigade, the Twenty-first Massachusetts, seventeen Clinton men. In the centre, Second Army Corps, First Division, Second Brigade, the Twenty-eighth Massachusetts, one Clinton man; Second Division, First Brigade, the Fifteenth Massachusetts, sixty-two Clinton men; Third Brigade, the Nineteenth Massachusetts, two Clinton men, and the Twentieth, one Clinton man; Twelfth Army Corps, First Division, Third Brigade, the Second Massachusetts, four Clinton men. In the left wing, Sixth Army Corps, Third Division, First Brigade, the Seventh Massachusetts, one Clinton man; the Fifth Army Corps, First Division, First Brigade, the Twenty-second Massachusetts, two Clinton men; Second Brigade, Ninth Massachusetts, three Clinton men. This gives a possible total of ninety-three Clinton men, provided every man of those who had enlisted and had not died or been discharged was in active service.

rapidly as possible. The colonel did not believe this order to be genuine and waited further developments and, thus, the Thirty-sixth was kept from the battle. The Thirty-fourth was in the force near Washington.

It will be remembered that it was McClellan's plan to attack the rebel left with the Union right, supported by such of the centre as should be necessary, and, as soon as success seemed probable, to move the Union left against the rebel right and, according to the success of these movements, to push forward his centre. On McClellan's right, Hooker with the First Army Corps advanced, and, after his troops had been used up, Mansfield with the Twelfth Corps (three Clinton men), followed, too late to help Hooker. His troops, in their turn, had lost all effective force before Sumner's Second Corps appeared. As the majority of the Clinton men engaged were in this corps, in Sedgwick's Division, in the Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Regiments, let us follow more minutely the advance of this body. Sedgwick's Second Division advances first, with Gorman's Brigade in the lead. The troops cross the stream, pass through the woods, through a field of high corn, over the pike, by Dunker's Church, where Hooker's wounded and dying lay. Suddenly a withering fire is opened upon them. French and Richardson were supposed to follow immediately after, so that they and Sedgwick might attack together and present a line of sufficient length to prevent the enemy from getting on their left, as they moved toward the right, where they expected to join Hooker and Mansfield. But, as has already been said, the First and Twelfth Corps had ceased to exist as an effective force, so that Sedgwick's Division practically formed the extreme right, and the other divisions of the Second Corps being delayed, Sedgwick was left alone with his three brigades to meet ten brigades of the rebels.

The position is this: Our men are on an elevation; across a small valley, in front, is the artillery of the enemy on another ridge. On the slope of this ridge there is a farm-house,

a barn and many stacks of corn, which offer protection to the rebels. The Union lines are rapidly re-formed under fire, and Gorman's Brigade is on the left, the Fifteenth to the left of the brigade, and Company C on the left of the Fifteenth. You will remember that French was supposed to be close at the left of Sedgwick, but he was not there. The enemy take the advantage thus offered and a large force of the rebels is seen advancing from the left upon the flank. They halt in a ravine. Company C, being on the extreme left, is exposed beyond all others. The rebels fire up hill and therefore can aim effectually, while our boys naturally fire over their heads and accomplish little. Meanwhile, the fire never ceases from the front. Under this cross-fire the air is full of bullets bearing their messages of death. Here is the highest test of courage. In the charge, a wild exultation of spirit sweeps men onward, but to stand unmoved in the midst of certain defeat with comrades falling around like grass under the scythe of the mower, this requires a courage which has in it something that is godlike. In twenty minutes, from the sixty-eight members of Company C, three have been killed, two taken prisoners and forty-one wounded. Yet the little remnant stand, loading and firing as coolly as upon the field of parade. Finally, Sumner is informed of the situation, and Major Kimball receives orders to move to the right as soon as possible. This is done in perfect order. Sedgwick told Devens the next day, "Your old Fifteenth was magnificent yesterday; no regiment in the regular army ever fought better."

Although the victory at Antietam was afterwards ours, the Fifteenth, and especially Company C, had again been sacrificed to a mistake. Perhaps a little over forty Clinton men entered the fight in the Fifteenth Regiment. Of these, three were killed outright: Zadoc C. Batterson, John Frazer, and Charles E. Holbrook. Two more, Leonard M. Towsley and William Eccles, died soon after, from wounds received in this battle. Hiram A. Chambers, a Clinton man credited

to Worcester, was among the killed. Waldo B. Maynard, a Clinton man credited to Northboro, was wounded so that he soon died. Nineteen others were wounded, more or less seriously: Thomas H. Burgess, John E. Carruth, Thomas Caulfield, Trustum D. Dexter, Joseph S. Dickson, Isaac P. Connig, Charles Frazer, Gustave Graichen, Charles H. Hapgood, Henry B. Holman, Gilman W. Laythe, Oren A. Laythe, Alexander Lord, Theodore E. Lowe, Joseph E. Miner, Hervey B. Olcott, George F. Osgood, Otis S. Osgood, Alfred Smith. Two were taken prisoners: George F. Osgood and Thomas Caulfield. Not more than one-third of those who went on to the field came back uninjured. Of the seven Clinton recruits, who had just joined the company, every one suffered.

On the Union left, Burnside, with the Ninth Corps, was ordered to carry the stone bridge between himself and the enemy. The carrying out of this order was long delayed, but was at last intrusted to the brigade of General Crook, with the division of Sturgis as a supporting column. The Twenty-first Massachusetts was in this division. Sturgis reached the bridge before Crook, as the latter had lost his way. This division carried the bridge. At this time, the regiment lost about one-third of its men. Here, Patrick Burke of Company E was wounded in the leg, Luther E. Stewart of Company G was wounded in the face, and Charles R. Renner of Company F, in the head. Gilbert A. Cheney of the Second, a Clinton man credited to Newton, also received a wound here from which he died in October.

The news of the battle of Antietam, with the slowly arriving record of killed and wounded, caused the deepest anxiety and grief in Clinton. Dr. G. M. Morse was sent by the Soldiers' Aid Society to look after the wounded soldiers and to forward to their homes the bodies of the dead. If we would adequately realize the sacrifices of the war, we must follow the wounded to the hospitals and must see them as their flesh quivers under the steel of the surgeon or festers with gan-

grene; we must see them tossing with the fever or slowly wasting away; we must stand by the bedside of the dying; we must enter the northern homes and see the aged mother as she reads the list of the dead, expecting that the next name may be that of her only son; we must see the wife as she strives to reach her wounded husband whom death may claim ere the slow steam can bring her to his side; we must see the widow as she hopelessly mourns her loss.

In a letter written on the 5th of October, from Bolivar Heights, to the Courant, William J. Coulter said: "Company C at the present time numbers seventeen men for duty, including drummer and bugler. Any one would not recognize in it the 'Clinton Light Guard' of old, who about five months since encamped on these same heights and almost on the same ground they occupy now. Things have changed wonderfully since last March. The company was nearly full then, and each man was confident of at least seeing an end put to this rebellion, if nothing more, by the coming fall. * * * Now, they see a prospect of being in the service during their full term of enlistment. * * * But you must not think from what I have said that the Clinton boys are discouraged. Far from it. There is as much determination in them today as there was six months since. They have learned to act, not to talk about it; and when the time comes you will find them as ready and willing to do as ever."

Before the end of November, some of the prisoners were exchanged and returned to the regiment, and some of the wounded had recovered. The Fifteenth, what was left of it, often received the kindly notice of General McClellan, and most of the boys manifested that respect and love for him, that prevailed in the old Army of the Potomac. After the battle of Antietam, he pointed out to President Lincoln the torn old flag of the Fifteenth, and again, shortly before he gave up his command, it received his marked attention. Commenting on the fact, one of the boys remarked: "The

old flag does indeed look hard. It is not safe to unfurl it when the wind blows very strong." This flag at last became so completely worn out that it was laid aside and a new one, furnished by the state, took its place.

The Thirty-sixth Regiment had some hard marches during the autumn and, once, while they were in camp at Waterloo, were limited for several days to rations of two ears of corn and a small piece of fresh meat per man. The surviving members of the Thirty-sixth still call the place Hungry Hollow. November 13th, Corporal G. W. Perry of Company G, who had been sick less than a week, died, and as his remains could not be sent home, he was buried at Warrenton.

Burnside took command of the army November 5th. He advanced towards Fredericksburg, as soon as an agreement was reached between him and the authorities at Washington. Sumner's Grand Right Division was made up of the Second and Ninth Corps, and thus contained most of the Clinton men in Burnside's advancing columns. Here, were the remnants of the Fifteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first and Twenty-eighth. Here, was the Thirty-sixth, still unscathed by battle, but with one-half of its men detailed for special duty or on the sick list. Perhaps three-score Clinton men in all were on active duty. In Franklin's Grand Left Division was the Seventh Massachusetts, and in the Grand Center, commanded by Hooker, were the First, Ninth, Eleventh and Twenty-second. Of the fourteen Clinton soldiers originally in these regiments, very few were left in the ranks.

General Sumner's Grand Right reached Falmouth opposite Fredericksburg on the 17th of November. He asked to be allowed to cross immediately at the fords or by some method to be devised by the New England ingenuity of his regiments. If he had been allowed to do this, the costly sacrifices of the following month might, perhaps, have been spared, as the rebels had few troops at this time at hand. But Burnside would not consent, and a fatal delay ensued.

It was not until the 11th of December, that preparations were made to cross. Howard's Division of the Second Corps, to which the Fifteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth belonged, crossed first during the night. The rest of Sumner's Grand Right followed the next day, taking position in the city. Franklin's Grand Left also crossed, leaving Hooker's Center on the other bank. The attack on the 13th was begun by Franklin with the left and continued by Sumner with the right, but it so happened that Howard's Division was not sent forward until afternoon, and that, although the Fifteenth, which was supporting a battery, suffered some, no man of Company C was injured. The Ninth Corps, Sturgis' Division, containing the Twenty-first, did some good fighting, but no Clinton men were injured, if indeed any still remained on active duty at this time in the regiment, after the terrible service at Manassas, Chantilly and Antietam. Burns' Division of the Ninth Corps, containing the Thirty-sixth, was held in reserve and sustained little injury. All indeed of our Clinton men escaped unharmed from the terrible and useless slaughter of Fredericksburg, although they stood ready at any moment to enter the thick of the fight.

From Antietam on through the winter the number of men on active duty in Company C, Fifteenth Regiment, was very small. In December, only twenty-eight were in the ranks, and thirty-one were in the hospital. Before the close of winter and spring, the number in the hospital decreased, as some returned to their regiments and others were discharged. The Thirty-sixth was severely afflicted by disease during the winter, and many died. Among them, was Lyman H. Hastings, who died at Falmouth, Virginia, January 16, 1863.

Thus, in the gloom arising from failure and the death of comrades, and in the suffering caused by wounds and disease, the Clinton boys in the Army of the Potomac passed the long winter. At home, some were mourning their dead, some were anxiously waiting to hear reports from those who

were in the hospitals. All listened eagerly to the thrilling stories of those discharged, whose sufferings had rendered them unable to serve longer in the field. It was a period of deepest despondency and despair, but a ray of heavenly light broke through this darkness; a definite treaty of alliance was made with the Almighty against the powers of evil. Though rivers of blood had flowed in atoning sacrifice, our nation had not yet been cleansed, but through the proclamation of emancipation, the accursed sin of our people was forever abjured. Henceforth our soldiers fought with a sterner purpose and a more consecrated valor, since they fought not for the Union alone, but for eternal justice. From every pulpit throughout the land, lips touched with coals from off the divine altar cried that the voice of patriotism was the voice of God, and our armies went forth to victory strong in the might of His unconquerable arm.

After the withdrawal from Fredericksburg, the troops went into winter quarters on the Falmouth side of the river. The Second Corps took no part in the Mud Campaign of January 20-23. January 26th, it was called upon to mourn the resignation of its gallant old corps commander, General Sumner, who retired from active service on account of the infirmities of age. He had commanded the Second Corps since its organization, and during that time it never lost a gun or a standard, although it had suffered terribly on many a hard fought field. General Couch was his successor.

On the same date, General Burnside was followed by General Hooker, and the Army of the Potomac was again reorganized. Early in February, the Twenty-first and Thirty-sixth were removed to other fields of service. The Thirty-fourth still remained about the defences of Washington. The little remnant of Clinton men left in the Fifteenth was about the only representation that the town had in the Army of the Potomac, except a very few scattered about, one or two in a regiment here and there. It is doubtful if

there were ever thirty Clinton men at any one time in active service under Hooker or Meade during the following spring or summer.

The Fifteenth was in the First Brigade of the Second Division of the Second Corps. General Alfred Sully commanded the brigade and General John Gibbons the division. Colonel Ward returned and took the command of this regiment. This Second Division escaped the awful slaughter of Chancellorsville, May 1-4, as it was held in reserve as a support to the Sixth Corps. The First Division of the Second Corps, however, suffered, and it was one of the results of the disasters of the day that General Couch, feeling that he could not serve under such a leader as Hooker had proved himself to be, resigned the command of the Second Corps. Winfield S. Hancock was his successor.

When the southern army, inspired with confidence by the successes of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, began its northward movement and Hooker's army swung around so as to protect the capitol, and finally to compel Lee to a decisive battle, our Clinton men, like the other soldiers, were obliged to make many forced marches. On June 26th, General Gibbons excused the Fifteenth and Nineteenth from all picket and outside duty for marching "in the best and most compact order." They saw, without regret, the impetuous and unsuccessful Hooker succeeded by the quiet, scholarly Meade on June 28th.

On July 1st, while Reynolds and Howard, with the First and Eleventh Corps, were fighting in the opening struggle of Gettysburg, the Second Corps was at Taneytown. After Reynolds had fallen and Howard had been defeated, it was the inspiring presence of Hancock, the Second Corps commander, that restored the morale of the retreating troops and made such a show of resistance that the victorious rebels did not press their advantage. On the following day, the Second Corps occupied a position on the left centre, reaching the field at about seven o'clock. The mistake of

Sickles, the commander of the Third Corps, in advancing his line too far in front, resulted in his defeat and, as he was driven back, the regiments which had been sent to patch up the gap between his position and that of the main line, received the shock of the attack upon the long-drawn front. The Fifteenth was one of these regiments; and it bore the shock most bravely, until the whole force was ordered back to the original line. It was in this struggle that Colonel Ward fell.

On the third day of the battle, the Fifteenth remained without any important service until afternoon. During the grand artillery battle between the armies, the infantry, for an hour and a half, crouched behind the stone walls or lay upon the ground under the boiling sun, while all the air around was filled with bursting shells. There they were, with guns clutched in their hands, waiting for the terrible conflict which they knew was soon to come.

The artillery fire slackens. Now, Longstreet's force, fourteen thousand strong, with Pickett's men in the lead, is seen emerging from the rebel line. Steadily the mighty billow of war rolls onward. Right against the Second Corps it comes. Webb, with his Pennsylvania regiments, yields at first to the overwhelming forces. The rebel line is over the stone wall, but other Union troops are gathering in front and pouring in from every side. Now is the supreme moment of the struggle, perhaps of the whole war. The Fifteenth, and its three companion regiments, have been standing to the left of Webb. The order comes to advance the colors. All move forward as if stirred by a single impulse upon the rebel flank. There is a moment of Titanic struggle. Now, the rebel column wavers, it is broken, it yields. The Second Corps gathers up the battle-flags in sheaves and the prisoners in thousands. Ball's Bluff and Antietam are avenged. The grand charge is over. The aggressive force of Lee's army is destroyed. The proud waves of the invasion are stayed forever.

This victory was not gained without terrible cost. The Fifteenth lost in killed, wounded and missing from July 1st to July 4th, over fifty per cent. of all the men it took into the fight. The loss of Company C was greater proportionately than that of the regiment, for twenty-four men entered the battle, and at its close Sergeant William J. Coulter, then the ranking officer of the company, led only six men from the field. It is doubtful if there were more than a dozen Clinton men of the Fifteenth Regiment in the fight. Three of these were killed in action: J. P. Chenery, Alexander Lord, G. F. Osgood, and one, Lieutenant E. G. Buss died at home twenty days later from wounds received here. Four others were wounded, A. D. Wright, R. K. Cooper, H. B. Olcott and John Smith.

Before the spring campaign had opened, out of those who were on the rolls September 1, 1862, five Clinton men from the Fifteenth Regiment had been discharged to enter the regular army, one was serving in the New York Cavalry, and one in the New Jersey Cavalry. Twenty had been discharged for disability, and one had refused a commission after being wounded. Thus, twenty-seven Clinton men, in addition to the six who were killed or died from wounds received at Antietam, were dropped from the rolls of the regiment before the battle of Gettysburg, so that there were twenty-six only left in the regiment. If we take from these the four who fell at Gettysburg, it leaves only twenty-two at the close of the second year of service still on the rolls. Of these, many were in the hospitals and others were on detached service on the wagon trains and elsewhere.

In all the other regiments in Virginia there may have been nine men in active service at Gettysburg and the same number in September. Adding to these the ten who had been transferred to the regular army or elsewhere, it gives a possible nineteen, besides the twenty-six in the Fifteenth, or a total of forty-five names on the rolls during the Gettys-

burg Campaign, although probably less than half of these took part in the battle, and of forty-one whose names were on the rolls in September, 1863, in the Army of the Potomac. The Thirty-fourth, still engaged in the defence of Washington, had ten Clinton men, which will increase our total to fifty-one.

It will not be necessary to trace the campaign of manœuvres that followed during the autumn and winter. No Clinton men suffered in battle, either from Lee's aggressive movement at Bristoe Station, or when Meade's advance was checked at Mine Run. At the former engagement, the Fifteenth took a most active part, and at the latter, the wise caution of Warren prevented an action which would have caused a terrible slaughter of the Second Corps with great doubt of final victory. It was at Mine Run that the men, anticipating that they should be called upon to make an attack, pinned papers to the inside of their coats with their names written upon them so that their dead bodies might be identified.

March 4, 1864, one more Clinton recruit, James Clifford, was added to the rolls of the Fifteenth. Thus the total of all the men who belonged to the regiment at various times, was seventy-eight. Allowing for the number discharged for disability during the winter, there may have been a total of fourteen in the Fifteenth Regiment and seventeen in other organizations in the spring of 1864, before the army was joined by the Ninth Corps.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.—ENLISTMENTS AND FINANCES.

CLINTON had furnished four men for Butler's expedition to New Orleans. Two of these were mustered in the Twenty-sixth; another was mustered into the Thirtieth, and the fourth was mustered into the Thirty-first. These men took part in the capture of New Orleans and the opening of the mouth of the Mississippi in the spring and summer of 1862. John Donovan died at Baton Rouge, La., October 12, 1863.

We left the Twenty-first Regiment at Falmouth at the close of the Fredericksburg campaign. February 11, 1863, the regiment was at Fortress Monroe. March 26th, it started for Baltimore. March 31st, it was at Cincinnati. April, May and June were spent in camp at Mount Sterling, Ky. The Twenty-first remained behind when a portion of the Ninth Corps went to Vicksburg. In July, it was near Lexington, and in August, it went to Camp Nelson on the Kentucky River. During this time, the regiment did no fighting. As five men had been discharged, one transferred and one missing, only ten Clinton men were left in the regiment September 1, 1863.

The Thirty-sixth Regiment left the Army of the Potomac the 6th of February. It went to Newport News, where it stayed pleasantly encamped for some six weeks. On the 23d of March, it started for Kentucky. It passed through Baltimore and Cincinnati and, March 29th, arrived at Lexington. With frequent changes of camp and some long

marches the regiment continued in this portion of Kentucky for some two months. In April, Rev. C. M. Bowers of Clinton visited his fellow-townsmen, and on his return became a means of communication between the soldiers and their homes. On the 1st of June, Colonel Bowman was assigned to the command of the brigade, which consisted of the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts, Forty-fifth Pennsylvania, Seventeenth and Twenty-seventh Michigan. The same day that Colonel Bowman received his command, the regiment marched to Jamestown, twenty miles away. On June 4th, they set out for Lebanon. They covered this distance of sixty miles, under a scorching sun in heavy marching order, in forty-eight consecutive hours. Here, the men learned that they were to reënforce Grant at Vicksburg. June 9th, the regiment was at Cairo. After a week spent on the Mississippi, the reënforcement reached its destination. This portion of the Ninth Army Corps, to which the Thirty-sixth Regiment now belonged, was summoned from the north to the assistance of Grant, in order that it might help keep at bay the forces of Johnston, which menaced Grant's rear, while he was besieging Pemberton with his thousands, inside the city. Thus, the Thirty-sixth Regiment took no part in the capture of the city except to help guard the rear of Grant's army, while he prosecuted the siege.

The regiment took up its location about three miles from Milldale on the 20th of June. "The wild magnolia trees, now in full bloom, filled the air with their fragrance. From many of the trees, hung the Spanish moss which was gathered in large quantities and used for beds." Yet, the men did not enjoy this country, for one of them says: "In many places, the soil was so dry and parched with the heat that it seemed to crack open like a blistered skin, beneath the rays of the tropical sun. The wind blew hot from every point of the compass, bringing clouds of dust along with it. Gnats and flies made night hideous and drove sleep from the weary. Venomous snakes and other reptiles infested the woods and

the thickets. Lizards soon became no novelty and even the resort of keeping them out of one's boots by wearing these day and night, would not prevent their working down one's back occasionally, causing a sensation like an animated icicle."

The troops were kept as quiet as possible on account of the intense heat, but morning and evening they worked on rifle pits as a preparation against the attack of Johnston. The health of the men gave way. A case of small-pox in the regiment was a source of great alarm. As Johnston made no attack, the Ninth Corps had no fighting to do, so they waited until the starving rebels within the doomed city should surrender to the forces of Grant which drew closer and closer day by day. The roaring of siege guns made the air heavy with sound day and night, and a pall of thick smoke hung over the city.

At length, the rebels could hold out no longer. On July 3 and 4, 1864, thirty-one thousand six hundred men were surrendered, besides immense stores of munitions. Thus, while Lee was retreating from Gettysburg, Pemberton was surrendering Vicksburg and with it the control of the Mississippi. Clinton men participated in each of these glorious victories; in one, they fought heroically, in the other, they waited, keeping guard no less heroically in the midst of disease and death, and thus made the success of others possible.

The city was no sooner taken than Sherman received orders to take the Fifteenth, Ninth, Thirteenth and part of the Sixteenth Corps and pursue Johnston. "The rebels as they retreated poisoned the wells or killed animals in the ponds or streams, their putrid carcasses rendering the water unfit for use." Unripe corn furnished the only rations the men could get, as the rapid march left the supply trains far in the rear. As there were no tents the men slept under the open sky, often in the midst of terrible storms. Thus, day after day they marched while men were constantly dropping from the ranks.

Johnston's troops did not pause until Jackson was reached, July 10th. Here, he resisted for six days, but on the 17th, the Union troops entered the city. In a reconnoissance during the investment, Corporal James Smith was wounded. The long marches and extreme heat told terribly on the health of the men. The hospitals were crowded, and even those who still remained on active duty were far from well. Though the ravages of small-pox were stayed, chills and fever, and a disease somewhat like scurvy, prevailed.

At this time, Colonel Bowman resigned his commission and received his discharge. His service from this time on was in the Quartermaster's Department of the United States Volunteer Militia.

Soon, the glad orders came for the Ninth Corps to proceed to the north. The regiment reached Cairo, August 10th, just two months after it left there, and August 12th, it was in Kentucky once more. Although the conditions in which the regiment was now placed were healthy in their character, the men were still sent to the hospital in increasing numbers as an after effect of the Mississippi Campaign. There were, however, no deaths among the Clinton boys at this time, and not even one was discharged for disability after leaving Virginia before September 1st, and there were at this time some twenty-four names on the rolls.

The Thirty-sixth was at Crab Orchard, Kentucky, from August 29th, 1863, to September 10th, 1863, and there it set out, with the rest of the Ninth Corps, including the Twenty-first Massachusetts, for East Tennessee. One hundred and fifty men of the regiment were left behind, who were in too poor health to take the march. Among these, was Henry McGrath, who died here of disease on October 10th. September 20th, the line of march carried the Thirty-sixth through the grand scenery of Cumberland Gap. On the 26th, the troops arrived at Knoxville. From here, several expeditions were made into the surrounding country during

the next two months. October 10th, there was a little brush at Blue Springs, the Thirty-sixth being ordered to clear some of the woods of rebels. This was successfully done under severe fire. Lieutenant Henry S. Robinson was wounded in this affair.

While the regiment was at Lenoir Station, twenty-three miles from Knoxville, it was suddenly discovered that Longstreet was marching against Burnside with a greatly superior force. Grant directed Burnside to hold out against Longstreet, if possible, until he had defeated Bragg. Burnside, therefore, retired as slowly as he could to Knoxville. When he reached there he was obliged to endure a desperate siege, which was finally relieved by the defeat of Bragg. The Twenty-first participated in a gallant and successful charge on the enemy on the 24th of November, but no Clinton men suffered. The winter was spent in watching Longstreet and securing East Tennessee.

On the 15th of December, two Clinton men, Frederick E. Flagg and Charles H. Howe, were taken prisoners in a slight skirmish with the enemy. Neither of them ever returned for Flagg died at Belle Island, Richmond, in March, 1864, and Howe, after having suffered all the horrors of Andersonville, Georgia, died there August 27, 1864. We shrink from telling of the sufferings these men and many others from Clinton endured in rebel prison pens: the exposure without protection to drenching rains and burning suns; the fiendish guards, eagerly watching for the first victim who might approach the death line; the garments, tattered, sometimes lost or wholly discarded; the emaciated bodies, covered with filth and vermin, because the men were too weak to care for themselves; the foul water, each draught of which meant hastened death; the vile food, rotten and full of worms; the men losing all human semblance and becoming drivelling idiots or ravenous wild beasts, in the fierceness of their hunger tearing the food from the lips of starving comrades, until at last death came as a welcome relief.

In March, the Thirty-sixth joyfully received orders to proceed to Annapolis, Maryland. There may have been eighteen Clinton men in the regiment when it reached Annapolis, April 6, 1864. In December, the men of the Twenty-first Regiment were called upon to re-enlist. The circumstances under which this was done can be seen from this extract from Colonel Hawke's diary: "Saturday, December 26—Rainy; men re-enlisting fast; no bread; had two ears of corn issued to each man as day's rations. * * * Sunday, December 27th—Two ears of corn issued as rations to each man today. Notice was forwarded from regimental headquarters that two-thirds of the Twenty-first had re-enlisted for three years more, the first regiment in the Ninth Corps that has done so." Among those who re-enlisted were eight Clinton men: Patrick Burke, William Cohen, John Delaney, Patrick J. Dickson, Calvin Pinder, John Quinn, Charles R. Renner, Luther E. Stewart. The other four Clinton men who remained were temporarily transferred to the Thirty-fifth Massachusetts. Those who had re-enlisted were granted a veteran re-enlistment furlough of thirty days. They started for home on the 20th of January. On February 1st, a grand reception was tendered to them in Worcester. In an eloquent address on this occasion, Hon. A. H. Bullock said: "Follow these men from their camp in Worcester to Annapolis, to North Carolina, back to Virginia, to Maryland, to Tennessee, through four states in rebellion, everywhere patient, enduring, triumphant, never despairing of their country, never dishonoring their state, never losing their flag!"

While the Thirty-sixth was in Mississippi, the Fifty-third, with its thirty-one Clinton men, was also in the Mississippi Valley. All but three of these men belonged in Company I. The other members of the company were mostly from Lancaster and Ashburnham. George A. Barrett of Ashburnham was the first captain of the company.

Lieutenant Vose in bearing all these discomforts with his men, while most of the officers of other companies lived in luxury, letting their men suffer alone, greatly endeared him to the soldiers in his charge.

It was not until the 17th of January, that the regiment left New York. The voyage in the steamer *Continental* was a stormy one, and it was twelve days before New Orleans was reached. The following notes of the voyage were made by Robert Orr, one of our Clinton men: "Just one week from the time of leaving New York, the men were awakened in the early morning by the stopping of the engine, and by looking through the small 'dead lights,' they saw, as if in a frame, a beautiful tropical picture, such as a Northerner may dream of but seldom see. There was a quick rush for the deck, and it seemed as if heaven must have opened to their view. Palm trees, orange and lemon trees in full fruit, with bananas, and all the lush foliage of the tropics met their gaze, and filled them with surprise and delight. * * * An early start was effected on the morning following; and scarcely had the low-lying land of Key West dropped into the ocean, before a tropical thunder storm passed over us. This had scarcely cleared, when directly dead ahead was seen coming toward the steamer one of those sudden-rising storms peculiar to the Gulf of Mexico. A solid wall of water was rolling and tumbling towards us, seemingly threatening to swallow everything in its path. A rush was made by the crew to house the sails, which had been spread to aid the steam in its work, but not quite quick enough to save two of the spars, which snapped like pipe-stems as the storm struck. * * * But all things must come to an end, and the storm finally quieted; the staunch vessel proceeded on her way, and soon the men knew they were in the Mississippi River. The ship soon passed Forts St. Phillip and Jackson, the scene of Farragut's famous engagement, and in due time cast anchor in midstream opposite New Orleans."

The regiment encamped at Carrollton, some six miles

from the city. It was assigned to the Third Brigade, Third Division. The brigade was in command of Colonel Gooding, the division of General Emory. March 6th, the regiment embarked on the steamer, Crescent, for Baton Rouge. It went into camp four miles above the city in a beautiful magnolia grove. On the 12th, there was a reconnoitering expedition, and the pickets of the enemy were driven in. The next day, the regiment set out for Port Hudson to distract the attention of the rebels, while Commodore Farragut passed the batteries with his gunboats. On the night of the 14th, the regiment encamped three miles from Port Hudson and the next day, since everything had been accomplished for which the expedition had been made, they returned toward Baton Rouge.

On the 1st of April, the regiment went down by boat to Algiers, opposite New Orleans. On the 9th, it took the cars for Brashear City, where it started with other troops on an expedition into the Têche country for the purpose of clearing out any rebels who might be there. Shooting at alligators from the cars furnished great amusement to the soldiers as they rode through the cypress swamps. On the 12th, the regiment met and pushed back the rebel skirmishing line, and approached the main works, which were some eight miles from Pattersonville. Then, came an artillery engagement with the regiment in support, lasting until night. The notes of Robert Orr give the following account of the part taken by the Fifty-third in the battle of Bisland or Irish Bend, which followed during the next two days: "Soon, the right wing of the Fifty-third was directed to advance, while the remaining companies were placed in support of a battery which had been moved from the opposite side of the Têche, and was now engaged in shelling the enemy's works, right over the heads of the assaulting column. Being soon relieved from this position, the left wing of the regiment advanced, and were soon in the thick of the fracas. A steady, rapid fire was being delivered from both sides, and its effect

was seen as men slightly wounded sought the rear, and those more severely hurt were passed in the advance. The drifting of the men to the rear, who had been earliest in the fight, and whose ammunition had become exhausted, soon left the Fifty-third at the front; and as night had begun to fall, the firing gradually ceased. But two ditches intervened between them and the works of the enemy. They were ordered to fall back to the last one occupied, and established there the picket-line. The enemy were heard quietly taking possession of the one nearest their works. The men were utterly exhausted from lack of sleep and the labor and nervous strain of the day, and it required the constant efforts of the officers to keep them awake, although the enemy was so near." Charles H. Thurman of Clinton was killed in the battle.

The pursuit of the retreating rebels took the army to Opelousas, where it stayed for two weeks. May 5th, the troops started for Alexandria, one hundred miles away. This march took only four days. Then, the regiment proceeded rapidly back toward Port Hudson, and rejoined the brigade May 23d. On May 27th, the regiment took part in the attack made on Port Hudson. At first, it acted as a support to the Thirty-eighth Massachusetts, but later, it was moved forward to the skirmishing line within two hundred feet of the rebel intrenchment. Here, under the brow of a hill, it was under fire from sharpshooters for twenty-four hours. June 5th, the regiment went some thirty miles to Clinton, Louisiana, to scatter a band of rebel cavalry which was troubling communications. This was accomplished without other casualties than came from the intense heat and the fatiguing march.

June 14th, was the most memorable day in the history of the regiment, for on this day it made a most heroic and fatal charge on the fortifications of the enemy. The official report of Colonel Kimball thus describes the assault: "At about fifteen minutes past four o'clock orders came to advance in quick time upon the enemy's works, supporting the Thirty-

eighth, who were following a line of skirmishers. They pressed steadily forward, keeping as good a line as the nature of the ground, ravines and fallen trees would admit, until the center had reached to within twenty yards of the works, when we came upon the first line of skirmishers, who had been repulsed and were holding this position. At this juncture, General Paine came up, and after examination of the line, gave the order 'to charge forward and into the works.' I immediately repeated the order to my regiment, which sprang forward with an alacrity and determination worthy of veterans, some of the men reaching the works and falling at the ditch, while others entered and were captured. At this time, General Paine fell severely wounded, as did many of my best officers. The fire of the enemy was now so terrible that it was impossible to advance the men under it, and we maintained our position close up to the works during the day, keeping up a fire upon the enemy, receiving no orders until about ten o'clock in the afternoon, when I was ordered to withdraw and return to my position of the morning, being the last regiment to leave the field. I was able to get off all my wounded and most of the dead. The sufferings of the men through this day were severe in the extreme, lying in the hot sun, with no shelter; out of water, and no chance of obtaining a supply, many of them lying in a position where any attempt on their part to move would subject them to the well-directed fire of the enemy's sharpshooters, rendering their condition very critical. They uttered no word of complaint, but all—the wounded and well—bore their trials with the fortitude of martyrs."

In this battle, Thomas Roberts fell, and Lieutenant Josiah H. Vose, Corporal Charles W. Moore, Thomas W. Belcher, Patrick Coyle, Charles Hoffman, Robert Orr, Patrick Owens and Thomas W. Reid were wounded. Lieutenant J. H. Vose died from the effect of his wound, June 17th. We have seen him as the superintendent of the Clinton Company, as a member of the school committee and a leader in many

departments of local affairs. He was so well known and so universally loved, that the intelligence of his death filled the town with gloom. His funeral service marks the moment of deepest solemnity in Clinton throughout the war.

After the supreme effort of June 14th, the regiment rested until June 19th. Then, it went to the front again in support of a battery, where it remained until the surrender of the city, July 9th. On July 11th, the regiment went toward Baton Rouge. On the 15th, it was at Donaldsonville. August 2d, it returned to Baton Rouge. August 12th, it started for home by way of Cairo, Illinois. It reached Fitchburg, August 24th, and the twenty-three Clinton men, who remained in the ranks, were mustered out September 2d at Camp Stevens in Groton. In order that we may appreciate the work of these men we must remember not only the number of killed and wounded, but also the amount of disease which prevailed among them. Perhaps, the men of this regiment brought home the seeds of ill-health implanted in their systems to as great an extent as the men of most three years' regiments. Some have died, and many have suffered from that time to this from diseases then incurred.

No other Clinton men fought in any considerable numbers in the Valley of the Mississippi during the war, except those of the Third Massachusetts Cavalry and one man in the Second Light Battery, who were with Banks in the Red River Expedition of 1864. There were eleven Clinton men in the Third Cavalry. On the 20th of March, we find these eleven men near Alexandria on the Red River. From this time, until the 20th of May, they were engaged in almost constant skirmishing with the enemy. The fighting at Mansfield and Pleasant Hill, sometimes known as "Sabine Cross Roads," on April 8th and 9th, was their most important engagement. Here, the regiment lost seventy-three men, although we have no record of casualties in the case of any Clinton man of this regiment. Thomas Caulfield, originally of the Fifteenth, but since January 16, 1864, of the Massa-

chusetts Second Light Battery, was wounded here and made a prisoner. During the latter part of May and the whole of June, the Third Cavalry rested from the disastrous campaign at Morganza Bend on the Mississippi. Here, on the 19th of June, Joseph Hall died. On June 25th, the regiment was dismounted and armed as infantry. On July 15, 1864, it set out for Fortress Monroe.

After the enlistment of the nine months' men in the summer and early fall of 1862, there was no recruiting done in Clinton for a long time. The only enlistment known to have been made before the following summer was that of John W. Freeman, who entered service February 27, 1863, as a seaman on the ship, *Mercidita*. He was the only Clinton man in the navy of whom any casualties are recorded. He was wounded in the leg off Wilmington, N. C., November 7, 1863, and was discharged February 1, 1864.

The ill-success of our arms in the Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville campaigns offered little encouragement for recruiting in a community, where all the most patriotic young men who were able to go, were already in the field. Moreover, the fear of a draft, which had been to some a strong inducement to help on recruiting from the town as a whole, now lost its effective force in this direction, since it had been decided that the town was responsible for a certain number of men on each new call for troops, notwithstanding it had furnished an excess over the demand in the calls taken as a whole. There was much ill-feeling over this matter, as it had always been supposed by the town authorities on the assurance of the adjutant-general of the state, that full credit would be received for all men furnished by Clinton in excess of her quota, as a satisfaction of future demands, made in advance. Thus, notwithstanding its surplus, this town was subject to the draft of July, 1863, as well as the other towns of the state that had no surplus.

Our quota was eighty-seven, and this number of men

were drawn and went to Greenfield for examination. J. D. Hayes acted as marshal. When they appeared before the United States Commissioners, eighteen were accepted and sixty-nine were rejected from various causes, such as disability, being aliens, and possibly under the plea of being the only sons of widows or of infirm and aged parents.

None of the eighteen accepted* served personally, but each paid a commutation fee of three hundred dollars. Some of these were willing, since they could not go themselves, to send others to take their places, while others paid their money in the vain hope that it would be returned when the proper credit had been given to the town for its volunteers. After repeated attempts to have our state authorities credit our volunteers as they should, Elisha Brimhall, one of our selectmen, and A. L. Fuller, as representatives of the town, went to Washington and laid the matter before President Lincoln in person. From this time on, although other towns were subject to the draft, Clinton was exempt.

The close of 1863 and the beginning of 1864 proved a third period of numerous enlistments, about seventy recruits being added to the credit of the town at this time through veteran re-enlistment and fresh volunteering. Most of these, who enlisted from Clinton, entered the artillery or cavalry. Of those who entered the infantry, six went into the Thirty-fourth* in December, 1863, and January, 1864, and one to the Fifteenth*, in March, 1864. Between the summer of 1863 and that of 1864, the Second Heavy Artillery received twelve men from Clinton.* A large proportion of these had only just reached the age of admission to the army. The four from Clinton, who enlisted in the Third Heavy Artillery, were earlier in the field than most of those of the Second, for they were mustered in August and September of 1863.* The Third Regiment of Cavalry was mustered January 5, 1864, and contained eleven Clinton men.* The Fourth Regiment of Cavalry, containing thirteen Clinton

* See Individual Record.

men, was mustered January 6, 1864.* In the Fifth Cavalry we find one Clinton man.

This gives us a total of fifty-one new enlistments to add to the two hundred and sixteen already recorded. If we add to these the thirty-two re-enlistments from the field, most of which took place about the beginning of 1864, and the eighteen who paid commutation fees, we have three hundred and seventeen, or, with the thirty-five nine months' men and one three months' man, three hundred and fifty-three. In the summer of 1864, nine men enlisted for one hundred days in the Sixtieth Regiment.* These men went to Washington, and afterwards to Indianapolis, where they did good service in warding off the danger apprehended from the secret disloyal organizations, which had their headquarters in this city. They also helped in guarding rebel prisoners. Here Ezra K. Bartlett died October 10, 1864. One enlisted in the Forty-second, also a hundred days' regiment; another in the Sixty-first, a one year's regiment, and one in the regular army, Engineer Corps. Massachusetts received credit for a certain number of men who enlisted in the navy. These were divided between the towns. Clinton received twenty-two men as its proportion. These men never lived here or had any other connection with our town than comes from this credit, yet Clinton would be held responsible for their support if they became paupers and had secured no residence elsewhere since the war.

In the report of the adjutant-general, Clinton received credit for furnishing four hundred and nineteen men for the war, a surplus of forty-eight over all demands. A study of the Individual Record will show that this number is approximately accounted for, if we include those who served for the shortest time, allowing for all re-enlistments, together with those who were credited from commutation, and from bounties paid claimed by the town, also those who had their

* See Individual Record.

homes here and enlisted elsewhere, and substitutes sent by our citizens. The adjutant-general states that twenty-one of the four hundred and nineteen were commissioned officers. This is somewhat in excess of the average proportion of officers to enlisted men.

Of this number enlisted, seventy died during the contest. Of this seventy, about half were killed in battles or died from the effects of wounds; the latter number is so uncertain that it is left indefinite. Eight died in rebel prisons. The others, for the most part, died from diseases caused by the service. Of the other three hundred and seventeen, for we must allow thirty-two for re-enlistments, over half were discharged for disability and fully three-fourths received permanent injuries from the service, either as the result of wounds or of chronic diseases incurred.

The adjutant-general, summarizing expenses, states that fourteen thousand forty-three dollars and thirteen cents were appropriated and expended by the town in addition to state aid. Private subscriptions are reported to have amounted to nine thousand dollars more, making a total expenditure of twenty-three thousand forty-three dollars and thirteen cents. The amount of state aid paid by the town, and afterwards refunded by the commonwealth, was thirty-six thousand one hundred and seventy-one dollars and twenty-eight cents. It is not to be supposed that the pecuniary cost of the war to the people of the town can be estimated by the amount of expenditures stated. We must also take into account the loss of work by the citizens and the increased price of living. Besides all this, we are still paying, as we have been for thirty-five years, through indirect taxation, the national debt and interest thereon incurred by the war and the pensions bestowed upon those who participated therein. The indirect tax has already amounted for the people of the town to many times the sum directly appropriated by the town in its corporate capacity during the time the war was going on.

In order that we may appreciate the sacrifices of those

who remained at home, we must realize that the expenses were paid and obligations undertaken when there was the greatest depression of business. In the month of August, 1862, the *Courant* says: "Not a man, woman or child in Clinton need be told that times are hard. They all know it; they all understand it. The fact haunts us in our dreams and is ever present by day. * * * Cotton manufacturers and employers bewail the severity of the times as resulting from the almost fabulous prices at which cotton as a raw material is quoted."

Merchants were often obliged to close up business on account of the large amount of bills that could not be collected from honest but impoverished debtors. The average cost of groceries and articles of dress had increased threefold, while the incomes of the majority of our people had been decreased. From the fact that the times were harder in Clinton than elsewhere, our population decreased so that there was a falling off of eleven per cent. in the number of children between five and fifteen years old in the two years preceding February, 1864.

The stopping of the publishing of the *Clinton Courant* in December, 1862, shows the hardness of the times, since the community could no longer support a local paper. Yet there were already signs that this depression was being relieved. Although the prices of raw materials were still at their highest, and manufacturers feared to purchase lest the price should grow less before the goods were off their hands, yet the needs of the country at large became so imperative, that orders kept ahead of work, and thus the risk was removed. Our Clinton corporations did not gain that advantage from rise of prices that made more venturesome business concerns in other places suddenly wealthy.

The work of the Clinton Soldiers' Aid Society was continued throughout the war, and its rooms were opened every week day. There was an average attendance of about ten each day from the date of opening in August, 1862, to the

close of the war. Whenever any more important engagement had occurred, or for any reason the needs of the soldiers in the field or hospitals became more urgent, the numbers were greatly increased, and whenever there was less of need the attendance dropped off. A great variety of articles was made by the members of the society, either at their rooms or at home. The children, too, were often called upon to pick lint or make patchwork. All worked zealously, and there were none who were so devoid of patriotism or of pity for the suffering that they refused to do their part.

When a box was to be sent, everybody contributed, and a most miscellaneous lot of articles were gathered. Here is a random list taken from the society accounts: Magazines and newspapers, delaine for quilt, two pieces calico for dressing-gowns, four jars pickles, seven bags dried apples, table linen, lint, two pairs socks, seven shirts, four sheets, six shirts, two shirts, two bottles wine, one bag hops, two cans jelly, four pounds cocoa, two pounds maizena, two pounds rice, one pound maizena, three bottles wine, three pillows, three slings for the arm, one pair drawers, one pair socks, five quilts. One box that was sent during Grant's advance on Richmond was so heavy that it could scarcely be loaded upon the wagon.

In the latter part of the war, the boxes were sent through the Sanitary Commission, and extracts from some of the letters received from its officers may best reveal the good accomplished by the society:

"I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of another box from the Clinton Soldiers' Aid Society. The delay that you speak of in filling it is certainly more than compensated for by the excellence as well as the quantity of the contributions. The ladies who opened the box were loud in their praise of its contents. They seemed to think they never had seen so many beautifully knit socks before."

"Please accept for yourself and our friends in Clinton our hearty thanks for your acceptable donations of wines and

jellies; how grateful they will be to some poor sufferers only those can tell who have watched beside a fevered patient and seen the eager look after the cooling draught, or seen the sinking, fainting form revived by a spoonful of wine judiciously administered; and how gladly the sanitary agents take places of mother and sister, and how well they fill those places by their acts of tender kindness to the sick and wounded, many a poor fellow will testify, and many another cannot in this world tell of the pillow smoothed or the aching pains made more easy while his soul was lifted above the worries of this world to seek its home above, and the way of the dark valley made brighter by the words of cheer uttered by these same agents. But I meant to write a note of thanks to our friends, and so I do thank you all most heartily for helping us with our blessed work and giving us the stores to distribute where most needed."

"Please tender to 'Young Ladies of Clinton' our warm thanks for the beautiful quilt sent through us to the soldiers. It will be forwarded to some permanent hospital without doubt, and serve as a comfort and entertainment to our brave soldiers for a long time."

"We have received the box promised in your letter of the 7th, and our only smile was of pleasure in receiving a 'good box.' We have known Clinton and its work so long that we now depend upon it and rejoice."

It was not until July 5, 1865, that the society closed its rooms. The funds on hand were kept to be used for the good of returned soldiers or their families, while the various articles belonging to the rooms were kept by the members of the society to remind them of the days when they, as well as the men, worked for their country.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

UNDER GRANT IN VIRGINIA.

Now, we come to the closing scenes of the war, the stern death grapple with the Confederacy, nerved by the energy of despair. The Federal troops for the first time acted as a unit, and were under the control of the iron-willed Grant. Most of our Clinton men were in Virginia. As the Ninth Corps was reorganized, the Twenty-first Regiment was assigned to the Second Brigade of the First Division, while the Thirty-sixth was assigned to the First Brigade, Second Division. General Burnside was again in command. There was a possible total of thirty Clinton men in the corps as a whole. It will be remembered that in the Second and other corps of Meade's army, there were thirty-one more men enrolled, so that there may have been a possible total of sixty-one Clinton men in this army as a whole. Meanwhile, there were two subordinate armies, one in the valley of the Shenandoah and another in the valley of the James. These were expected to coöperate with the main body and separate the rebel forces.

In the former force, was the Thirty-fourth Regiment with its fifteen Clinton men ; in the latter, the Twenty-fifth, with twenty-five Clinton men, and the Twenty-seventh, with two. Several Clinton men of the Fourth Cavalry were also with the Army of the James, giving a total of over thirty Clinton men in this force. Thus, in all the armies in Virginia, there was a possible total of one hundred and ten Clinton men. In August of this year, the Third Cavalry, with ten Clinton

men, joined Sheridan, bringing up the possible total to about one hundred and twenty who may have served in Virginia in 1864 and 1865. Probably much less than a hundred of these men saw any active service in the field during this time.

On the 4th of May, the grand advance movement began. Grant crossed the Rapidan without opposition, but on the next day he met the forces of Lee in the Wilderness, and trusting to his preponderance of numbers, engaged in a blind struggle in the tangled forests. In this fearful combat, on a ground where the undergrowth was so thick that it was afterwards impossible to find the bodies of the dead, Hancock's Second Corps took the most prominent part. It advanced well into the lines of the enemy, but as overwhelming forces were massed against it by the approach of Longstreet, it was obliged to withdraw. The Fifteenth Regiment lost about one-half the men on active duty. Archibald D. Wright was here taken prisoner on the 6th of May. The last morning report of Company C was made May 3d, and then there were only twenty men in actual service. How many of these came from Clinton it is impossible to say.

Although the Ninth Corps did not enter the battle of the Wilderness until it was nearly closed, yet it suffered severely. Leisure's Brigade, in which were the Twenty-first Massachusetts and the One-hundredth Pennsylvania, was called upon to sweep the front of Hancock's line after he had withdrawn to his original position. This it did in a most gallant manner, and later still, acting with the Second Corps, it was called upon to help attack and repulse the enemy. Patrick Burke was killed, and William Cohen was wounded in this engagement. In the Thirty-sixth Regiment, the skirmish line was led by Captain Bailey of Company G. When the Ninth Corps advanced against the rebels, it came in contact with its old antagonists of Longstreet's command. "The order, 'Forward, double quick,' was shouted, and with loud and ringing cheers our lines advanced. The

enemy poured upon it terrific volleys, * * * but the advance was not checked. The left of our regiment first struck the rebel line and received the severest fire, but pressed on through it, and the Thirty-sixth (Massachusetts) and the Forty-fifth (Pennsylvania) broke the line, went over the breastworks with a rush and drove out the enemy in our front." The advantage was only temporary, for when night fell, Burnside, with all the Ninth Corps, occupied the same ground as when the fight began. The only loss among the Clinton men was that of Sergeant Daniel Wright, wounded and a prisoner. Lieutenant A. S. Davidson and Michael Martin were slightly wounded, but did not leave the field.

Grant, finding that his "hammering" process was a failure, resorted once more to manœuvre, and, avoiding the rebel lines, advanced toward Richmond. He found Lee again across his path at Spottsylvania Court House. On the 10th of May, the "hammering" began again. Grant, determined "to fight it out on this line if it took all summer," used the corps of Meade's army as so many huge human projectiles and hurled them one after another at the impregnable fortifications of the rebels. It was here that the Second Corps took and held the famous "Death Angle," where there was a struggle for hours hand to hand with the enemy. The Ninth Corps, too, participated in the battle. A single scene from the record of the Thirty-sixth will be better than any attempt to chronicle the complex movements. The enemy are upon the flank of the regiment. "It was the most awful moment of our history. * * * Lying upon the ground, loading and firing rapidly, pouring upon the enemy a low fire which was most effective and deadly, they maintained the unequal contest until the order came * * * to charge. Then, rising to their feet in the midst of the awful fire, * * * the regiment was rushing toward the enemy when loud cheers were heard upon our left, and in another moment we were joined by the gallant Twenty-first Massachusetts. * * * Cheer answered cheer, and both regiments charged the enemy, who

were driven back into their intrenchments with great loss." In this battle, Patrick Meehan of the Twenty-first and Timothy Higgins of the Fifty-seventh, another regiment of the Ninth Corps, were wounded.

On the 20th of May, leaving his hammering for a while, Grant again resorted to manœuvre, and passing around the rebels moved to the North Anna, only to find his way again blocked by Lee. The fighting here was less bloody than in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania, as the rebel position was so strong that even Grant did not think it best to attempt to carry it, and he tried to reach Richmond by the Pamunkey and Chickahominy Rivers. In a picket fight, which occurred the last of May, Corporal James A. Bonney of the Fifteenth was killed by a sharpshooter.

Meanwhile, the Army of the James under Butler threatened Richmond on the south and made ready to coöperate effectively with Meade as soon as he should draw near from the north. While the battles fought by Butler were on a much smaller scale than those of Meade, yet the casualties to Clinton men were greater. The Twenty-fifth was assigned to the Eighteenth Corps, Second Division, the "Star Brigade." General Heckman was in command of this brigade. The movement began at the same time as that of the Army of the Potomac. On May 4th, the regiment went to Bermuda Hundreds. Thence, they were moved to a point between Petersburg and Richmond. May 6th, Heckman's Brigade made a reconnoissance to the railroad connecting those cities, with the idea of taking possession of it if possible. In a diary of one of the soldiers, we read: "The two skirmish lines drew nearer and nearer, each watching the other closely, and finally halting and crouching upon their knees when only the distance of a stone's throw separates them, ready for an instant spring, like a tiger waiting for its prey. Fifteen long minutes, they thus crouch and wait, tightly grasping their arms, as immovable as statues, until at last the rebel line, turning, creeps slowly and noiselessly

back to the main body. Our men spring to their feet, fire, and as quickly throw themselves upon the ground to avoid the reply." Later, the Twenty-fifth Regiment stood in reserve, with the order, "Not a man fire," while the shots of the enemy picked them off one by one. The whole loss of the Twenty-fifth was only four killed and fifteen wounded, but three of the latter were Clinton men. Edward Klein was wounded in the knee, Karl Kochler in the arm, and Frederic Weisser in the arm and hand. This engagement is known as Port Walthal Junction.

As this attempt on the railroad was only a partial success, a second attempt was made the next day at Chesterfield Junction. In this affair, the Twenty-fifth was not actively engaged, but on the 9th of the next month, as this second attempt was also a failure, a third was made at Arrowfield Church. In this attempt, the railroad was destroyed for a considerable distance. During the day, the "Star Brigade" repulsed a charge of the enemy. "A shot was heard, a yell, and the rebel line was seen advancing, charging down in splendid style across the open field. The moment Pickett, (in command of the Twenty-fifth), saw the enemy, he gave the order, 'Cease firing. Steady, men! steady!' and the men of the Twenty-fifth stood firm to meet the impact of the coming mass. The yelling line came on—steady, undaunted—came on to within twenty or thirty yards, and then the clear voice of the colonel was heard: 'Ready, the Twenty-fifth! Fire!' A sheet of flame flashed out; the blue smoke, like a curtain, veiled the scene, and when it lifted a few staggering men were all that were left of the Twenty-fifth North Carolina." The victory was not without loss to Clinton men, for here Franz Müller died and George Rauscher was wounded in the head. One of our Clinton men thus describes the conflict: "The opposing forces came down opposite hills and met in the valley, a brook being between them. The Union troops had the advantage, being in some brushwood. The commanding officer of the Twenty-fifth

North Carolina Regiment, seeing the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts standing in battle line, asked, 'What regiment is that?' Somebody answered, 'The Twenty-fifth Massachusetts,' whereupon the Twenty-fifth North Carolina Regiment immediately charged. Orders were received to fire low, which we did, raising great havoc among the rebels. Almost all the wounds of the rebels were in the head or breast. At midnight, some of Company G went among the wounded rebels, administering to their needs."

In the next meeting with the enemy, which took place at Drewry's Bluff on the 16th of May, the tables were turned and the Union troops suffered more than the enemy. The Confederates were now under command of Beauregard, who had brought up a large reënforcement. During the night of the 15th, he seized an opportunity which was presented to him of throwing troops around on the flank and the rear of the Union troops, who were before the rebel fortifications of Drewry's Bluff. Heckman's Brigade was upon this flank. In the mist of the morning, the enemy were able to steal close upon them, before they were aware of their presence. Quicker than thought the men seize their arms and leaping to the rear of the intrenchments pour an unceasing fire upon the charging enemy, who pause, staggered by their awful loss. The report of Colonel Pickett to the state executive tells the rest: "Surrounded, their ammunition exhausted, they (the men of the Twenty-fifth) were faced by the rear rank, charged the rebel lines, throwing the enemy into such confusion as to enable the regiment to extricate itself from one of the most perilous positions in which troops ever found themselves placed," The loss of the regiment was heavier than it had been in the previous fighting, though Clinton men suffered less in proportion to the others. Amos E. Stearns was captured. Sergeant Philip Rauscher, John T. Coulter, Joseph Schusser and Carl Kochler were wounded. A comrade of Joseph Shusser, says that it was at this battle he was captured rather than at Cold Harbor. John R. Bur-

gess of the Twenty-seventh was also captured here and carried to Andersonville. Here, he was so nearly starved that he died April 21, 1865, two days after he was exchanged. The Fourth Cavalry participated in this action, but without serious casualties.

As General Heckman was captured at Drewry's Bluff, Colonel Pickett took command of the "Star Brigade," while the regiment was handed over to Moulton. As a result of the battle, Butler was obliged to withdraw to Bermuda Hundreds, where the men worked throwing up intrenchments. The position was such that while it was easy to defend himself from the enemy, it was difficult to make any aggressive movement. He was, to use his own expression, "bottled up." As Meade's army had lost over thirty thousand men during the month of May, Grant now ordered Butler to send the larger portion of his force to him. These troops were put under the command of General W. F. Smith, Brooks commanding the division and Stannard the brigade in which the Twenty-fifth was organized. They got under way on May 29th, reaching Cold Harbor on the 1st of June.

It was at Cold Harbor, upon the Chickahominy, that Lee was now attempting to block the advance of Grant toward Richmond, and here, for the fourth time Grant, untaught by former failures, renews his fatal "hammering." On its arrival, Smith's Eighteenth Corps found the Sixth Corps engaged with the enemy and, though exhausted from the march, immediately took part in the struggle. At the end of the day, the first line of the enemy's ranks was carried, but the second was still firm. The next day, there was less fighting, but Grant's favorite order was again given that on June 3d there should be a general assault all along the line. The Second Corps stood on the left, then in order the Sixth, Eighteenth, Fifth, Ninth, so the men of the Fifteenth and Twenty-fifth Regiments were widely separated, and those of the Twenty-first and the Thirty-sixth were still further to the right. As the Ninth Corps was getting into position, mov-

ing from Bethesda Church, Crittenden's Division, containing the Twenty-first, was attacked by the rebels. This division was in the rear and acted as a guard in the movement. The division as a whole, and the Twenty-first Regiment in particular, withstood the attack grandly until the other divisions came to their support and the rebels were driven back. The Twenty-first Regiment suffered badly, losing forty-seven men from its ranks already so sadly wasted. John Quinn was wounded in the shoulder. He was carried to the field hospital, and died June 9th. Luther E. Stewart was wounded in the foot and amputation was necessary.

The morning assault on the almost impregnable works of the enemy was to be made especially by the Second, Sixth and Eighteenth Corps. Gibbons' Division of the Second Corps was divided by a gradually widening swamp of which the troops had no previous knowledge, but nevertheless advanced to the fortifications of the enemy under the most withering fire. Those that were left of them gained the intrenchments, but they could not take them, and within twenty-two minutes of the time the signal was given for the advance of the Second Corps, nearly three thousand of its men had been lost. Charles G. Ryder of the Fifteenth, was one of those who fell into the hands of the enemy.

The advance of Smith's command was made with no less heroism and no greater success. There was one point of the enemy's works stronger and more important than any other. Against this Smith was directed to send his best brigade. Of course, the "Star Brigade" was chosen, and well did they prove by their deeds that the choice was a just one. The corps as a whole passed up a ravine, where for a time they were protected from the cross fire of the enemy, then emerged and moved steadily on; not a man faltered. The rifle-pits of the enemy were seized, and the lines re-adjusted while the fire was pouring in from front and left and right. The brigade, with the Twenty-fifth in front, again advances to its hopeless task. Three times it renews the assault,

until the number of those who have fallen, wounded or dead, is more than twice as great as the number of those in the ranks. Then it was ordered to withdraw. In the Twenty-fifth Regiment, there was a loss of two hundred and twenty out of the three hundred engaged.

There was only one other instance in the whole war where the per cent. of wounded and dead was as great as this in a single battle, and there have been very few in the history of the world. Clinton had her share in this glory and in this slaughter, for among the names of those who were killed are those of Corporal Moritz Grumbacher and Corporal Kohule. Here, the regimental history says that Joseph Schusser was captured, to die August 16th amid the horrors of Andersonville. Here, Sergeant Philip Reischer was wounded in the side, and Corporal George F. Stearns in the hip.

Although the Ninth Corps did not participate in the morning assault, yet its history, too, for the day, is written in blood. Lieutenant A. S. Davidson was again slightly wounded, and the name of Frank A. Chenery was added to the list of the dead. Burnside threw forward the Second and Third Divisions early in the morning, and the Thirty-sixth, with its companion regiments, took the rifle-pits of Early's left and established their line close to that of the rebels, awaiting, under a terrific fire, the expected order to charge. Fortunately, that order never came, for the failure of the morning proved that further waste of life was useless.

A Clinton man of the Thirty-sixth thus wrote home: "When we had lain for about an hour an order came to fall in. We marched up to the front and lay behind the breastworks until nearly morning. At twelve at night I was detailed to go on the skirmish line. Soon after, our brigade moved away back, and made breastworks. We worked there till morning, then we were ordered to march, and went off to the left and formed a line of battle and moved forward. Soon we came upon the enemy and drove them back about

half a mile. Then the contest began, and it was hot, I tell you, all the time. All the bullets came in range to hit us. We went to work and built some breastworks. We fought them all day, and made terrible havoc. We lost in killed and wounded, fifty-eight—nine killed and the rest wounded. Our company lost three killed and four wounded. We are now within seven miles of Richmond. * * * Tell the folks that Frank Chenery was killed."

As soon as it was seen that the process of "hammering" at Cold Harbor was in vain, Grant, by a masterly movement, proceeded to throw his whole army across the James, in order that he might cut off all communication of Richmond with the South as near to the city as possible. As a means to this end, the capture of Petersburg became desirable. The army were all across the river by the 16th, without any serious interference from the enemy.

Meanwhile, General Smith, with the Eighteenth Corps, went by transport down the Pamunkey and York Rivers into the James and Appomatox to Broadway Landing, thence he marched to Petersburg, reaching there early on June 15th. The works had the appearance of great strength, but they had few defenders, and if Smith had pressed on at once to the capture of the city, it would probably have been taken. The Twenty-fifth Regiment remained in a corn-field during the day. Towards evening an advance was made, and the outworks of the enemy were easily captured. Content with this, Smith waited for Hancock, who was now approaching. Two Clinton men were wounded in this fighting of June 15th, Bernard Brockleman in the leg, and Frederick Wenning in the arm. A Clinton man of the Twenty-fifth says of that night: "The men dug holes, large enough for three men, in which they could lie, safe from the bullets of the enemy. Petersburg, on the 16th, was not at all strongly defended, and the Union forces could easily have taken it that day, but orders were received to wait until the next day. That night the whistling and rumbling of cars

bringing reënforcements to Petersburg could be heard in the camp. The next day the fortifications were impregnable."

On the 16th, assaults on the city were made by the Second Corps, supported by portions of the Ninth and Eighteenth, with partial success. On the 17th, the Ninth Corps made a series of assaults. The Second Division went first, early in the morning, and the Thirty-sixth did some good fighting and gained some decided advantage. The division containing the Twenty-first did not advance until six in the afternoon. Charging fearlessly over the bodies of a thousand of their comrades of the Second and Third Divisions who had fallen in the two previous attacks, they carried and occupied the rebel lines in their front. After dark, as their ammunition had given out, they were obliged to return before the advancing rebels and give up the advantage gained. Here, John Tracy was wounded in the shoulder. He died in Nashville, Tennessee, January 31, 1865. On the 18th, the Twenty-fifth Regiment made an attack upon the intrenchments of the enemy near the river, advancing ineffectively against a heavy fire of shot and shell. In a few minutes, nineteen men were lost. Michael Suss was killed, and Gottfried Speisser was severely wounded in the face. On the same day, the Thirty-sixth did some severe fighting in seizing and holding a railroad cut and the fortifications about it. At this time, Sergeant Hiram W. Olcott was wounded.

It has, perhaps, been noted that little has been said of the Fifteenth Regiment since the battle of Cold Harbor. The fact is, that the only three Clinton men, Lieutenant William J. Coulter, Sergeant David O. Wallace and James Clifford, out of the seventy-eight who had left home, now remained on regular duty with the regiment in the field. On the 22d of June, these three were all captured, with the rest of the Fifteenth, in an advance on the Weldon Railroad. A sudden and totally unexpected attack of a large body of the rebels on the rear and flank of Gibbons' Division, as it

lay in the rifle-pits in a swamp, waiting for an impending attack in front, threw the little remnant of it that was left into confusion, and before the line could be restored many were captured. It was only three weeks before their term of service would expire, but it was many weary months before any of them were destined to see their homes, and one, David O. Wallace, died in Florence, S. C., February 4, 1865, as they were being transferred from prison to prison to be out of the way of "Sherman's March to the Sea."

Heman O. Edgerly, who had been transferred from the Fifteenth to the Fourth New Hampshire, was wounded before Petersburg and died from the effects of the wound. Frank E. Houghton, who had been transferred to Rickett's Battery, U. S. A., was killed at St. Mary's Church, June 24th, and it should here be noted that Rickett's Battery, to which he and his two comrades of the Fifteenth had been transferred, had been continually with the Army of the Potomac, and had participated in its battles.

The twelve other men who had entered this regiment and who had been transferred, or who had been in the hospital or had been detailed for other duty than regular service in the Fifteenth, were mustered out during July or August. Those who were in prison were mustered out when they were released, in March, 1865. George I. Henery remained another year in the Veteran Reserve Corps. Four who had reënlisted were transferred to the Twentieth Massachusetts, and remained in active service until the close of the war.

After these few days of futile attempts to take the fortifications of Petersburg by assault, the attack settled down into a siege. On the very day that the remnant of the Fifteenth were captured, the Thirty-sixth began its work in the trenches, and before the day was ended one of our Clinton men, Abial Fisher, was wounded in the arm. A rebel account of the siege of Petersburg says: "The enemy (the Union army) plied pick and spade and axe with such silent vigor that there arose as if by a touch of the magician's wand

a vast cordon of redoubts of powerful profile, connected by heavy infantry parapets, stretching from the Appomattox to the extreme Federal left—a line of prodigious strength and constructed with amazing skill." A man of the Twenty-fifth Massachusetts wrote: "Now commenced the terrible life in the trenches, and there were no places a man could choose for comfort." These trenches were shallow earthworks with parapets formed of the earth thrown out, with loop-holes made usually of sand-bags. They were generally provided with little canvas shelters to protect from the sun. In many cases, men dug caves in the earth which afforded protection against pieces of shell and other missiles thrown in the frequent artillery duels. In the trenches, officers and men lived for days, weeks and months. Food was brought to them by the company cooks. While our army occupied these trenches, the enemy occupied similar ones only a few rods away in front, and each lay watching the other, watching a chance to get a shot that would send some one to his death. To the end of August, the average number of wounded in the Eighteenth Corps was thirty per day, and ambulances were kept in constant readiness to remove the wounded or sick. Here, on June 25th, Herman Holman was wounded so that his left leg had to be amputated, and July 12th, Henry Linenkemper received a wound in the back.

On July 30th, the Ninth Corps took part in the "Battle of the Crater." A mine had been dug under one of the rebel forts called the Elliott Salient. Here, eight thousand pounds of powder were placed. The powder was carried into the mine by a detail of four men under charge of our townsman, Captain A. S. Davidson, then in command of Company G. It was exploded on the morning of the 30th, the fort was blown high in the air, and the Ninth Corps, led by Ledlie's Division, with the Twenty-first Massachusetts well to the front, charged through the crater thus formed, on to the lines of the enemy. They were poorly led and the rebels recovered from their confusion before any impression had

been made on their lines, and poured down from front and sides a deluge of lead and bursting shells upon the mass of humanity struggling in the crater. The rest of the Ninth Corps, including the Thirty-sixth, followed up the attack, but as the troops were thus crowded more closely, and were trying to move in opposite directions, the confusion was only redoubled. When the men were at last withdrawn, nearly four thousand had fallen. The only victim in this "miserable affair" among our Clinton soldiers was Sergeant Charles R. Renner, who received wounds from which he died August 22d. Edward M. Fuller (claimed by both Lancaster and Clinton), major of the Thirty-ninth United States Colored Troops, was wounded.

In August, the two Clinton men of the Twenty-first who still remained in the army, and who had not reënlisted, were ordered home to be mustered out. John Tracy was in the hospital from wounds, never to recover. The four who were left in active service were enrolled in the Twenty-first Battalion. On August 19th, this organization took part in the battle of Poplar Springs Church. Late in October, it was consolidated into the Thirty-sixth Massachusetts.

The Twenty-fifth Regiment was withdrawn from the siege of Petersburg and sent to the line at Bermuda Hundreds, and September 6th, it was sent to Newbern, N. C. But even here, death was lurking in wait for his victims. Yellow fever prevailed, and Samuel D. Champney contracted the disease, from which he died in quarantine in New York City, October 10, 1864. October 5th, those of the survivors who had not re-enlisted, started for home and were mustered out at Worcester, October 20th. In the four months in Virginia, out of the twenty-four that set out for that state with the regiment, one had been discharged for disability, four had been killed, two were still in rebel prisons, one never to return, and nearly all the others had been wounded, some, several times. As three had re-enlisted and one died on the way home, there were only thirteen left to be mustered out. The rem-

nant of the regiment served in North Carolina to the end of the war, and was mustered out July 13, 1865.

Lieutenant Samuel M. Bowman of the Fifty-first Regiment was hit by a shell at Petersburg, and died July 26th. On the 1st of August, there were fourteen Clinton men left in the Thirty-sixth, although not more than half of these could have been on regular duty in the ranks. These took part, August 19th, in the successful engagement by which the control of the Weldon Railroad was secured, and in the disastrous affair at Pegram Farm, September 30th. It is possible that Roger Eccles was one of those taken prisoner in this engagement, although his capture is given as at Petersburg, two days later. He was carried to Salisbury, N. C., where he died, January 9, 1865. The remainder of the autumn and winter were passed near Petersburg in comparative quiet.

Some of the Clinton men of the Fourth Cavalry were doing service all the time from May 8th through the summer and fall, in the Army of the James, or, after the consolidation, in the Army of the Potomac. They took part in various engagements, and performed such duties as were required of them, but such was their good fortune that they did not lose a man or suffer any serious casualties during this bloody struggle, and the close of the year saw all the thirteen men, who had enlisted January 6, 1864, still on duty.

We have yet to follow the history of the Army of the Shenandoah under General Sigel, which was to coöperate with Grant in his movement on Richmond. Clinton was represented in this force at first by the Thirty-fourth Regiment alone. This regiment, which we have seen on guard duty about Washington and Harper's Ferry, had known little fighting previous to the opening of this campaign. On the 18th of October, 1863, it had a running fight, as it pursued for some six miles the fleeing rebel cavalry under Imboden, but no Clinton men were injured. In the winter, it had

received six recruits, who were mustered in December and January, 1863-4. As one man had been discharged and one transferred, there were in May, 1864, fifteen Clinton men in the regiment.

May 2d, the Thirty-fourth was at Winchester; May 9th, it moved to Cedar Creek; May 14th, to New Market. Here, the next day, it met the enemy. Company B, in which most of the Clinton boys had enlisted, acted together with Company I as a skirmish line. Later, the regiment received and checked a charge of the rebels. Then they made an unsuccessful counter-charge, with great loss. Horatio E. Turner was wounded and taken prisoner. He died in Andersonville, September 8, 1864. May 22d, Sigel was succeeded by General Hunter. A forward movement was made, in which the first decided resistance was met at Piedmont, on June 5th. One, who was present at the battle, states:

"Upon nearing the enemy, the Thirty-fourth was detached from its brigade, and ordered to move, by left flank, through the fields to a hollow, then to advance in line, facing the woods occupied by the enemy. This movement threatened the enemy's flank. As we, having gained the hollow, raised the crest of the hill beyond, a volley was poured into us which killed four and wounded others. Here, at a scant twenty rods distance, we delivered our fire, and rushed on. The enemy broke back into the woods in some confusion; our line advanced, cheering, and the day was seemingly ours. But the enemy rallied, and renewed his fire with great fury. Here, we had a fair stand-up fight for about twenty minutes, when suddenly a heavy fire broke out on our left, against which a strong force was being brought forward. This was the enemy's reserve. Approaching down an open road, it poured a withering fire into our very faces. In less than five minutes, we lost our major, adjutant, senior captain, and fifty-three men killed or wounded." The victory finally, however, rested with our

troops, but it was purchased at a heavy cost to the regiment, which lost thirteen killed and ninety-seven wounded. Thomas J. Burns received a wound in the breast of which he died, June 10th, at Piedmont. James A. Needham was wounded.

Colonel Wells of the Thirty-fourth being called to the command of the First Brigade, took with him his own regiment. An advance was made to Lynchburg, and on the 18th, the intrenchments of the enemy were attacked without success, and the rebels were driven back when they tried to break our line. The engagement lasted two hours, and was without any decided advantage to either side. As the rebels received reënforcements at night, the Union troops withdrew. John Bell was among the wounded, and Enos Messier was taken a prisoner, to die at Andersonville, September 23d.

As General Early had received a great accession to his numbers, he commenced an aggressive campaign, with the hope of calling troops from Grant to the defence of Washington. The Union forces were obliged to flee before the overwhelming force of their opponents. Early gained control of the whole Shenandoah Valley, but failed to accomplish his main purpose. At the beginning of August, General Sheridan took command of this department. The Third Massachusetts Cavalry, which had taken part in the Red River expedition, was ordered to the north, and having been dismounted, was joined to Sheridan's forces. In this regiment, there were at this time ten Clinton men. As twelve remained in the Thirty-fourth Infantry, there were twenty-two Clinton men in all in Sheridan's army.

The Union troops, with enlarged forces and a new commander, assumed the aggressive. After various rapid movements, they engaged the Confederates at Opequan, and after a sharp battle drove them from the field. Although the Thirty-fourth was closely engaged, we have no record of any casualties that befell the Clinton men, but the Third Cavalry was not so fortunate. Three times did that regiment

share in a determined charge, and the final victory was due in no small part to its valor. The regiment lost one hundred and four officers and men, among whom were Benjamin Davenport and John Gateley, killed, and George O. Howard, wounded in the right shoulder, and Robert King, wounded in the knee. It may be that Francis Love^{II} was taken prisoner here, or, perhaps, a month later at Cedar Creek. All that is known is that he was taken somewhere in this campaign, and that he died, February 21, 1865, in a rebel prison. On September 22d, the retreating rebels made a stand at Fisher Hill and were again defeated, and Sheridan again pursued.

In October, Sheridan began to withdraw his troops to the upper part of the valley, and on the 13th, two brigades were ordered out to drive off what was supposed to be a small reconnoitering body of the enemy. They found the rebels in force, and a withdrawal was ordered, but as the aide who carried the order was shot after he had given the order to a part of the troops, but before he had reached Wells' brigade, and as an intervening ridge prevented Wells from seeing the withdrawal of the other brigade, his brigade was nearly cut off and its leader mortally wounded. James A. Needham and Thomas Gallagher were wounded and taken prisoners. The latter was taken to Libby Prison, Richmond, where he stayed until he was paroled, in April, 1865. James A. Needham escaped.

Again, at Cedar Creek, October 19th, the Union troops were surprised by the enemy, who crept upon their flanks in the mist and darkness, while Sheridan was "at Winchester, twenty miles away." The Union troops retreated to Middletown before the flight was stayed. There, Sheridan met them, and led them back to victory. The Third Cavalry was not among those troops who were surprised, but it fought continually during the day, and participated in the final victory. We have no record that any Clinton men suffered in the engagement. The campaign ended with this battle. The Third Cavalry saw no more important active service.

The Thirty-fourth was ordered to the Army of the James, which was under command of General Ord. It reached this army December 25th, with the names of ten Clinton men on the rolls.

When the spring campaign opened, the Clinton men of the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth Infantry, and the Third and Fourth Cavalry, were all actively engaged in the closing scenes of the war. In the final movement on Petersburg, April 2d, the Thirty-fourth took part in the attack, but no casualties are recorded in the case of any Clinton man. The Thirty-sixth was in one of the forts, and was not engaged in the fighting. The next day, it was found that all the Confederate troops had withdrawn from the city. It was a joyous day for the men who had endured so much for the ten long months during which the city had been besieged. The joy of the occasion was emphasized by the information that Richmond was also in the possession of our army and by the arrival of President Lincoln, who received a grand ovation.

Then came a few days of rapid movement to cut off the retreat of Lee. The Thirty-fourth was among the regiments that stood planted in his path at the time of his final surrender on the 9th of April, at Appomattox. It is doubtfully asserted that John W. Holbrook of the Thirty-fourth, was killed in a skirmish with the enemy, April 6th, but it is probable that he was captured before this time. The Fourth Cavalry, as a whole, did effective work during this pursuit, though it was not the fortune of our Clinton boys to be in those companies which fought so heroically at High Bridge. John Gibbons of this regiment died July 15, 1865, in Richmond, while still in service.

When it was known that Lee had surrendered, the exultation of the soldiers knew no bounds. Only the men who had suffered the hardships of war could appreciate the value and joy of victory. One moment the hardened cheeks of the veterans were moistened with tears, as they grasped each

other's hands with sobbing words of joy, the next the air was filled with delirious cheers. Not alone in the army, but at Clinton and throughout the North the glad bells were ringing, hearts were tumultuously beating and hosannas were rising to the God of Battles who had given the victory. Six days later, joy was changed into mourning by the sad intelligence that the nation's chief had fallen by the hand of an assassin. It is unnecessary for us to enter into the details of the next two months, or to describe the return of the regiments, since all the particulars can be learned from the individual record.

The return of soldiers discharged or mustered out was of common occurrence during the last years of the war. Such soldiers were always sure of a warm welcome, whether they came as individuals or in organizations. Those, who had returned before July 4, 1865, were invited to a reception in Worcester on that date. This invitation was quite generally accepted. Before these veterans started for the city, a public breakfast was given them at sunrise by the citizens of Clinton. Among the exercises there was a flag raising on the Common, at which an address was delivered by Hon. Charles G. Stevens. As his eloquent words so truly express the feelings which were present in the hearts of all his fellow citizens, they may fitly close this record of what Clinton did for the country against the armed hosts of the rebellion :



"Soldiers: You who have opposed your bodies as a living rampart against the attack of foes who in the blindness of insane fury would tear it (the flag) to the ground; you who have left all the delights of home, the comforts and luxuries earned by your own strength in the pursuit of peaceful industry, and have bravely encountered and endured the hardships, the perils and the sufferings of the camp, the march and the battle, with the horrors of the prison-house, that your eyes might not behold a dishonored flag, a dismembered country, a government broken, shattered and destroyed, and upon its ruins erected a tyranny beneath

whose despotic arms no freeman could breathe in safety; you who have returned with laurels of the conqueror upon your brow, who can now rejoice over 'the battle fought and the victory won,' and forgetting the long, tedious months and years of anxiety and dread, can now securely rest in the knowledge that through your patient persevering and undying courage the contest has ended in the complete overthrow of the rebellion and the enforced submission of the whole band of traitors;—to your hands has it been entrusted to raise this glorious banner on high,—to you has it been committed to signalize the celebration of this day—a day doubly to be hallowed in the future—by tossing to the breeze, to float in triumphant freedom, the flag for which, and under which, you have so nobly battled. To you and to your children, and to your children's children, may this day ever be one held in fond remembrance. Ever will it be one of your proudest boasts that you were of that army of citizen soldiery that fought so gallantly for the right; and as the years roll on, and the recollection of hardships and sufferings dims with fleeting time, the glorious results achieved by your labors will cause a thrill of joy to course through your veins, and more and more will it be to you a cause for satisfaction that you were enabled to share with that heroic band the honor of so mighty a contest.

"The battle over, the strife ended, your labors done, we welcome you to your honors! We saw you go forth to the fight with hearts full of fear for your safety, and the many brave hearts who so gallantly buckled on their armor with you, whom you left behind, attest how terribly our fears have been realized. We have followed you step by step through all your perilous march and life of danger; we have wept for your suffering and prayed for you, and with equal joy shared your success. The little we could do for those you left at home, and for your own comfort in camp and hospital and prison, has been done as a cheerful duty to you and a relief to us. Through all the fortunes of war, our con-

fidence in your manly courage and fortitude has never faltered. We could not believe, we never did believe that you would return finally otherwise than as victors. Though at times the heavens seemed hung with blackness and terrible doubts were whispered in our ears, we never lost our trust in the good God who holds the destinies of nations in his hand, and at length has He given you the victory! May your future days be full of peace, prosperity and happiness. The debt the country owes your patriotism is too large ever to be fully paid; but a nation's gratitude is yours, and millions of grateful hearts will ever remember your priceless services.

"While with heartfelt joy we welcome you to home and friends—while we drop the tear of sympathy for all those who have sent to the battle-field loved ones whose forms they may never again behold—today, here and now, we cannot regret your hardships, nor can we hardly show a single tear of sorrow for those whose bones lie beneath the blood-stained sod. True patriots, they have given to their country the fullest evidence of their love. Martyred heroes! their memory will ever be cherished; and when in this our good time a merciful Providence shall have healed the wounded hearts now stricken, mother, wife and sister will so rejoice over the manner of their death that all cause for mourning and sorrow will be forgotten, and loving children now weeping in desolate orphanhood will glory and boast over their descent from those who have dared even to die for their country."



CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CLINTON SOLDIERS' INDIVIDUAL RECORD.

MASSACHUSETTS REGIMENTS—(THREE YEARS).

CONTRACTIONS.—capt., captain; lieut., lieutenant; sergt., sergeant; corpl., corporal; Co., company; m., mustered; m. out, mustered out; dischd, discharged; dis., disability; w., wounded; expr., expiration.

First Regiment.

BROTHERS, HIPPOLYTE P., musician, 26. Mustered May 25, '61; dischd. with band July 27, '62; re-enlisted in Forty-seventh, Co. E, Nov. 6, '62, as a soldier, credited to Charlestown; m. out Sept. 1, '63; re-enlisted Jan. 4, '64, in Regular Army as musician; m. out June 30, '65.
BROWN, EDWIN J., 35. Co. K; m. Sept. 2, '63; m. out June 22, '65.

Second Regiment.

Date of muster, May 25, 1861.

BARTLETT, ANSON B., 18. Co. D; corpl.; transferred Jan. 26, '63, to U. S. Army; assigned to Co. D, First Battalion, Sixteenth; re-enlisted Feb. 29, '64; dischd. as sergt. Feb. 27, '67, at expr. of service.
CHENEY, GILBERT A., 23. Co. D; w. at Antietam Sept. 17, '62; died Oct. 18, '62. (Credited to Newton.)
HAYES, EDWARD K., 21. Co. A; missing from July 27, '63; afterwards in Second N. Y. Cavalry.
ORNE, DAVID J., 23. Co. D; m. out May 24, '64.

Seventh Regiment.

Date of muster, June 15, 1861.

SHAW, JOHN, 39; Co. A; dischd. for dis. July 20, '62.
SHAW, JOHN, JR., 18. Co. A; missing from Oct. 10, '62.
(Entered on rolls as from Somerset, but not enrolled there in 1863. They were residents of Clinton.)

Ninth Regiment.

Date of muster, June 11, 1861.

DUNCAN, CHARLES, 28; born in Scotland. Co. C; killed July 1, '62, at Malvern Hill.

GATELY, MARTIN, 31. Co. K; dischd. Dec. 22, '62, for dis.

MCMAMARA, MICHAEL J., 18. Co. C; w. July 1, '62, at Malvern Hill; dischd. Jan. 16, '63, for dis.

O'TOOLE, MICHAEL, 21. Co. C; w. June 22, '62, at Gaines' Mill; dischd. June 21, '64, at expr. of service.

Eleventh Regiment.

Date of muster, June 13, 1861.

GRADY, THOMAS, 18. Co. B; dischd. June 24, '64, at expr. of service as corpl.

HOBBS, CHARLES P., 17. Co. B; missing from Nov. 18, '61.

Fifteenth Regiment.

Mustered July 12, 1861. Company C, unless otherwise stated.

BOWMAN, HENRY, 26. Mustered Aug. 1, '61; capt.; prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61, confined in Richmond; paroled Feb. 22, '62; exchanged Aug. 2, '62; major Thirty-fourth, Aug. 6, '62, declined; colonel Thirty-sixth, Aug. 22, '62; commanded brigade in Mississippi; resigned July 27, '63; re-commissioned Oct., '63; unable to muster as regiment was below minimum; on special duty as chief of staff of General Wilcox, commanding at Cumberland Gap and in East Tennessee, Nov. 21 to Dec. 25, '63; appointed assistant quartermaster U. S. Vols., Feb. 29, '64; on duty in Virginia in '64, afterwards in Baltimore and Philadelphia; m. out Aug. 15, '66.

WHELOCK, WILLIAM R., 39. Sergt; 1st lieut. Oct. 10, '62; capt. Co. G, July 5, '63; dischd. July 28, '64, expr. of service.

BUSS, ELISHA G., 26; born in Sterling, Mass. 1st sergt.; 2d lieut. Nov. 14, '62; 1st lieut. March 15, '63; w. at Gettysburg July 3, and died of wound at Clinton, July 23, '63.

COULTER, WILLIAM J., 20. Corpl. Nov. 12, '62; sergt. Dec. 10, '62; 1st lieut. Nov. 21, '63; prisoner at Petersburg, June 22, '64; confined in Richmond, Va., Macon, Ga., Charleston and Columbia, S. C.; exchanged March 1, '65; transferred to Twentieth, July 28, '64; declined commission; dischd. March 12, '65.

FREEMAN, JOSHUA, 40. Sergt.; 2d lieut. March 19, '63; 1st lieut. Sept. 20, '63; dischd. July 28, '64, expr. of service.

FULLER, ANDREW L., 37. Mustered Aug. 1, '61; 1st lieut.; resigned Oct. 7, '61, from ill-health. (Died Sept. 10, '67.)

- WATERS, WILLIAM G., 23. Mustered July 24, '61; commissary sergt.; 1st lieut. Oct. 27, '62; dischd. March 14, '63, for dis. (Name on the rolls as of Gorham, Maine, but commissioned as from Clinton.)
- FRAZER, CHARLES, 23. Sergt.; 2d lieut. Aug. 6, '62; refused commission; w. in hand at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62.
- BENSON, EDWARD W., 25. Corpl.; sergt.; taken to hospital July, '62; died from relapse of fever while on furlough, in Clinton, Aug. 3, '62.
- BRIGHAM, JOHN D., 27. Corpl.; sergt.; w. and prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61, confined in Richmond; dischd. Dec. 10, '62, for dis.
- CAULFIELD, THOMAS, 24. Corpl.; sergt.; w. and prisoner at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; confined in Richmond; paroled and dischd. about Dec. 1, '62, for dis.; re-enlisted in Second Light Battery, Jan. 16, '64; w. and prisoner at Sabine Cross Roads, April 9, '64; confined at Mansfield, Texas; exchanged June 20, '64; m. out Aug. 12, '65.
- COOK, WILLIS A., 32. Sergt.; prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond; dischd. April 12, '62, for dis.
- FULLER, ALDEN, 29. Sergt.; prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond; dischd. March 11, '63.
- TAYLOR, HERBERT D., 19. Co. A; corpl.; sergt.; prisoner at Petersburg, June 22, '64; confined at Andersonville, Ga.; exchanged March 1, '65; dischd. May 29, '65. (Credited to Sterling.)
- WALLACE, DAVID O., 19. Corpl.; sergt.; w. and prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; prisoner at Petersburg, June 22, '64; transferred to Twentieth, July 27, '64; died in prison at Florence, S. C., Feb. 4, '65.
- WRIGHT, ARCHIBALD D., 18. Sergt.; w. in abdomen, also ankle, at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; in left arm at Gettysburg, July 3, '63; prisoner in Wilderness, May 6, '64; paroled; dischd. May 25, '65.
- BONNEY, JAMES A., 25. Corpl.; prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond; killed May. 31, '64, by sharpshooters. (Records say May 20, Spottsylvania.)
- BURGESS, JAMES F., 26. Corpl.; dischd. Jan. 7, '63, for dis.
- CHENERY, JAMES P., 19. Corpl.; prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond and Salisbury; killed at Gettysburg, July 2 or 3, '63.
- DABOLL, BRIGGS M., 39. Corpl.; w. in hand at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; dischd. May 1, '62, for dis.
- PUTNAM, HENRY A., 24. Corpl.; prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond; dischd. Nov. 12, '62, to enlist in Rickett's Battery, First Regt. Light Artillery, U. S. A.; dischd. July 12, '64, at expr. of service.
- RYDER, CHARLES G., 28. Mustered Aug. 12, '62; corpl.; prisoner at Cold Harbor, June 3, '64; confined in Richmond and Andersonville; dischd. May 17, '65. (Name on roll as of Rochester, but not enrolled there in 1863; lived in Clinton eleven years.)

- MALLEY, EDWARD, 20. Drummer; dischd. July 28, '64, at expr. of service.
- MATTOON, CHAUNCEY B., 22. Band; dischd. Aug. 8, '62, with band.
- BATTERSON, ZADOC C., 26. Mustered Dec. 14, '61; killed at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62.
- BRIGHAM, SAMUEL D., 40. Dischd. Jan. 24, '63; for dis.
- BURGESS, THOMAS H., 21. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Nov. 15, '62, for dis.
- CARRUTH, JOHN E., 19. Wounded in face at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. March 11, '63, for dis.; re-enlisted Dec. 28, '63, in Second Heavy Artillery, Co. M; dischd. Sept. 3, '65, at expr. of service.
- CHAMBERS, HIRAM A., 19. Killed Sept. 17, '62, at Antietam. (Credited to Worcester.)
- CLIFFORD, JAMES, 20. Co. E; m. March 21, '64; prisoner at Petersburg, June 22, '64; confined at Richmond, Andersonville and Florence; transferred July 27, '64, to Twentieth, Co. E; m. out June 30, '65.
- CONNIG, ISAAC P., 24. Mustered Aug. 12, '62; w. at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. March 19, '63, for dis. (Credited to West Cambridge, but not enrolled there in 1863. Paid poll-tax in Clinton.)
- COOPER, RUFUS K., 23. Prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; w. at Gettysburg, July 2, '63; dischd. July 28, '64, at expr. of service.
- CORCORAN, WILLIAM, 40. Co. F; dischd. Feb. 15, '62, for dis.
- CREELMAN, MATTHEW, 21. Missing from Dec., '61.
- CUTTING, ORIN L., 29. Dischd. Oct. 28, '62, for dis.
- DAVIDSON, HENRY L., 24. Re-enlisted Feb. 12, '64; transferred to Twentieth, Co. E, July 27, '64; m. out July 16, '65. (Credited to Sterling.)
- DEXTER, TRUSTUM D., 27. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. July 28, '64, at expr. of service.
- DICKSON, JOSEPH S., 31. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Dec. 16, '62, for dis.
- ECCLES, WILLIAM, 22. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; died Jan. 4, 1863.
- EDGERLY, HEMAN O., 22. Prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond and Salisbury; missing Nov. 1, '62; re-enlisted in Fourth New Hampshire; w. at Petersburg, and died in '64. (Record not given on N. H. rolls under this name.)
- FRAZER, JOHN, 31. Killed at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62.
- GRAICHEN, FRANK, 28. Mustered Aug. 27, '61; w. at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; dischd. May 2, '62, for dis.; re-enlisted Dec. 24, '63, in Second Heavy Artillery, Co. M; dischd. Sept. 3, '65, at expr. of service.
- GRAICHEN, GUSTAVE, 22. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Dec. 30, '62, for dis.
- GREENWOOD, HENRY, 25. Prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined

- in Richmond; dischd. Feb. 19, '64, to re-enlist; transferred to Twentieth, to Signal Corps July 27, '64; dischd. Aug. 16, '65.
- HAPGOOD, CHARLES H., 20. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; transferred to V. R. C., Feb. 15, '64; dischd. July 16, '64.
- HAYES, JUNIUS D., 24. Mustered Dec. 14, '61; dischd. Nov. 15, '62, for dis.; afterwards drafted and paid commutation, July, '63.
- HENRY, GEORGE I., 20. Transferred Jan. 15, '64, to V. R. C.; dischd. July 14, '65.
- HOLBROOK, CHARLES E., 19. Killed at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62.
- HOLDER, WILLIAM P., 45. Mustered Jan. 5, '64; dischd. Jan. 22, '64. (Rejected recruit. See Fifty-third.)
- HOLMAN, HENRY B., 19. Wounded in thigh and leg at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Dec. 6, '62. (Killed by fall in Worcester, Feb. 20, '64.)
- HOLMAN, JOSEPH S., 20. Dischd. July 28, '64, at expr. of service.
- HOUGHTON, FRANK E., 18. Dischd. Nov. 12, '62, to re-enlist in Rickett's Battery, First Regt. Light Artillery, U. S. A.; killed at St. Mary's Church, June 24, '64.
- HOWARD, JAMES O., 19. Prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond; re-enlisted in Rickett's Battery, First Regt. Light Artillery, U. S. A.; dischd. June 24, '64.
- HUNT, ANDREW J., 28. Transferred to Western Gunboat Flotilla, Aug. 8, '63; dischd. Aug. 8, '64.
- HUNT, GEORGE W., 18. Dischd. Dec. 4, '63, for dis.
- JAQUITH, AMOS S., 35. Prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; confined in Richmond; dischd. July 11, '64, at expr. of service.
- JEFTS, ALBERT N., 20. Dischd. Nov. 12, '62, to enlist in Co. I, First U. S. Art.; dischd. June 4, '63, for dis. (Name on rolls, but not claimed by town authorities.)
- KELLEY, JOHN, 26. Mustered Sept. 4, '62. (Unassigned recruit; never left state.)
- KIRCHNER, JOHN, 31. Supposed to have been drowned at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61.
- LAYTHE, GILMAN W., 23. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Jan. 6, '63, for dis.
- LAYTHE, ORIN A., 25. Mustered Aug. 12, '62; w. at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. March 14, '63, for dis.
- LORD, ALEXANDER, 27. Mustered Aug. 12, '62; w. in left side at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62, and taken prisoner; held but a few days; killed at Gettysburg, July 2, '63. (Name on rolls as of Hinsdale, but lived in Clinton for four years previously.)
- LOWE, THEODORE E., 21. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62. Transferred to V. R. C., Jan. 15, '64.
- LYLE, ALEXANDER, 29. Wounded May 31, '62, at Fair Oaks; dischd. Sept. 18, '62, for dis. Re-enlisted in a Pennsylvania regiment.

- MAKEPEACE, HIRAM, 39. Dischd. July 31, '62, for dis.
- MAYNARD, WALDO B., 23. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; died Sept. 24, '62. (Name on rolls as of Northboro.)
- MINER, JOSEPH E., 26. Mustered Aug. 12, '62; w. at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. July 28, '64, with regiment. (Name on rolls as of Boston.)
- MUIR, GEORGE, 21. Missing from Nov. 1, '62; afterwards, in Thirteenth N. Y. Cavalry, Co. B.
- OLCOTT, HERVEY B., 29. Mustered Dec. 14, '61; w. at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62, and at Gettysburg, July 2 or 3, '63; transferred to V. R. C., March 15, '64; dischd. Dec. 13, '64. (Died at Springfield, Mass., Feb. 27, '65.)
- OSGOOD, GEORGE F., 22. Mustered Aug. 12, '62; w. and prisoner at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; killed at Gettysburg, July 2 or 3, '63.
- OSGOOD, OTIS S., 22. Wounded in left arm at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Jan. 10, '63, for dis.
- PRATT, NELSON L. A., 21. Co. H; m. Aug. 7, '61; Oct. 4, '62, was serving in New Jersey Cavalry, but legally a member of Fifteenth Massachusetts; dischd. Oct. 24, '63.
- PUTNAM, GEORGE T. D., 21. Mustered Dec. 14, '61; dischd. Dec. 17, '62, for dis.
- REEKIE, DAVID, 22. Prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; dischd. April 20, '63, for dis. (Credited to West Boylston.)
- SARGENT, HENRY B., 16. Dischd. Feb. 11, '63, for dis.; re-enlisted, and m. Dec. 24, '63, in Second Heavy Artillery, Co. M; dischd. Sept. 3, '65, at exp. of service.
- SMITH, ALFRED, 27. Mustered Aug. 7, '62; w. at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Feb. 18, '64, to re-enlist from Northboro; July 27, '64, transferred to Twentieth; m. out July 15, '65.
- SMITH, FRANCIS E., 18. Died at David's Island, New York, July 23, '62.
- SMITH, JOHN, 27. Prisoner at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61; w. at Gettysburg, July 3, '63; transferred Jan. 14, '64, to V. R. C.; dischd. July 18, '64; re-enlisted, and died at Rainsford Island, Boston Harbor.
- SPENCER, JONAS H., 18. Co. F; dischd. Nov. 20, '62, to enlist in U. S. A.
- TOWSLEY, LEONARD M., 27. Wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; died Sept. 27, '62.
- WALKER, WILLIAM, 28. Killed or drowned at Ball's Bluff, Oct. 21, '61.

Nineteenth Regiment.

Date of muster, January 25, 1862.

- GREEN, ASA W., 22. Co. F; m. Jan. 30, '62; w. Dec. 13, '62, at Fredericksburg; transferred to V. R. C., Sept. 26, '63; dischd. Jan. 25, '65. (Credited to Haverhill.)
- GREEN, FRANKLIN W., 21. Co. F; w. in Seven Days' Fight, June, 1862; dischd. Feb. 19, '63, for dis.

Twentieth Regiment.

- BURDETT, THOMAS E., 22. Co. D; m. Sept. 4, '61; m. out Sept. 14, '64.
 DIERSCH, WILLIAM, 41. Co. C; m. July 18, '61; killed, accidentally, at Harrison's Landing, Va., July 7, '62.
 GRAICHEN, BERNARD, 21. Co. C; m. Aug. 29, '61; missing from June 30, '62. (Name on rolls as of Zietz, Saxony. Certificate of Colonel Palfrey describes him as of Clinton.)
 SPEISSER, CHRISTIAN, 33. Co. H; m. Aug. 24, '61; w. 1862; transferred to V. R.C., Aug. 19, '63; dischd. Jan. 4, '65. (Name on rolls as of Lawrence, but not enrolled there June, 1863.)
 SPEISSER, GOTTFRIED C., 35. Co. C; m. Sept. 4, '61; died Sept. 18, '62, on steamer Commodore. (War Dept. letter, authority.)

Twenty-first Regiment.

Date of muster, August 23, 1861.

- RENNER, CHARLES R., 23. Co. F; m. Aug. 19, '61; dischd. Jan. 1, '64, to re-enlist; sergt., July 1, '64; w. in leg at Battle of the Mine, July 30, '64, and died at Douglas Hospital, Washington, Aug. 22, '64.
 COHEN, WILLIAM, 19. Co. B; w. at Chantilly, Sept. 1, '62; w. in Wilderness, May 6, '64; dischd. Jan. 1, '64, to re-enlist; transferred to Thirty-sixth, Co. I, Nov. 1, '64; transferred to Fifty-sixth, Co. B, June 8, '65; dischd. July 12, '65, as corpl., at expr. of service.
 BURKE, PATRICK, 22. Co. E; w. at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Jan. 1, '64, to re-enlist; transferred to Thirty-sixth, Co. I, Nov. 1, '64; transferred to Fifty-sixth, Co. F, June 8, '65; dischd. July 12, '65, at expr. of service.
 DELANY, JOHN, 23. Co. B; re-enlisted Jan. 2, '64; dischd. for insanity Oct. 27, '64. (Credited by rolls to Clinton on re-enlistment, on first enlistment, to Webster.)
 DICKSON, PATRICK J., 22. Co. B; w. at Roanoke Island, Feb. 8, '62, and at Newbern, March 14, '62; dischd. Jan. 1, '64, to re-enlist; transferred to Thirty-sixth, Co. I, Nov. 1, '64; transferred to Fifty-sixth, Co. A, June 8, '65; dischd. July 12, '65, at expr. of service.
 HALL, AUGUSTUS M., 22. Co. E; dischd. Sept. 27, '62.
 HAWORTH, JAMES, 27. Co. B; dischd. Aug. 30, '64, at expr. of service. (Credited on rolls to Springfield.)
 HOLLIHAN, MICHAEL, 27. Co. B; transferred Oct. 25, '62, to Fourth Regt., U. S. Cavalry.
 HUBBARD, GEORGE, 22. Co. B; dischd. Sept. 14, '61. (Credited to Worcester on rolls.)
 JAMESON, CALVIN, 33. Co. E; dischd. March 16, '63, for dis.
 KENNEY, THOMAS, 21. Mustered March 11, '64; dischd. to re-enlist;

- transferred to Thirty-sixth, Co. I, June 8, '65; transferred to Fifty-sixth, Co. A; m. out July 12, '65. (Credited to Boston.)
- MAHAR, DENNIS, 21. Co. B; dischd. Jan. 16, '63, for dis.
- MALONEY, PATRICK, 28. Co. B; w. at Chantilly, Sept. 1, '62; transferr^{ed} to V. R. C., May 10, '63; re-enlisted in V. R. C., Jan. 5, '65.
- MALLOY, THOMAS, 22. Co. E; dischd. Feb. 3, '63; re-enlisted Dec. 11, '63, in Thirty-fourth, Co. B; transferred to Twenty-fourth, Co. A, June 4, '65; m. out Jan. 20, '66.
- MCROBIE, JOHN, 32. Co. B; transferred to Co. F, Mar. 1, '62; lost rig^{ht} arm at Chantilly, Sept. 1, '62; dischd. Nov. 14, '62, for dis.
- MEEHAN, PATRICK, 22. Co. B; w. at Chantilly, Sept. 1, '62, and at Spot^t-sylvania Court House, May 10, '64; dischd. Aug. 30, '64, at expr. ^{of} service.
- MOULTON, CHARLES H., 18. Co. E; missing Oct. 15, '62.
- PINDER, CALVIN, 33. Co. G; dischd. to re-enlist; transferred to Co. K^{...}, Thirty-sixth, Nov. 1, '64; transferred to Fifty-sixth, June 8, '65; dischd. July 12, '65. (Credited on rolls to Clinton on re-enlistment, on first en^{...}listment, to Ashburnham.)
- QUINN, JOHN, 22. Co. B; w. in second battle of Manassas, Aug. 30, '62; dischd. Jan. 1, '64, to re-enlist; w. June 2, '64, at Bethesda Church, and died June 9, '64.
- STEWART, LUTHER E., 19. Co. G; w. at Antietam, Sept. 17, '62; dischd. Jan. 1, '64, to re-enlist; w. at Bethesda Church, June 2, '64, and left leg amputated in consequence; dischd. Oct. 16, '65.
- TRACY, JOHN, 21. Co. B; w. near Petersburg, June 17, '64; died Jan. 31, '65, at Nashville, Tenn.

Twenty-second Regiment.

Date of muster, October 5, 1861.

- BARNES, WARREN P., 31. Band; dischd. Aug. 11, '62, with band; re-enlisted Nov. 28, '63, in Band Corps D'Afrique, regular army.
- HENRY, EBEN S., 27. Band; dischd. Feb. 21, '62, for dis.
- WHEELER, JOHN C., 28. Band; dischd. Aug. 11, '62, with band.
- CLARK, THOMAS, 27. Co. G; m. Sept. 12, '61; dischd. Nov. 16, '62, for dis.
- TOOLE, AUSTIN, 21. Co. G; m. Sept. 13, '61; w. and prisoner Dec. 13, '62; transferred to V. R. C. Sept. 26, '63.

Twenty-third Regiment.

Date of muster, September 28, 1861. Company H.

- EATON, WILLIAM O., 23. Dischd. Aug. 14, '63, for dis.
- LAWRENCE, SEWELL D., 31. Mustered Oct. 5, '61; dischd. Aug. 11, '62, for dis.
- SAWYER, JONATHAN, 42. Wagoner; dischd. May 9, '62, for dis. (Died May 29, '62, in Clinton.)

Twenty-fourth Regiment.

Date of muster, September 7, 1861.

MALOY, EDWARD, 24. Co. C; re-enlisted Jan. 4, '64; died at home on furlough, of consumption, April 19, '64.

Twenty-fifth Regiment.

Company G, unless otherwise mentioned.

LEOPOLD, WOLFGANG, 29. Sergt.; m. Sept. 16, '61; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, at expr. of service.

REISCHER, PHILIP, 35. Sergt.; m. Oct. 1, '61; w. at Cold Harbor in right side, June 3, '64; dischd. with regiment Oct. 20, '64.

GRUMBACHER, MORITZ, 32. Corpl.; m. Oct. 17, '61; killed June 3, '64, at Cold Harbor, Va.

KOHULE, FREDERICK, 22. Corpl.; m. Oct. 8, '61; w. at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64; died June 5, '64.

STEARNS, GEORGE F., 22. Co. A; corpl.; m. Sept. 16, '61; w. at Cold Harbor, June 3, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, at expr. of service.

WEISSER, FREDERICK, 34. Corpl.; m. Sept. 25, '61; w. at Port Walthal, May 6, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, with regiment.

WHITE, DANIEL A., 25. Band; m. Sept. 26, '61; dischd. Aug. 30, '62, with band.

BOWERS, FRANCIS A., 18. Co. C; m. Oct. 9, '61; dischd. Oct. 13, '63, for dis. Lost right arm at Hill's Point, N. C.

BROCKLEMAN, BERNARD, 38. Mustered July 29, '62; w. in leg June 15, '64, near Petersburg; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, with regiment.

BURKE, PATRICK, 31. Co. E; m. Dec. 14, '63; w. at Arrowfield Church, May 9, '64; dischd. May 15, '64. (Credited to Worcester.)

CHAMPNEY, SAMUEL D., 19. Co. D; m. Aug. 7, '62; died in quarantine, N. Y. City, Oct. 10, '64, from yellow fever. (Name on rolls as of Grafton, and enrolled there June, 1863. He enlisted in Clinton by consent of his father, and was paid the bounty by this town.)

CRAIG, JOHN W., 19. Co. C; m. Sept. 30, '61; dischd. March 12, '63, for disability.

COULTER, JOHN T., 19. Co. A; m. March 8, '62; w. at Drewry's Bluff, May 16, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, with regiment. Had previously served in Twenty-second N. Y. Vols.; dischd. for dis.

EHLERT, FERDINAND, 35. Mustered Oct. 2, '61; dischd. March 4, '63, for dis.

GRAICHEN, EDWARD, 26. Mustered July 29, '62; dischd. Aug. 28, '63, for dis.

GORDON, JOHN, 35. Co. E; m. Sept. 25, '61; dischd. Aug. 6, '62, and died at home Sept. 6, '62.

HOLMAN, HERMAN, 34. Mustered July 25, '62; left leg amputated at

- thigh, result of gun-shot wound received before Petersburg, Va., June 25, '64; dischd. June 17, '65.
- KLEIN, EDWARD, 25. Mustered Oct. 3, '61; w. at Port Walthal, May 6, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, at expr. of service.
- KLEIN, WILLIAM F., 30. Mustered Oct. 7, '61; died Nov. 3, '62, at Newbern, N. C.
- KLUESSNER, HERMAN, 28. Mustered Oct. 4, '61; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, at expr. of service.
- KOCHLER, CARL, 38. Mustered Oct. 3, '61; dischd. Jan. 18, '64, to re-enlist; w. at Port Walthal, May 6, '64; dischd. July 13, '65, at expr. of service.
- LINDHARDT, CHRISTIAN, 31. Mustered Oct. 7, '61; w. at Roanoke Island Feb. 8, '62; dischd. March 15, '63, for dis.
- LINENKEMPER, HENRY, 27. Mustered July 29, '62; w. in back before Petersburg, Va., July 12, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, with regiment.
- MOLTER, HENRY, 29. Mustered Oct. 1, '61; dischd. May 2, '62, for dis.
- MÜLLER, AUGUST, 40. Mustered Oct. 3, '61; dischd. May 12, '64, for dis.
- MÜLLER, FRANZ, 27. Mustered Sept. 25, '61; killed May 9, '64, at Arrowfield Church.
- MÜLLER, VALENTINE, 40. Mustered Oct. 1, '61; dischd. May 31, '63, for disability.
- RAUSCHER, GEORGE, 29. Mustered July 25, '62; w. at Arrowfield Church May 9, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, at expr. of service.
- REIDLE, ALBIN, 26. Mustered Oct. 3, '61; dischd. March 18, '63, for dis.
- SAWYER, GEORGE E., 23. Co. A; m. March 7, '62; dischd. Feb. 24, '64, to re-enlist; dischd. July 13, '65, at expr. of service.
- SCHUSSER, JOSEPH, 40. Mustered Sept. 16, '61; w. at Port Walthal, May 6, '64; prisoner at Cold Harbor, June 3, '64; died Aug. 16, '64, at Andersonville.
- SCHWAM, FERDINAND, 35. Mustered Oct. 7, '61; w. at Roanoke Island, Feb. 8, '62; dischd. Jan. 10, '63, for dis.
- SPEISSER, GOTTFRIED, 28. Mustered Sept. 25, '61; w. in face near Petersburg, June 18, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, with regiment.
- STEARNS, AMOS E., 28. Co. A; m. Sept. 11, '61; prisoner at Drewry's Bluff, May 16, '64. (Name on roll as of Worcester, and enrolled there June, 1863.)
- SUSS, MICHAEL, 28. Mustered Oct. 1, '61; killed June 18, '64, at Petersburg, Va.
- VETTER, GEORGE, 20. Mustered Sept. 16, '61; w. at Roanoke Island, Feb. 8, '62; died July 9, '62, at Newbern, N. C.
- WENNING, FREDERICK, 45. Mustered Oct. 3, '61; w. at Petersburg, June 15, '64; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, at expr. of service.

WIESMAN, BERNARD, 29. Mustered July 8, '62; dischd. March 1, '63, for disability.

WINTER, CHRISTIAN, 35. Mustered Oct. 1, '61; m. out Oct. 20, '64.

ZIEGLER, HEINRICH, 42. Mustered July 25, '62; dischd. Oct. 20, '64, at expr. of service.

Twenty-sixth Regiment.

MARSHALL, JAMES, 25. Co. C; m. Oct. 2, '61; missing from Aug. 4, '63.

PEASE, HENRY C., 18. Co. E; m. Oct. 6, '61; transferred Sept. 28, '63, to Fourteenth Louisiana Vols., colored troops, as second-lieutenant. This became the Eighty-sixth Regt. U. S. Colored Troops, April 4, '64. Capt., Sept. 28, '65; m. out April 10, '66, at expr. of service.

Twenty-seventh Regiment.

BURGESS, JOHN R., 33. Mustered in band of Second New Jersey, May 22, '61; dischd. Aug. 9, '62; re-enlisted in Forty-sixth, Co. B, Oct. 22, '62, as from Holyoke; m. out July 29, '63; re-enlisted Oct. 29, '63, in Co. B, Twenty-seventh, as from Springfield; captured May 16, '64, at Drewry's Bluff; prisoner at Andersonville; died at Annapolis, Md., two days after he was exchanged, April 21, '65.

CHILDS, ABRAM, 28. Co. I; m. Sept. 20, '61, as from Palmer; sergt.: dischd. and re-enlisted Dec. 24, '63; was a prisoner; second-lieut., m. May 15, '65, as of Clinton; dischd. June 26, '65, at expr. of service.

Twenty-eighth Regiment.

HEAD, JAMES, 23. Co. G; m. Dec. 30, '61; dischd. April, '65, at expr. of service.

Thirtieth Regiment.

DONOVAN, JOHN, 21. Co. A; m. Oct. 1, '61; died at Baton Rouge, La., Oct. 12, '63.

Thirty-first Regiment.

SCHLEITER, DIEDRICH, 26. Co. H; m. Jan. 21, '62; re-enlisted Feb. 17, '64; dischd. Sept. 9, '65, at expr. of service as of Co. D. (Name on rolls as Diedrich Slader.)

Thirty-fourth Regiment.

BOWMAN, HENRY. Major. (See Fifteenth.)

CUTLER, CHARLES B., 25. Sergeant-major, Aug. 11, '62; second-lieut. March 18, '64; first-lieut. May 1, '65; m. out June 16, '65. (Credited to Worcester and not claimed by Clinton authorities, though a resident.)

FULLER, EDWARD M., 20. Co. F; m. Aug. 9, '62; corpl.; sergt.; transferred March 21, '64, to Thirty-ninth U. S. Colored Troops as captain; June 1, '65, major; w. at Petersburg, July 30, '64; m. out Dec., '65. (Re-

ceived bounty from Clinton. Claimed by Lancaster. Credited to Clinton by state.)

GALLAGHER, THOMAS, 34. Co. H; m. Dec. 8, '63; w. and prisoner at Stickney Farm, Oct. 13, '64; confined in Richmond; exchanged in April, '65; transferred to Twenty-fourth, Co. G, June 14, '65; corpl.; sergt.; m. out Jan. 10, '66.

FITTS, WILLIAM E., 25. Co. C; m. July 13, '62; corpl.; died May 14, '65, at Sterling; prisoner at Andersonville and Florence; died from effects of starvation in prison. (Credited to Sterling and not claimed by Clinton authorities, though a resident.)

NEEDHAM, JAMES A., 19. Co. B; m. Aug. 1, '62; corpl.; w. June 5, '64, at Piedmont, Va., ball through calf of leg; w. near Strasburg, Va., Oct. 13, '64, reported killed, was taken prisoner and escaped from hospital; dischd. April 17, '65.

THURMAN, CHARLES H., 20. Co. D; m. July 31, '62; bugler; dischd. June 16, '65, at expr. of service.

BELL, JOHN, 32. Co. A; m. July 13, '62; w. June 18, '64, at Lynchburg, Va., dischd. June 16, '65, at expr. of service.

BRYSON, WILLIAM, 35. Co. A; m. July 13, '62; dischd. June 16, '65, at expr. of service.

BURNS, THOMAS J., 19. Co. B; m. Aug. 1, '62; died June 10, '64, at Piedmont, Va., of wounds.

GIBBONS, PATRICK, 24. Co. B; m. Dec. 7, '63; transferred June 14, '65, to Co. A, Twenty-fourth; m. out Jan. 20, '66.

HANDLEY, JOHN, 19. Co. B; m. Aug. 1, '62; dischd. June 16, '65, at expr. of service.

HIGGINS, TIMOTHY, 30. Co. B; m. Aug. 1, '62; dischd. Jan. 16, '63; re-enlisted, and m. Jan. 4, '64, Fifty-seventh, Co. A; w. near Spottsylvania, May 12, '64; transferred to 76th Co. Second Battalion V. R. C.; dischd. from V. R. C., Feb. 25, '65.

HOLBROOK, JOHN W., 36. Co. A; m. July 31, '62; killed April 6, '65; according to another account, prisoner in Northern Virginia, and died in hospital.

MALLOY, PATRICK, 18. Co. B; m. Aug. 1, '62; dischd. June 16, '65, at expr. of service.

MALLOY, THOMAS, 24. Co. B; m. Dec. 11, '63; transferred June 14, '65, to Co. A, Twenty-fourth; m. out Jan. 20, '66. (See Twenty-first.)

MESSIER, ENOS, 27. Co. H; m. Dec. 11, '63; taken prisoner in Lynchburg retreat; died Sept. 23, '64, at Andersonville, Ga.

PRATT, GEORGE, 18. Co. G; m. Jan. 4, '64; transferred June 14, '65, to Co. G, Twenty-fourth; m. out Jan. 20, '66.

PRATT, ORIN, 18. Co. B; m. Dec. 11, '63; transferred June 14, '65, to Co. A, Twenty-fourth; m. out Jan. 2, '66. (See Fifty-third.)

TURNER, HORATIO E., 18. Co. F; m. Aug. 2, '62; died in prison at Andersonville, Ga., Sept. 8, '64, having been taken prisoner, after being w. at New Market, Va., May 15, '64. (Editor Courant, home in Lancaster, credited by state to Clinton, where he received bounty.)

Thirty-sixth Regiment.

Company G, unless otherwise stated.

BOWMAN, HENRY. Colonel. (See Fifteenth.)

DAVIDSON, ALONZO S., 22. Mustered as sergt. Aug. 11, '62; second-lieut. Aug. 2, '63, (not m.); sergt.-major Oct. 15, '63; first-lieut. April 24, '64; captain June 23, '64; m. out June 8, '65.

FIELD, LUCIUS, 22. Mustered Aug. 18, '62; commissary-sergt. Oct. 15, '63; quartermaster-sergt. Feb. 19, '64; second-lieut. Nov. 1, '64; first-lieut. Nov. 13, '64, (not m.); acting quartermaster Nov. 16, '63, to Jan. 2, '64, and July 1, '64, to close of war; m. out June 8, '65.

OLCOTT, HIRAM W., 21. Mustered Aug. 3, '62; corpl.; sergt.; acting sergt.-major from June 3, '64, to June 18, '64; w. at Petersburg June 18, '64; first-lieut. June 19, '64; not able to muster on account of wounds; dischd. for dis. Dec. 23, '64.

ROBINSON, HENRY S., 31. Mustered Aug. 22, '62; second-lieut.; first-lieut. Jan. 30, '63; w. in head at Blue Springs, Oct. 10, '63; dischd. July 7, '64, for dis. (See Navy.)

WRIGHT, DANIEL, 30. Co. F; m. Aug. 6, '62; corpl.; sergt.; second-lieut. Sept. 1, '63, (not m.); first-lieut. April 23, '64; w. and prisoner in Wilderness, May 6, '64; confined at Lynchburg, Va., Salisbury, N. C., Andersonville, Ga., Florence, S. C.; paroled Dec. 17, '64; exchanged March 29, '65; commanded Co. F to close of war; m. out June 8, '65.

FLAGG, FREDERICK, 40. Mustered Aug. 8, '62; corpl.; sergt.; dischd. Dec. 23, '64, for dis.

BOYNTON, ALONZO P., 40. Mustered Aug. 11, '62; corpl.; dischd. Oct. 28, '63, for dis.

DORRISON, OSCAR A., 20. Mustered Aug. 12, '62; corpl.; dischd. Dec. 23, '64, for dis.

FISHER, ABIAL, 18. Mustered Aug. 18, '62; corpl.; w. near Petersburg, June 22, '64; dischd. Dec. 23, '64, for dis.

HASTINGS, WILLIAM A., 20. Mustered Aug. 5, '62; corpl.; dischd. June 8, '65, at expr. of service.

PERRY, GEORGE W., 40. Mustered Aug. 10, '62; corpl.; died of fever at Warrenton, Va., Nov. 13, '62.

SMITH, JAMES, 34. Co. F; m. Aug. 7, '62; corpl.; w. at Jackson, Mississippi, July 11, '63; dischd. June 8, '65, at expr. of service.

HOUGHTON, NATHANIEL T., 18. Co. I; m. Aug. 8, '62; drummer; dischd. June 8, '65, at expr. of service.

BEMIS, DANIEL H., 30. Mustered Aug. 8, '62; dischd. Nov. 9, '63, for dis,

- BURNS, MARTIN F., 25. Mustered Aug. 20, '62; did not leave Worcester with the regiment.
- CHENERY, FRANK A., 23. Mustered Aug. 11, '62; killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.
- DAVIDSON, LUCIUS D., 18. Mustered Dec. 26, '63; died March 28, '64, of fever, at Covington, Ky. (Credited to Sterling and not claimed by Clinton authorities.)
- ECCLES, ROGER, 39. Co. F; m. Aug. 6, '62; prisoner Oct. 2, '64, near Petersburg, Va., beaten by fellow prisoners at Salisbury, N. C., Nov. 29, '64, so severely that he died in hospital on Jan. 9, '65.
- FAY, JOHN, 22. Mustered Aug. 14, '62; dischd. June 8, '65, at expr. of service.
- FLAGG, FREDERICK E., 18. Mustered Aug. 8, '62; prisoner near Knoxville, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63; died at Belle Isle, Richmond, Va., March, 1864.
- GIFFORD, HENRY A., 41. Mustered Aug. 8, '62; dischd. June 8, '65, at expr. of service.
- HASTINGS, LYMAN H., 21. Mustered Aug. 6, '62; died of fever at Fal-mouth, Va., Jan. 16, '63.
- HOWE, CHARLES H., 18. Co. I; m. Aug. 15, '62; prisoner near Rutledge, Tenn., Dec. 15, '63, and died at Andersonville, Ga., Aug. 27, '64.
- JEWETT, GEORGE H., 24. Mustered Aug. 14, '62; dischd. Feb. 28, '63, for dis; drafted from Worcester, July 11, '63; 2d Co. Andrew's Sharpshooters attached to Twenty-second: served until July 3, '64, when he was dischd., as his being drafted was declared illegal.
- KELLEY, JOHN, 26.
- MARTIN, MICHAEL, 25. Mustered Aug. 6, '62; w. in Wilderness, May '6, '64; dischd. June 8, '65, at expr. of service.
- MCGEE, PATRICK, 36. Mustered Aug. 13, '62; dischd. Feb. 13, '63, for disability.
- MCGRATH, HENRY, 25. Mustered Aug. 13, '62; died of disease Oct. 10, '63, at Crab Orchard, Ky.
- MINER, DWIGHT, 18. Mustered Aug. 1, '62; transferred to V. R. Corps, March 19, '64.
- MORGAN, JAMES A., 20. Mustered Aug. 14, '62; on special duty at division headquarters; dischd. June 8, '65, at expr. of service.
- PALMER, EDWARD, 19. Mustered Aug. 6, '62; dischd. June 28, '65, at expr. of service.

Fifty-seventh Regiment.

- BOWMAN, SAMUEL M. (See Fifty-first.)
- DARLING, WILLIAM H., 18. Co. A; musician; m. Jan. 4, '64; m. out Aug. 8, '65.
- HIGGINS, TIMOTHY. (See Thirty-fourth.)

Regular Army.

CUSHING, HENRY P., 18. Mustered March 31, '65; engineer corps; dischd. Dec. 20, '65.

See re-enlistments in different regiments for other members of regular army.

Sixty-first Regiment.—One Year.

HURLEY, G. THOMAS, JR., 18. Mustered Jan. 23, '65; dischd. from Augur Hospital, June 25, '65.

Fifth Regiment.—Nine Months.

SMITH, AUGUSTUS E., 18. Co. I; m. Sept. 16, '62; m. out July 2, '63; re-enlisted Dec. 24, '63, in Second Heavy Artillery, Co. M; dischd. Sept. 3, '65, at expr. of service. (Credited to Marlboro.) (See Second Heavy Artillery.)

SMITH, GEORGE W., 18. Co. I; m. Sept. 16, '62; m. out July 2, '63; re-enlisted Dec. 24, '63, in Second Heavy Artillery, Co. M; dischd. Sept. 3, '65, at expr. of service. (Credited to Marlboro.) (See Second Heavy Artillery.)

Fifty-first Regiment.—Nine Months.

BOWMAN, SAMUEL M., 25. Co. A; sergt.; m. Sept. 25, '62; dischd. July 27, '63, at expr. of service; re-enlisted Dec., '63, in Co. A, Fifty-seventh; first-lieut.; mortally w. by shell before Petersburg, Va., and died July 26, '64.

HARRIS, CHARLES B., 19. Mustered Sept. 25, '62; dischd. July 27, '63, at expr. of service.

Fifty-third Regiment.—Nine Months.

Date of muster, October 18, 1862. Company I, unless otherwise stated.

[November 11, 1862, these men were transferred—24 to Marlboro, 3 to Shirley, and 2 to Northboro quotas—on payment of bounties, for Clinton had men in excess of quota. When the state reimbursed the money paid for bounties, these were again credited to Clinton.]

VOSE, JOSIAH H., 32. Second-lieut. Oct. 18; first-lieut. Dec. 15, '62; w. at Port Hudson, June 14, '63, and died at Springfield Landing, Louisiana, June 17, '63.

FREEMAN, WILLIAM T., 33. Sergt.; second-lieut. Dec. 15, '62; resigned March 26, '63.

CARTER, ALPHEUS H., 27. Sergt.; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.

ORR, WILLIAM, JR., 25. Sergt.; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.

MOORE, CHARLES W., 32. Corpl.; sergt.; w. at Port Hudson, June 14, '63; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.

- BURDETT, CHARLES C., 18. Corpl.; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 CARTER, CHARLES W., 19. Co. A; m. Oct. 30, '62; drummer; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 VINT, JOSEPH A., 18. Drummer; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 BANNON, PATRICK, 32. Dischd. June 29, '63, for dis.
 BELCHER, THOMAS W., 36. Wounded at Port Hudson, June 14, '63; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 BROCKLEMAN, CHRISTOPHER, 36. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, expr. of service.
 COYLE, PATRICK, 33. Wounded at Port Hudson, June 14, '63; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 EDEMAN, BERNARD J., 18. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service; re-enlisted Dec. 24, '63, in Second Heavy Artillery, Co. M; dischd. Sept. 3, '65, at expr. of service.
 FULLER, JOHN, 28. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 HARRINGTON, EDWARD F., 20. Co. K; m. Oct. 17, '62; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 HOFFMAN, CHARLES, 32. Wounded at Port Hudson, May 27, '63; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 HOLDER, WILLIAM P., 44. Dischd. for dis. Nov. 5, '62.
 KENNEY, THOMAS, 18. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service; re-enlisted Feb. 10, '64, in Twenty-first, which see.
 KIDDER, WILLIAM H., 23. Left company in New York, Dec. 7, '62; possibly murdered.
 LAMMLEIN, CARL, 40. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 OGDEN, THOMAS, 40. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 ORR, ROBERT, 27. Wounded at Port Hudson, June 14, '63; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 OWENS, PATRICK, 39. Wounded at Port Hudson, June 14, '63; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 PRATT, ORIN, 18. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service; re-enlisted Dec. 11, '63, in Thirty-fourth, which see.
 REID, THOMAS W., 19. Wounded at Port Hudson, May 27 and June 14, '63; dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service. Died June, '65, hemorrhage of lungs.
 ROBERTS, THOMAS, 28. Killed at Port Hudson, June 14, '63.
 STAUSS, LEWIS, 28. Missing June 16, '63.
 THURMAN, CHARLES H., 42. Killed at Fort Bisland, April 13, '63.
 WATERS, JOHN A., 37. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.
 WHITNEY, HORACE, JR., 20. Co. K; m. Oct. 28, '62; dischd. Dec., '62.
 ZIMMERMAN, JOHN, 37. Dischd. Sept. 2, '63, at expr. of service.

Third Battalion Riflemen.—Three Months.

- MCNULTY, JAMES, 23. Mustered April 19, '61; dischd. Aug. 3, '61, expr. of service.

Forty-second Regiment.—One Hundred Days.

ROSMAN, GEORGE, 25. Co. E; m. July 22, '64; m. out Nov. 11, '64.

Sixtieth Regiment.—One Hundred Days.

Date of muster, July 20, 1864, Company F; Discharged November 30, 1864, at Expiration of Service, unless otherwise stated.

BARTLETT, EZRA K., age 19, died Oct. 10, '64, at Indianapolis, Ind., of typhoid fever; BOWERS, HENRY W., 19; CROSSMAN, WILLIS A., 27; CUSHING, JOHN E., 18; DIXON, EDWARD, 18; SAWYER, GEORGE E., 20; STONE, LOUIS L., 19; WATERS, HORACE H., 22; WOOD, JOHN, corpl., 20.

Second Regiment Heavy Artillery.

Date of muster, December 24, 1863, Company M, and discharged at expiration of service, unless otherwise stated.

SARGENT, HENRY B., 19. Corpl.; sergt.; dischd. Sept. 3, '65. (See Fifteenth Infy.)

AMSDEN, MARCUS E., 21. Co. B; m. July 28, '63; assigned to Co. C, Second U. S. Reg. Heavy Artillery, in '64; May 17, '64, dischd. to reenlist in navy; did duty in ship *Mercidita*; dischd. Dec. 27, '64.

BUGLE, GEORGE M., 21. Co. C; m. Aug. 4, '63; dischd. May 29, '65, for disability.

CARRUTH, JOHN E., 21. Mustered Dec. 28, '65; dischd. Sept. 3, '65. (See Fifteenth Infy.)

EDEMAN, BERNARD J., 18. Dischd. Sept. 3, '65. (See Fifty-third Infy.)

GRAICHEN, FRANK, 29. Dischd. Sept. 3, '65. (See Fifteenth Infy.)

LOWRIE, WILLIAM, 18. Dischd. Sept. 3, '65.

PALMER, GEORGE W., 19. Dischd. June 21, '65, for dis.

SARGENT, GEORGE E., 18. Dischd. May 26, '65, for dis.

SARGENT, RENZO B., 18. Mustered Aug. 17, '64; transferred Jan. 16, '65, to Co. G, Seventeenth Infy.; m. out July 11, '65.

SMITH, AUGUSTUS E., 18. Dischd. Sept. 3, '65. (See Fifth Infy.)

SMITH, GEORGE W., 19. Dischd. Sept. 3, '65. (See Fifth Infy.)

WILDER, SANFORD B., 24. Dischd. Dec. 3, '65.

Third Regiment Heavy Artillery.

KING, W. R., 19. Co. E; m. Aug. 27, '63; sergt.; dischd. Sept. 18, '65, at expr. of service.

BALL, JAMES, 26. Co. F; m. Sept. 16, '63; dischd. May 8, '65, for dis.

HOUGHTON, WARREN, 32. Co. E; m. Aug. 27, '63; dischd. April 6, '65, for dis.

WELSH, MICHAEL, 18. Co. F; m. Sept. 16, '63; dischd. Sept. 18, '65, at expr. of service.

SOLDIERS' INDIVIDUAL RECORD.

First Regiment Cavalry.

- CROMETT, HIRAM A., 35. Co. C: corpl.; m. Sept. 17, '61; dischd. Dec. 31, '63, to re-enlist; re-enlisted Jan. 1, '64; dischd. June 29, '65, at expr. of service.
- HOUGHTON, AUGUSTINE F., 38. Co. D; m. Oct. 19, '61; m. out Oct. 3, '64, as absent sick.
- HOWARD, FRANKLIN, 43. Co. C; m. Sept. 23, '61; dischd. Feb. 17, '63 for dis.

Third Regiment Cavalry.

Date of muster, January 5, 1864.

- HOLDER, FRANCIS T., 30. Co. B; first sergt.; dischd. Aug. 10, '65, at expr. of service.
- KING, ROBERT, 45. Co. B; corpl.; w. in right leg at Opequan, Va., Sept. 19, '64; dischd. Sept. 28, '65, at expr. of service.
- LOVELL, FRANCIS, 24. Co. B; corpl.; taken prisoner and died at Salisbury, N. C., Feb. 21, '65, of chronic diarrhoea on the very day he was to have been exchanged. (War Dept. says at Andersonville, Jan. 16, '65.)
- BARNES, JAMES F., 27. Co. B; dischd. Dec. 28, '65, at expr. of service.
- CALLAHAN, THOMAS, 36. Co. H; captured near Alexandria, on picket duty, but recaptured when being taken to rear; dischd. May 26, '65.
- DAVENPORT, BENJAMIN F., 25. Co. B; killed at Opequan, Va., Sept. 19, '64.
- GATELY, JOHN, 21. Co. H; killed at Opequan, Va., Sept. 19, '64.
- HALL, JOSEPH, 20. Co. B; died at Morganza Bend, La., June 19, '64.
- HARTWELL, CHARLES H., 32. Co. B; dischd. Oct. 26, '64, for dis.
- HEALEY, MARTIN, 28. Co. H; dischd. June 27, '65, at expr. of service.
- HOWARD, GEORGE O., 18. Co. B; w. in right shoulder at Opequan, Va., Sept. 19, '64; dischd. July 5, '65.

Fourth Regiment Cavalry.

Date of muster, January 6, 1864. Company C, and discharged at expiration of service, unless otherwise stated.

- GODDARD, ARTEMAS W., 21. sergt.; chief bugler; dischd. Nov. 14, '65.
- LARKIN, ALFRED G., 21. Corpl.; sergt.; dischd. Nov. 14, '65.
- BALL, HENRY F., 24. Mustered Dec. 31, '63; corpl.: sergt. Feb. 1, '64; hospital steward; dischd. Nov. 14, '65. (Claimed by Lancaster, but credited to Clinton by state.)
- BROWN, HERBERT J., 19. Dischd. Nov. 14, '65.
- CHIPMAN, EDWARD S., 39. Company blacksmith; dischd. Nov. 14, '65. (Was a veteran at time of enlistment.)
- CONVERSE, WILLIAM W., 27. Co. H; m. Feb. 18, '64; dischd. Nov. 14, '65.
- CONWAY, FRANCIS, 41. Dischd. Nov. 14, '65.

GIBBONS, JOHN, 33. Died at Richmond, Va., July 16, '65, by violence.
 GRADY, PATRICK, 30. Dischd. Nov. 14, '65.
 NICHOLAS, GEORGE S., 39. Co. G; m. Jan. 27, '64; served as a musician
 but did not enlist as one; dischd. Nov. 14, '65.
 TRACY, PATRICK, 27. Dischd. Nov. 14, '65.
 WARD, JAMES H., 45. Dischd. Oct. 20, '65.
 WELLINGTON, LEVI, 27. Co. F; m. June 27, '64; dischd. June 1, '65.

Fifth Regiment Cavalry.

BENJAMIN, LEWIS, 25. Co. C; m. May 16, '64; missing from Aug. 1, '65.

NAVY.

Most of the men whose names are enrolled here were never citizens of Clinton. Our town, like other towns of Massachusetts, received its proportionate credit for men who entered service on the "Ohio" and other receiving ships stationed in the harbors of the state. If these men should become incapable of self-support before they secure a legal residence elsewhere, Clinton would be responsible for their maintenance on account of this service. The proportion of our town was forty-one years' service, or twenty-two men with terms varying from one to three years. The names of these are starred. In addition to these, there are eight others entered on this list, either because they were citizens of Clinton or claimed on our quota by town authorities:

AMSDEN, MARCUS E. Entered service May 17, '64; served on the ship "Mercidita;" dischd. Dec. 27, '64. (See Second Heavy Artillery.)
 CARRIGAN* (or GARRIGAN), JOHN, 25. Entered service at Boston on the "North Carolina," July 3, '61, for three years; boatswain's mate; served on the "Montgomery" and "Potomac;" dischd. at expr. of service. (No residence given except Ireland.)
 FREEMAN, JOHN W., 38. Entered service for one year, Feb. 26, '63; seaman; ship "Mercidita:;" dischd. Feb. 1, '64, from w. in leg received off Wilmington, N. C., Nov. 7, '63. (Credited to Boston.)
 GARDNER,* FREDERIC. Credited three years' service. Record lost.
 GIBSON,* JAMES, 22. Entered service at Boston, July 3, '61, on "North Carolina," for two years; ordinary seaman; served on "Pensacola;" dischd. Aug. 5, '63, from Receiving Ship "Ohio," at expr. of service. Residence, Scotland.

- GOODMAN,* EDWIN M., 31. Entered service at Boston, June 25, '61, on "Marion," for two years: ship's cook; served on the "Cuyler;" dischd. from "Cuyler" July 31, '63, expr. of service. Residence, Philadelphia.
- GORMAN,* JAMES, 22. Entered service at New Bedford, June 22, '61, on "North Carolina," for two years; ordinary seaman; served on "Potomac;" dischd. from "Princeton," July 28, '64. Residence, Ireland.
- GRAHAM,* JOHN, 22. Entered service at Boston, July 3, '61, on "North Carolina," for two years; seaman; served on "Minnesota;" dischd. from "Minnesota," July 2, '63, expr. of service. Residence, Bangor, Maine.
- GRAY,* NATHANIEL, 20. Entered service at Boston July 8, '61, on "Vincennes," for three years; landsman; served on "Potomac;" dischd. from "Potomac," Sept. 30, '64.
- GREEN,* JOHN, 22. Entered service at Boston, July 6, '61, on "North Carolina," for two years; ordinary seaman; served on "Pensacola;" dischd. from "Ohio," Aug. 5, '63. Residence, New York City.
- GREEN,* LEWIS, 21. Entered service June 27, '61, at Boston, on "Dale," for three years; landsman; deserted from "Dale," Oct. 25, '62.
- LAKIN, DAVID, 26. Entered service Aug. 26, '62; served on the "Schachahan;" promoted to master's mate. (Claimed by town. No such name on Massachusetts rolls. No boat of this name has been discovered.)
- MACKERELL, ALEXANDER, 22. Entered service at Boston on "Ohio," for one year; landsman; served on "North Carolina," "Isaac Smith" and in "Potomac Flotilla;" dischd. Aug. 17, '63. (This is the only case in the navy records of direct credit to Clinton on the ground of residence, according to rolls.)
- MCNABB, JOHN, 19. Entered service Aug. 15, '62; landsman; steam sloops "Juaniata," "Sonoma" and "Sabine;" dischd. July 27, '63, by reason of having volunteered to go in pursuit of the "Tacony." Residence, Scotland; credited to Newton.
- MALEY, JOHN, 25. Entered service May 23, '61; landsman; "Wabash."
- MURPHY,* THOMAS, 24. Entered service at New Bedford, on "Ohio," Oct. 14, '62, for two years; landsman; served on "Huron" and "Princeton;" dischd. Oct. 26, '63. Residence, Ireland.
- POWELL,* JAMES JR., 17. Entered service at New Bedford on "Ohio," Oct. 22, '62, for two years; landsman; served on "Colorado," "Eastport," "Fort Hindman" and "Great Western;" dischd. Oct. 30, '64. Dec. 28, '64, he enlisted in South Scituate, in First Battalion Cavalry, for one year. He served until June 30, '65, on the frontier. Residence, England.
- RADFORD,* WILLIAM, 26. Entered service at Boston, Oct. 6, '62, for one year. Served on "Ossipee." Residence, Sweden.

- REED,* FREDERICK, 21. Entered service on "Lancaster," Sept. 19, '62, for one year; landsman; served on "Cyane;" dischd. from "Savannah," June 8, '64, expr. of service. Residence, Abington, Me.
- REYNOLDS,* MICHAEL J., 21. Entered service at New Bedford, Oct. 7, '62, for one year; landsman; served on "Colorado;" deserted from "Colorado" Feb. 6, '63. Residence, Ireland.
- RICHARD,* ALBERT, 18. Entered service at New Bedford, Sept. 20, '62, for one year; landsman; served on "Lancaster;" dischd. from "Lancaster," Sept. 22, '63, expr. of service. Residence, Kennebunk, Me.
- RIDER,* FRANKLIN, 23. Entered service at Boston, Oct. 2, '62, for one year; seaman; served on "Sabine." Residence, Bucksport, Me.
- RILEY,* TIMOTHY, 24. Entered service at Boston, Oct. 10, '62, on "Colorado," for one year; landsman; served on "Colorado;" dischd. Feb. 10, '64. Residence, Ireland.
- RIPLEY,* WINIFRED S., 23. Entered service at Boston, Sept. 24, '62; landsman; dischd. Sept. 24, '63, expr. of service. Residence, Paris, Me.
- ROBINSON, HENRY S. Entered service Sept. 17, '61, on ship "Flag;" 3d asst. engineer; dischd. May 22, '62. (See 36th Regt.)
- ROBINSON,* THOMAS, 28. Entered service at Boston, Oct. 13, '62, for one year; seaman; deserted from "Colorado," Jan. 20, '63. Residence, Scotland.
- ROGERS,* CHRISTOPHER, 21. Entered service at Boston, Sept. 24, '62, on "Ohio," for one year; taken by writ of habeas corpus, Sept. 27, '62; landsman. Residence, Pawtucket, R. I.
- ROSMAS,* CHARLES, 21. Entered service at Boston, Sept. 25, '62, on "Sabine," for one year; served on "Sumpter." Residence, Germany.
- ROYE,* GEORGE, 23. Entered service at Boston, Oct. 3, '62, for one year; seaman; served on "Ossipee" and "Pensacola;" dischd. May 10, '64, at expr. of service. Residence, Isle of Malta.
- SIBLEY, JOHN, 25. Entered service Aug. 21, '62; landsman; steam sloop "Juaniata;" dischd. Dec. 4, '63, end of time of enlistment.

 ENLISTED IN OTHER STATES, AND CLAIMED BY CLINTON.

- Seventh U. S., Co. I.*—WILLIAM H. CRAIG, age 22.
- Second New Hampshire, Co. E.*—EDWARD C. CRAIG; w. at Antietam; dischd. and re-enlisted in V. R. C. (No such name on N. H. rolls.)—PAUL C. MORGAN, age 18; m. Sept. 2, '61; lost right arm at Bull Run, Aug. 29, '62, and dischd. Nov. 10, '62; enlisted in Second Battalion Invalid Corps, July 14, '63, and dischd. Jan. 22, '64.
- Seventh New Hampshire, Co. A.*—JOHN HOBAN, 26; m. Oct. 29, '61; w. at Fort Wagner, S. C., July 18, '63; re-enlisted Feb. 27, '64; died Nov. 12, '64.

Seventh New Hampshire, 2d Co. Sharpshooters.—CHARLES R. BROOKS.
(No such name given in New Hampshire rolls.)

Fifth Maine, Co. C.—JOHN ELLAM, age 40; m. April 9, '62; dischd. Sept. 10, '62.

Second Connecticut, Co. A.—JOHN KELLY, age 22.

Forty-second New York.—JAMES FINNESSY, age 21; m. Aug. 9, '61; Co. K; sergt.; transferred to Fifty-ninth N. Y.; dischd. Aug. 5, '64, at expr. of service; died in Indianapolis of typhoid fever, Oct. 10, '64.—JAMES BOYCE, Co. H. MAXIMILLIAN LONG, Co. H. THOMAS MADDEN, Co. H. JOHN MADDEN, Co. H.

Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania.—JOHN BURK, age 41; m. July 26, '61; dischd. May, '62.

Tenth Illinois Cavalry, Co. D.—MATTHEW BURNS, age 19; m. Nov. 25, '61; sergt.; killed at Richmond, Louisiana, June 15, '62.

Residents of Clinton enlisted in other states and not claimed by the town:

CAMERON, ANGUS, 26. "Co. F, Eighty-third New York; m. May 27, '61; second-lieut.; first-lieut.; capt. Jan. 27, '62; w. at Fredericksburg; dischd. for dis., April 23, '63," town record states. (The New York World says: "He was a member of the Ninth Regiment, N. Y. S. M., and went into the field with it. From a minor officer he became captain of Company I, and on the disastrous field of Fredericksburg commanded the left of his regiment as acting lieutenant-colonel. He was here desperately wounded in the left thigh, and being long incapacitated for active duty, was mustered out of the service. On his convalescence, he was made lieutenant-colonel of the Eighty-fourth N. Y. S. M., and again saw service in Maryland. Disappointed in getting a commission in the regular army, he accepted a position in the Marine Corps, and in that capacity accompanied Admiral Farragut's great squadron in its visit to European ports. * * * Mr. Cameron was a gentleman of varied talents. * * * He was a speaker of much ability.")

CUSHING, CHARLES C. Navy; record not found.

DAVIS, FRANK L. Taken sick soon after enlisting, and died March 11, '65; record not found. Rev. C. M. Bowers states: "He enlisted in the Twenty-fourth N. Y. Cavalry.

FLAGG, WILLIAM E. Rev. C. M. Bowers states: "Enlisted Sept., '64, in the Fourteenth Connecticut Regiment, for three years; taken sick at New Haven; came home, and died of lung disease May 29, '65, aged 17." Connecticut record states: "William B. Flagg, credited to

Woodstock, Ct.; enlisted March 29, '64; dischd. May 5, '65, for dis.; Co. B."

DAVIDSON, CHARLES L. This name appears on the Clinton Soldiers' Monument, but he never enlisted. He served, however, as a clerk in the Quartermaster's Department. He died at Nashville, Tennessee, Nov. 22, '64.

List of men drafted who paid commutation fees, which were accepted as the equivalent of service:

Frederick A. Atherton.	John R. Foster.	Frank M. Loring.
Joseph F. Bartlett.	Eben S. Fuller.	George W. Lowe.
John N. W. Brown.	Sidney T. Fuller.	Herman A. Marshall.
William F. Buttrick.	Henry C. Greeley.	Cornelius Murphy.
George H. Cutting.	Junius D. Hayes.	George W. Weeks.
Alfred Dawes.	Samuel H. Hosmer.	George C. Wilder.

In the Town Report for the year ending March 1, 1863, there is an account of town bounties paid to John Munroe, Joseph McGeachey—one hundred dollars each. In the Report for the year ending February 1, 1865, there is an account of a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars paid to Thomas Maloney. The name of Victor Cencer appears in a list of aliens serving for Clinton. No other record of these four men has been found. C. L. Swan put in service one soldier, Joseph Matthews, Fourteenth U. S. Colored Infantry.

Clinton may have received credit for a few men who had enlisted in the Regular Army before the war began.

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